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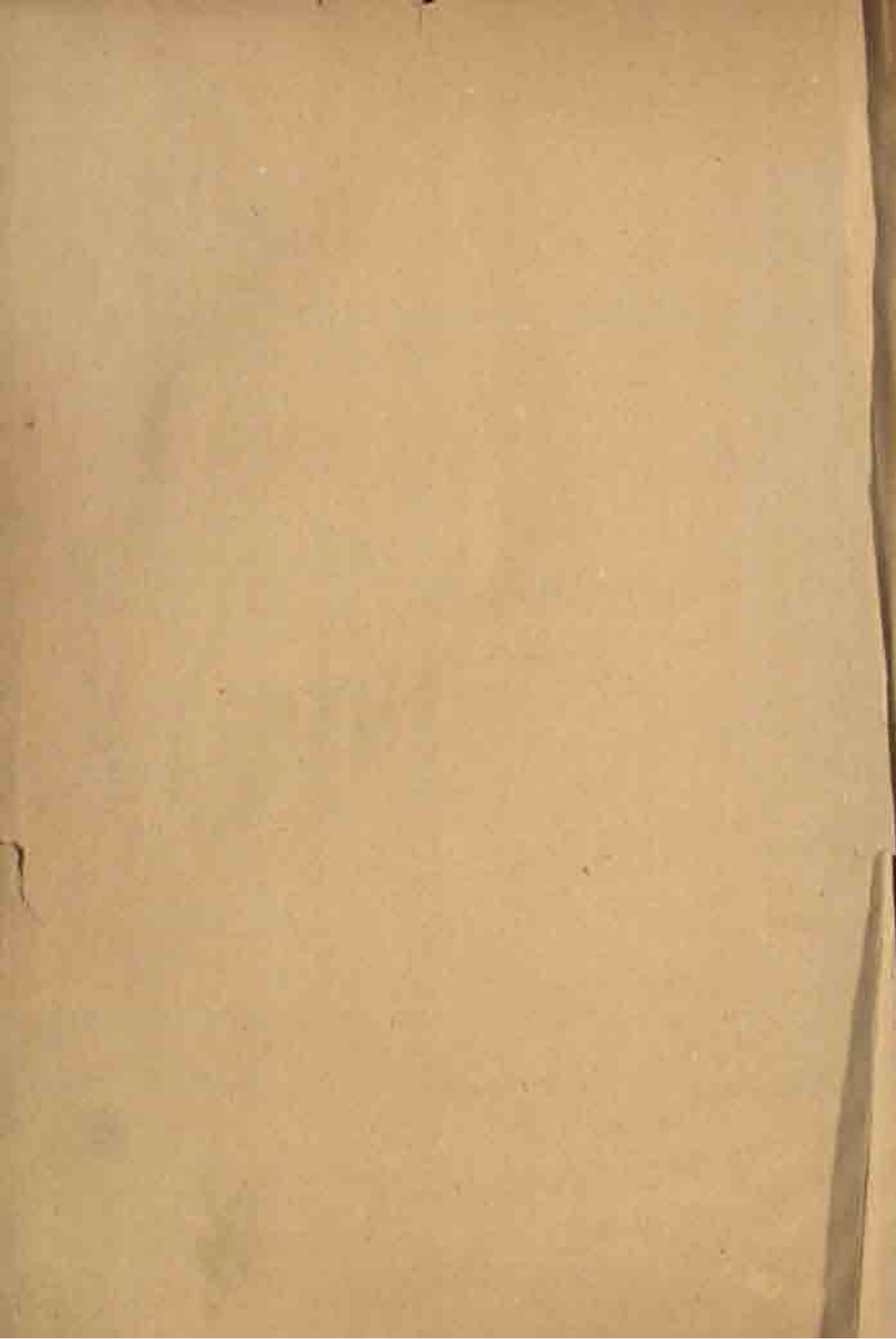
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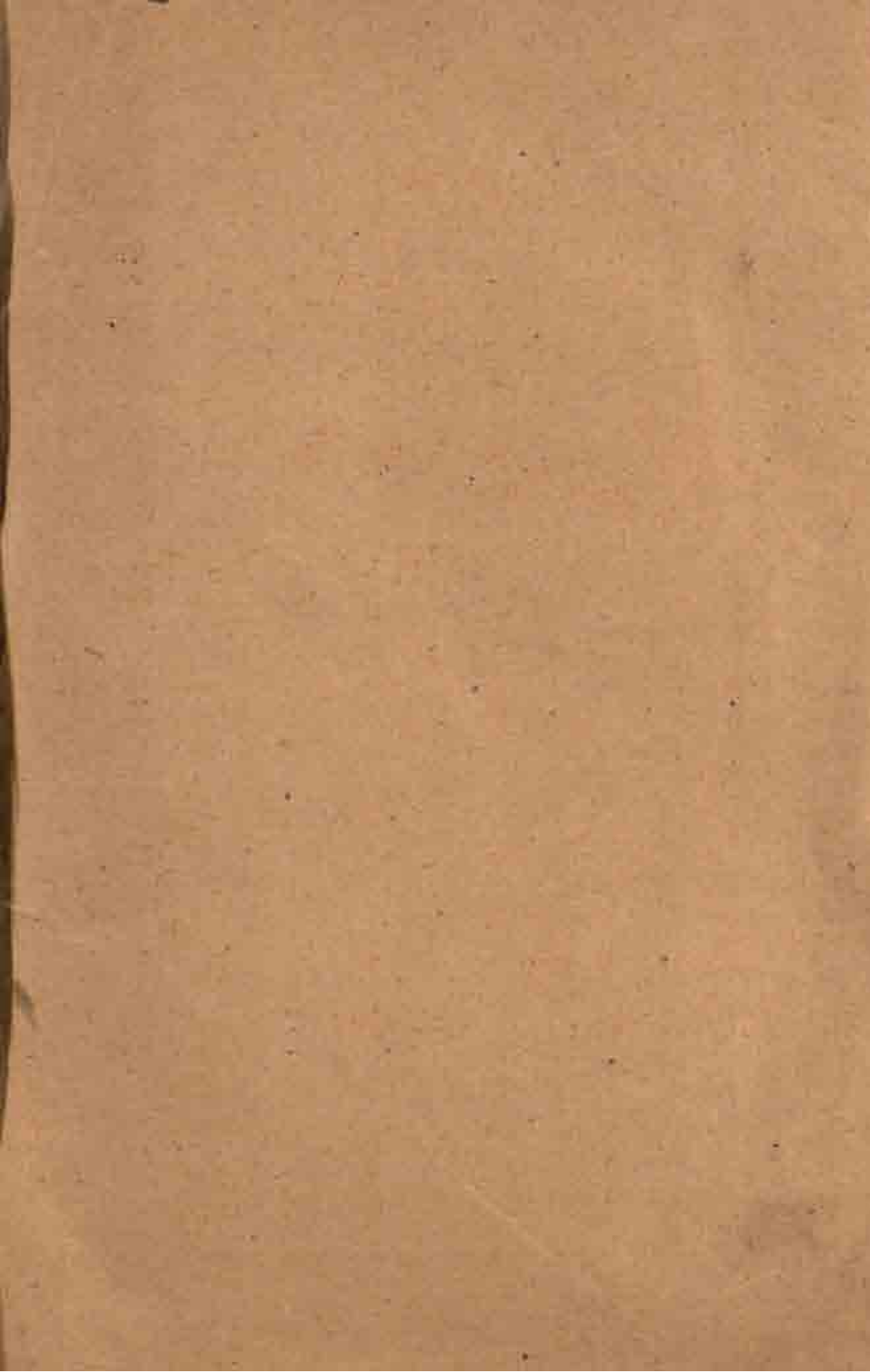
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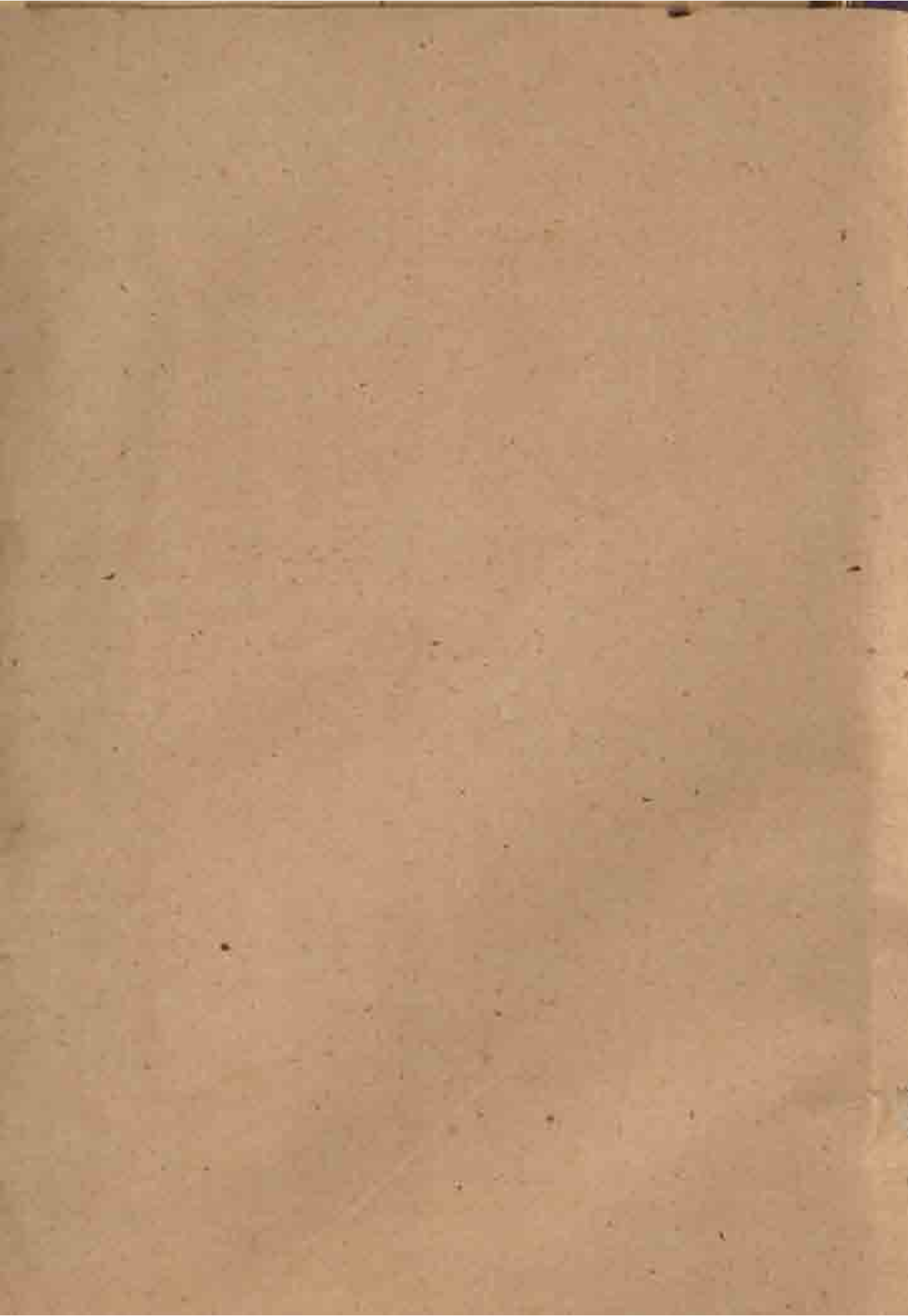
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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EDITED BY

HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA,

K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A.,

OFFG. GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA

AND

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.(Cal.), Ph.D.(Cantab.),

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 8, text line 9, for *kirtya[rtham]* read *kirtya[rtham]*.
- 10, f. n. 4, for *Basavarāja-raṇa* read *Basavarājādēvara Rāṇa*.
- 11, l. 8 from bottom, for *Kaviḷāṣapura* read *Kaviḷāṣapura*.
- 12, text line 17, for *ahārājādhirāja* read *mahārājādhirāja*.
- 15, line 10, for *Dvārāvati* read *Dvārāvati*.
- 21, text line 47, for *दीर्घीय(सु)त* read *दीर्घीय(सु)त*.
- 22, text line 86, for *नाकनदीर* read *नाकनदीर*.
- 23, last line, for the final form of it read the final form of t.
- 24, text line 6, for *अपरमेय* read *अपरमेय*.
- 26, line 22, for "in the four-hundredth year" read "in the four-and-hundredth year".
- 29, line 4 from bottom, for *Gōṇḍala-sūhasa* read *Gōṇḍala-sūhasa*.
- 29, line 3 from bottom, for *Raṅga-merigēndra* read *Raṅgarāṅga-merigēndra*.
- 32, text line 3, for *Kōllavi-gaṇḍa* read *Kōllavigaṇḍa*.
- 33, text line 42, for *Guṇaka-vijayitunḍa* read *Guṇaka-Vijayitunḍa*.
- 34, text line 48, for *paritalla* read *pariśulla*.
- 35, f. n. 2, for "C. f. Mr. V. Miśra (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 165 ff.)" read "C. f. Mr. V. Miśra (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 665 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.)."
- 35, f. n. 4 for Vol. LXIII read Vol. LXXIII.
- 38, text line 2, for *-maṇai (nē)r-* read *-maṇai (nē)r-*.
- 43, line 12 from bottom, for *Maṇḍaladēva* read *Maṇḍanadēva*.
- 43, line 5 from bottom, for *Pāṇāchehi* read *Pāṇāchehi*.
- 45, text line 12, for *यदुजदं* read *यदुजदं*.
- 48, text line 35, for *सुभाला* read *सुभाला*.
- 48, text line 29, for *शिव पुनर* read *शिव पुनर*.
- 49, text line 31, for *विसे(शे)पकी* read *विसे(शे)पकी*.
- 49, text line 33, for *महापाटनरामे* read *महापाटनरामे*.
- 49, text line 35, for *कता(बाता)लिक* read *कता(बाता)लिक*.
- 49, text line 37, for *अष्टात्रि* read *अष्टात्रि*.
- 50, line 15, for 'frequent ly' read 'frequently'.
- 51, line 5, for *Vālabha* read *Vālabhya*.
- 54, text line 19, for *बालाकसाधारण* read *बालाकसाधारण*.
- 54, text line 20, for *विश्वामिकसमाजिन* read *विश्वामिकसमाजिन*.
- 71, f. n. 1, for *rasasatīra* read *rasasatīra*.
- 77, line 2 from bottom, for "Puragupta's mother" read "Puragupta's wife".
[The correct name of this queen is Chandradēvi (see *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1934-35, p. 63).
- 81, text line 4, for *Gōvinda-svāminah* read *Gōvinda-svāminah*.
- 89, line 18 from bottom, for "interpretatated" read "interpreted".
- 92, line 2 from bottom, for *Pumattandira* read *Promattandira*.
- 93, line 3, for *visṇūmādāya* read *visṇūmādāya*.
- 95, text lines 15-16, for *हिरण्यकशिपु* read *हिरण्यकशिपु*.

- Page 204, No. 34, line 8, for *Hoyasajus* read *Hoyasajus*.
- " 209, line 12 from bottom, for *ghaṇḍchaka* read *ghaṇḍchaka*.
- " 209, line 11 from bottom, for *chatta* read *Chutta*.
- " 209, line 10 from bottom, for *Lūsanikā* read *Lūsanikā*.
- " 209, lines 6 and 7 from bottom, for *Dhūraka* read *Dhūraka*.
- " 212, line 4, for " and *r* and *c* (ll. 4 and 11) " read " and *r* and *cā* (ll. 4 and 12) ".
- " 218, text line 23, for "वीरहरविजय" read "वीरहरविजय".
- " 218, text line 31, for "राजवद" read "राजवद".
- " 219, text line 53, for "कनकवर्ण" read "कनकवर्ण".
- " 225, lines 15-16, for *Ashṭāṅgahridaya* read *Ashṭāṅgahridaya*.
- " 226, line 4, for " they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 " etc. read " they have to be placed after A.D. 1062 " etc.
- " 227, line 2, for *Nanarese* read *Kanurese*.
- " 228, line 22 from bottom, for *Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram* read *Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram*.
- " 228, line 5 from bottom, for *Alpakkam* read *Alpakkam*.
- " 234, text line 14, for *Kulaiya-divākara* read *Kulaiya-Divākara*.
- " 235, text line 15, for "tiṅgālmēṣṭāṭṭār" read "tiṅgālmēṣṭāṭṭār".
- " 235, text line 19, for *Virāḍōḷapukku* read *Virāḍōḷapukku*.
- " 237, text line 29, for "Tiruvēṅgaḍamālai" read "Tiruvēṅgaḍamālai".
- " 238, text line 30, for *ep-kalanḍy* read *ep-kalanḍy*.
- " 243, line 11 from bottom, for "Manmagapdayan, Konḍayan, Āchebidaran " read "Manmagapdayan, Kāmayan, Konḍayan, Āchebidaran ".
- " 244, line 15 from bottom, for *Kahatriyaśikhāman-vaṇaṇḍu* read *kahatriyaśikhāman-vaṇaṇḍu*.
- " 245, line 1, for *Vajavarāditta-Mūvēndavēḷār* read *Vajavarāditta-Mūvēndavēḷār*.
- " 245, lines 17-18, for *mudal ilavar* read *mudal ilavar*.
- " 248, f. n. 3, for *Mahmūd* read *Mahmūd*.
- " 263, text lines 12-13, for "इमयवरा(वरा)समोद विजया read "इमयवरा(वरा)समोदविजया" and omit notes 3 and 4; and in the translation of verse 5 on p. 266, for (Let people hear) the three *gūṇas* and the prowess of (that god), who possesses a *yaśhṭyāṇa* made of gold, viz., Kapardin, etc. substitute (Let there be heard, viz.) the birth in *hemaquṣṭyāṇa*, the qualities and the prowess of that (god) Kapardin", etc. [I am indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshii, M.A., for this correction and the next.]
- " 264, text lines 49-50, for "सकलदेव(न)साम(वि)त read "सकलदेव(न)साम(वि)त", and in the translation of verse 15, for " and whose devotion (to god) resorted to none but himself " etc. substitute " and whose devotion resorted to none but Skanda " etc.
- " 264, f. n. 3, for "विजयी विजयी मुखी" etc., read "विजयी मुखी विजयी" etc.
- " 265, line 5, for "Timmana-Bhatta who was the son of Kāmēvara Bhattāraka " read "Timmana-Bhatta who was the son of Koṇḍu-Bhattāraka and grandson of Kāmēvara-Bhattāraka".
- " 268, line 16 from bottom, for *Kali-garāya* read *Kali-garāya*.
- " 268, line 11 from bottom, for *Oḍhra* read *Oḍra*.
- " 268, line 8 from bottom, for " the Naraiṇaṭam plates of Vajrahasta II " read the Naraiṇaṭam plates of Vajrahasta III ".
- " 268, line 6 from bottom, for *Pāṇḍya* read *Pāṇḍya*.
- " 269, line 9, for *Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōla* read *Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōla*.

- Page 271, text line 6, for -*śastrulavāriki* read -*śāstrulavāriki*.
 " 272, text line 32, for *dhāra-purvam* read *dhārā-pūrvam*.
 " 274, text line 32, for निमग्रीवा(भा)रं read निमग्रीवा(भा)रं.
 " 276, text line 79, delete the figure 2 above पञ्चमालम्.
 " 278, line 17, for *Haḍāvati* read *Haḍāvati*.
 " 279, line 9, for *Sāraṅgapura* read *Sāraṅgapura*.
 " 283, text line 14, for एकांशवीरसेन read एकांशवीरसेन.
 " 286, text line 39, for सप्तलवण read सप्तलवण.
 " 287, text line 12, for स च १ read स च १.
 " 292, line 3 from bottom, for *Endāvirat* read *Endāvirat*.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXI.

NO. 1.—MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: G. E. 61.

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D. (Hon.), CALCUTTA.

This inscription, which has not been previously edited, is engraved on a pillar originally attached to a well situated in the Chandul Mandal Bagichi near Rangēsvara Mahādēva temple at Muttra. It was discovered there by one Bholanath, a dealer in antiquities, in July 1928 and removed to his place. Later, it was taken possession of by the local Police authorities and was lying in their custody in the *Māl* godown, Muttra. Thereafter it was secured by the Director-General of Archaeology in India and transferred to the Muttra Museum on the 5th of July 1929 as a deposit from the Archaeological Department. It is now lying in the Muttra Museum bearing the No. 1931. In January 1931 Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, visited the Museum and took some impressions of the inscription. He was so good as to send me two excellent estampages, one plain, in one whole piece, and the other inked, in two parts. It is on these estampages that my transcript of this epigraph is based.

The writing occupies five of the faces with which the pillar is adorned and is spread over a surface, about 3' 3" broad by 1' 6½" high. The record, on the whole, is not badly preserved. It may seem that some portion at the end is gone, as the last line contains only the first half of a verse in the *Āryā* metre. But, as will be shown subsequently, the second half of this *Āryā* verse could not be engraved, as there was no space available for it between the top and the base of the pillar. The case, however, is different in regard to the third of the five sides of the pillar on which the record is engraved. Almost the whole of this part of the inscription is abraded and completely destroyed. This indeed is a grievous loss, because part of the most important matter contained in this interesting record is thus irrevocably lost to the historian, as we shall see in the sequel. The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout, except for an *Āryā* verse at the close, only half of which could be engraved. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are:—(1) the doubling, throughout, of *v* (ll. 5 and 10), of *y* (ll. 8, 12, 14, 15) and of *t* (ll. 3, 8), except in the word *Śrī*, in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and (2) the use of the *jāṣṭmūliya* in l. 12.

The characters belong to the early Gupta period when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāṇa records. This is particularly the case with our inscription which is found at Mathurā from where a number of Kushāṇa epigraphs have already come to light. In fact, it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāṇa record, had it not contained the name of a Gupta king. The letters *ṣh*, *gh*, *j*, *p*, *w*, and *v* of our inscription have almost invariably flat and angular bases; so also sometimes even the tops of *g*

and *ś*. But these characteristics are noticeable in the script not only of the Kushāna but also of the early Kshatrapa or Nahapāta period. Then we have to note the equalisation of the upper verticals, the constant use of the nail-head or wedge, the loop in the left limb of *g*, the peculiarly developed left member of *kh*, the slightly convex cross-bar of *k* and the base-line of *n* or *ṅ* bending lower down on either side. These peculiarities our epigraph has in common not only with the Kushāna records but also with the Jnāgadh inscription of Rudradāman. The only point in which this last differs from the others is that while in the former the medial *ā* and *ī* are indicated invariably by horizontal side strokes, in the latter they are sometimes shown by the vertical slanting strokes placed on the tops of the letters. But there seem to be no palaeographic peculiarities of any kind which demarcate the early Gupta from the Kushāna script. It is possible to argue that what is called the eastern variety of Gupta letters, such as is indicated by the peculiar forms of *m*, *s* and *h*, already makes its appearance in the early Gupta records even at Mathurā. Thus Fleet's Gupta *Insura*, No. 4, which was found at this place and pertains to Chandragupta II himself, has the letter *m* engraved throughout in the eastern variety. The same type of *m* is traceable in a Jaina inscription also found at Mathurā¹ but of the time of Kanishka Gupta I. And further, if we consider the Mēharauli pillar inscription of Chandra,² we notice not only *m* but also *s* and *h* of the eastern variety. Scholars are now agreed that this Chandra is either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Where the original site of the pillar was is not definitively known. Possibly it was somewhere near Hardwār.³ It may be to the north of Mathurā, but certainly not to the east of it. We have thus to take note of the record which refers at the latest to Chandragupta II, and which presents the peculiar eastern variety of *m*, *s* and *h*, although it was not put up anywhere in the eastern part of the Gupta dominions. It may thus be argued that the eastern forms of these three letters are noticeable in epigraphs from the western part of the Gupta kingdom and also as early as the time of Chandragupta II, and that, as they are not found in any Kushāna record, the existence of this eastern variety at Mathurā and Mēharauli (or Hardwār) is enough to differentiate clearly the Gupta from the Kushāna script. This line of reasoning has no doubt an air of plausibility about it, but cannot stand any critical examination. Bühler has already shown that specimens of the eastern variety appear also in an Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (Fleet's Gupta *Insura*, No. 5, IVA), but this he has rightly explained by the fact that it was inscribed during an expedition of that Gupta sovereign, to Mālwa at the command of his minister who was a native of Pātaliputra. The existence of the eastern type of Gupta characters in the Mēharauli pillar inscription may be explained exactly similarly by saying that it was engraved by the officers of Chandragupta II as they were returning from an expedition of world conquest adverted to therein. Secondly, it is a mistake to suppose that these specimens of the eastern variety are not noticeable in the Kushāna records also. Nay, in Mathurā itself an inscription⁴ has been discovered dated the 14th year of Kanishka's reign, which contains the typically eastern Gupta forms of the three letters *m*, *s* and *h*. This also indicates that there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāna and the Gupta scripts. There is another piece of evidence to show that these eastern forms of the letters sprang into existence in the pre-Gupta period. Thus we know of an inscription found at Gadghā (Jasdan) in Kāthiawād of the time of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasāma. It is dated 127 (or 126), and, as it is referred to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 205 (or 204) as its English equivalent. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this record,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 38 & Pl.

² *Am. Mus. Res. J.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172 ff.

³ *Gupta Insura*, No. 32, Pl. xxi A.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f.

published above (Vol. XVI. Plate facing p. 237), we find that the letters *m* and *ā* are incised sometimes in the so-called western and sometimes also in the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is thus clear, that these eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as A.D. 265, the date of the Jaskan inscription, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. They cannot thus possibly be called Gupta characters at all. And it would be the height of absurdity to dub them as the eastern variety of the Gupta letters especially when the Jaskan record is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is far far removed to the south-west of Pataliputra.

There are, however, some minor palaeographic peculiarities in our inscription which call for notice here. The ending *m* in *Siddham*, with which the inscription begins, looks, however, like the eastern variety of the Gupta *m*, though in all other cases it is represented by the other—earlier—form of the letter. That it is the ending *m* is indicated by its tiny shape. The *ā* in *mahārāja* in l. 1 is represented by a character which looks like *u*. Possibly its right limb remained unincised inadvertently. Though *u* is engraved in all other cases with the base-line bending slightly lower down on either side, the *u* in *gauri-gyāṇa* in l. 10 has a distinct loop on the left as in the later form of that character. This, however, is not unknown to the Kushāna records. The way in which components of the conjunct *mā* are joined in *sambādhanam* (l. 12) is worth seeing. The rare *ā* in *raṣṭrakā* (l. 13) and the Kushāna form of *u* and *ā* in ll. 5 and 8 are also worthy of note. Similarly, the character for the numeral 60 in l. 4 does not resemble any of the Gupta period shown by Bühler in cols. IX-X, of his *Tafel IX.*, but comes very close to that in col. V of the Khatrapa period ranging between the 2nd and the 3rd century A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta**. The titles coupled with each name are worth noting. They are *brahmaraka*, *mahārāja* and *rājādhirāja*. The first of these, namely, *brahmaraka* is associated pretty frequently with the names of the Gupta sovereigns. But the other title which they almost invariably assume is *mahārājādhirāja* instead of what we have in the present record, i.e., *mahārāja rājādhirāja*, an exact replica of *mahārāja rājādhirāja* which the Kushāna kings bore. It is quite natural in Mathurā which formed one of the most important districts of the Kushāna kingdom and where numbers of Kushāna epigraphs have been unearthed. This is but another indication of Mathurā and the surrounding region being wrested from the Kushānas for the first time by Chandragupta II.

The date of the inscription is 61, which, of course, has to be referred to the Gupta era. It is rather unfortunate that the important words in lines 3-5 which contain the details of the date have been effaced. The first part of it tells us to what regnal year of Chandragupta this date corresponds. It is a serious loss that this part has not been preserved. The second part tells us to what *lāḥa* or era the year 61 belonged. It seems to be certain that *Gupta-kālā* is meant. But nothing would have been better if the word *Gupta* had been preserved. Then again the name of the month also has been destroyed. Fortunately for us the word *prathamā* has been preserved immediately after the specification of the month. This shows that in the year 61 there was an intercalary month. On the evidence of Jaina works Dr. K. B. Pathak has proved that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding (expired or current) Śaka years by adding 241. Thus if we add 241 to 61 Gupta year of our inscription, we obtain 302 Śaka=380 A.D. We do not yet know whether this Gupta year is current or expired. We leave it undecided for the time being. Now, if we refer to page 42 of Table X of the *Indian Chronology* by Swamikannu Pillai, we find that there was an additional month only in A.D. 380 and none in 378 or in 381-82 and that in A.D. 380 Ashvīja was this

intercalary month. The lacuna before *prathamā* can thus be easily filled up with *Aśvīn*. We thus find that the month of our date cannot but be *Aśvīn*. We also find that the date of our record was a current Gupta year. Because this intercalary month came only in A.D. 380 current, the Gupta 81 must therefore be also a current year.

The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G.E. 82, supplied by an Udayagiri cave inscription of his feudatory chieftain of the Sanatānka family¹. But the date furnished by our epigraph is 61, which is thus twenty-one years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. The latest known date for this Gupta sovereign is 93. Therefore Chandragupta II must have had a reign of at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a teacher who was a *Mahāśvara* or devotee of Śiva and was called Uditāchārya. His pedigree is given. But unfortunately the name of his teacher is not clearly preserved. It is however pretty certain that it was Upamita. The latter, again, was a pupil of Kapila, and Kapila, a pupil of Parāśara. We have then a list of *Mahāśvara* teachers extending over four generations. In fact, Uditāchārya has been mentioned as *chaturtha* or fourth in succession from Parāśara. This is intelligible and quite all right, as it is in an unbroken order. But Uditāchārya has been also specifically mentioned as *dasama* or tenth in descent from Kuṣika. As no names of the intervening teachers have been given and Uditāchārya is specified as tenth in succession from Kuṣika, the only possible inference is that Kuṣika, though he did not originate any new doctrine or sect, must have been at least the founder of a line of teachers. We will take up this point later on for further discussion, but what we have here to note is that while the living teacher Uditāchārya is called merely an *Ārya*, all the others, namely, Upamita, Kapila, Parāśara and Kuṣika, have received the supreme designation of *Bhagavat*, which is generally associated with personages who are supposed to have attained to the rank of the divinity.

The object of the inscription is to record that Uditāchārya, who was the *Mahāśvara* teacher living, established two images, called Kapilāśvara and Upamitāśvara, in the *Gurva-śrātana*. The second part of these two names, i.e., *śrātana*, shows that it was the *Līṅga* that were installed. The first parts of these, i.e., Upamita and Kapila, are the names of the teacher and the teacher's teacher of Uditāchārya. It therefore seems that the latter established two *Līṅgas*, one in the name of Upamita and the other in the name of Kapila. We have numerous instances of persons setting up idols of Viṣṇu or Śiva either in their own or in their father's or mother's name. It is therefore no wonder that Uditāchārya put up two *Līṅgas* in the names of his teacher and teacher's teacher. What is, however, noteworthy here is that he installed the *Līṅga* in a place called *Gurva-śrātana* which can only mean "the Teachers' Shrine." As none of the *gurus* of the line to which Uditāchārya pertained was then alive, the *Gurva-śrātana* can only denote the place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established. And we know from this inscription what sort of memorials were set up by Uditāchārya in the names of his *gurus*. They were *Līṅgas* called individually after them. The inference is reasonable that *Gurva-śrātana* was a place where *Līṅgas* were installed in the names of the teachers who preceded Uditāchārya.

This *Gurva-śrātana* reminds us of the *dēśakūṭa* mentioned in the *Pratimā-sūtra* of Bṛhas which was really "a royal gallery of portrait statues." Bharata, who is a son of Dhanurtha but who does not know of his father's death, comes to this place, mistaking it for a shrine of four deities. He meets the *dēśakūṭa* who was in charge of this edifice, and learns from him that it was not a place of worship but a Statue-house, the last statue erected there being that of Dhanurtha, —whereupon he concludes that his father is dead. The case is, however, somewhat different with the *dēśakūṭas* mentioned in the Kushāna inscriptions. One *dēśakūṭa* certainly enshrined

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 23.

² *Pratimā-sūtra* (Triv. St. Series, No. 13), pp. 44 B.

the statue of the Kushāpa sovereign who was the grand-father (*pitāmaha*) of Harishka.¹ Whether this *dēakula* "was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima it is impossible to say." If they are not the same, then they are of course different. In that case, at Māt near Mathurā where these Kushāpa inscriptions were found, we had not a gallery of royal portraits, as supposed by some², but rather a cluster of *dēakulas* commemorating the different Kushāpa rulers. The case is not unlike what we see in the capital towns of the States of Rājputānā. To take the Jodhpur State, for instance. Six miles north of it is a place called Mandor which is beset with a number of structures raised to the memory of the various kings of the Rājōd family of that place. Some of these look exactly like temples and are also known locally as *dēakulā* (= *dēakulas*). The custom prevalent among the Rājputās namely, to erect a commemorative structure to every departed king seems to have been in vogue also in the Kushāpa period. The case depicted in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* is, however, different, because it introduces us not to an assemblage of shrine structures, each separate from the others, and each raised to the memory of a ruler that has passed away, but rather to a statue-house which contained the portraits of the dead kings. The *Guru-Āyatana* adverted to in our record resembles this *pratimā-griha* more than the different memorial structures huddled together in a place, which seem to have been customary in Rājputānā from the Kushāpa times. *Guru-Āyatana* is thus a shrine which comprised the *līngas* set up in the name and to the memory of the *gurus* of that lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged. It may be contended that the resemblance here is not complete unless we could show that these *līngas* were or contained the portraits of the departed *gurus*. It has to be admitted that there is some force in this contention. For, in l. 10, immediately after *Guru-Āyatana* we have the two letters *guru*, which were originally followed by at least five letters but which have unfortunately been effaced. It may reasonably be asked why *guru* is again engraved at all after *Guru-Āyatana* and whether the letters destroyed cannot be restored so as to answer to this presumption. The reply is that the lacuna can without much difficulty be filled up, and I do not think we shall be very wide of the mark if we restore it to *guru-pratimā-gūḥa*. The *līngas* established not only were named after the *gurus* Upamita and Kapila but also bore their portraits. How this could be possible we shall see shortly.

There is just another point to be considered. We have seen that the inscription specifically mentions Uditāchārya as *śakana* or tenth in descent from Kuśika and fourth from Parāśara. While the teachers intervening between Parāśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuśika and Parāśara are not mentioned at all though they were no less than five. In fact, there was no need of mentioning Kuśika at all unless we suppose that he was the most important personage of the line to which Uditāchārya belonged. We are therefore compelled to infer that Kuśika, though he may not have propounded any new religious system, must have at least originated a line of teachers to which pertained Parāśara, Kapila, Upamita and Udiṭa. Who could this Kuśika be? There can be but one reply to this question. Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakull was. Lakull was a great puzzle to scholars and archaeologists. I first drew their attention to a passage which is common to both the *Vāyu*- and the *Linga-Purāṇa*.³ On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakull was the last incarnation of Mahāśvara, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyāśāpa or Kāyāvatāra which was identical with Kāśān, in the Dabhōi taluk, Baroda prant, Baroda State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The same information is contained in a

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, pp. 402-3.

² *PKS.*, F.C., 1906-7, p. 31, para. 21.

³ *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919, p. 99.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 154-5.

stone slab inscription, which originally belonged to a temple at Somanātha in Kāthiāwāḍ but is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription is thus known as the Cintra *prastāvi* or the reign of the Chauhāṇya ruler Śāraṅgadēva, and was last critically edited by G. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. This inscription corroborates practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakull. The order and names of his pupils are however slightly different in this epigraphic record, being, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurnaha and Maitrēya. But this much is certain that in both Kuśika remains unaltered in name and also stands first in the order. The Cintra *prastāvi* however tells us one thing more, namely, that these four disciples of Lakull were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas. There can thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakull and that the four *Āchāryas* mentioned here were of course his descendants. In the Cintra *prastāvi* three *Āchāryas* are mentioned, namely, Kārttikarāśi, Vālmīkirāśi and Tripurāntaka, the last of whom was a contemporary of Śāraṅgadēva during whose reign it was inscribed. Verse 19 of this inscription distinctly tells us that these teachers belonged to the line (*gōtra*) of Gārgya. While the Cintra *prastāvi* thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprung up in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakull, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakull. It appears that while the descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Somanātha in Kāthiāwāḍ, those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā.

If the teachers mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Lakullīa sect, it clears up the two or three points of our inscription which were thought to be obscure. The first is how the *Līṅgas*, if they were installed as memorials to Upamita and Kapila, could also contain their portraits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line, namely, Kuśika, Parikara, Upamita and Kapila, have been styled *bhagavat*. The third is why the living teacher Uti-*āchārya* has been called *ārya*. These are the points which were thought to be obscure in the above discussion and were left for elucidation at the end of these our prefatory remarks. Let us now take up the first point: How could the *Līṅgas* put up in memory of Upamita and Kapila also comprise their portraits? I have alluded at to the paper on Lakullīa which I wrote for the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, twenty-five years ago. Not long after, I contributed another on the same subject to the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. As. Rep.*, 1906-7, p. 179 ff. This latter contained copious illustrations of the figure of Lakull whether on the door jambs and friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or in separate sculptures. I have shown that wherever Lakull appears he figures as a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely, a *śabala* or staff in his left hand and a citron in his right. There are however two representations of him which are singular, and they are both found at Kārvān, the place where this last incarnation of Śiva came off and also passed away. Here we have two *Līṅgas* with the portraits of Lakull sculptured in front. One of these is in the temple of Nakiśvar and the other, adorned with the representation of Lakull into one image. It may be asked: What could be the meaning of this? Now, the Purāṇas and the inscriptions are unanimous in saying that Lakull was the originator of certain austerities and religious practices called the Pāśupata- or Māhāśvara-*yōga* which his pupils disseminated. And it is well-known that when a *yōgi* passes away, he does not die like an ordinary mortal with his last breath going out of his earthly nostrils, but rather by a *yōga* feat which enables him to pass it through the *brahma-nāḍāra*, that is, by breaking his human skull. It is only in this manner that he is absorbed into Brahman, if he is a Vedantist, or into Śiva, if he is a Pāśupata or Māhāśvara. But as Lakull was a worshipper of

* Above, Vol. I, p. 231, vv. 16-17.

Siva, we have to suppose that the two sculptures from Kārvān represent obviously the absorption of Lakulī into the divinity of Siva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamitāśvara and Kapilāśvara, we had not mere Siva-līngas set up here but rather these Līngas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with Lakulī in the two images of Kārvān. Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuśika, must have been experts in the Pāsupata-yōga. We have therefore to presume that they too must have passed away like the yōgis by driving away their *prāṇa-cāya* through the *brahma-rundhira*. They must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Siva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakulī sect have received the divine title of *bhagavat*. The teacher, Uditāchārya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Siva, is not, and in fact, cannot, be honoured with this supreme title. He has therefore been merely styled *ārya*. Here it may be asked whether even this title has at all any significance of its own. In this connection my attention has been drawn by my friend, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, to a verse in the 'Citra-prajñapti'. It is with reference to Tripurāntaka, the ascetic-teacher of the Gāṇḍya line, who has been referred to above. He was a contemporary of the Chudukya king Śīrangadōva, during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus:

Ita ākṣatā = Umākāntāy śrīmān Gāṇḍya-Bhīṣapatib ॥

Āryam = śvaṁ vinirmāya chakṣatām chakṣat mahattaram ॥

"(Verse 34) Here the illustrious Gāṇḍya-Bhīṣapati, visibly the husband of Umā, having made him an *Ārya*, appointed him sixth Mahattara."

What the verse says is that Gāṇḍya-Bhīṣapati, who was apparently the State Officer in charge of the religious monuments, made Tripurāntaka an *ārya* and then appointed him sixth Mahattara. Bühler himself is not sure whether *Ārya* and Mahattara referred to officers, or were mere titles. The second alternative was considered by him as more probable. Personally, however, I think that Mahattara denotes an office and frequently occurs in the list of official designations set forth in inscriptions, especially those engraved on copper-plates. As regards *ārya*, it is worthy of note that Hīmaśchandra's *Abhidhānamāhātmya* gives it as a synonym of *prabhu*, "a master, an owner."¹ This fits excellently not only in the Citra-prajñapti but also in our record. For in the first case we know that Tripurāntaka built five temples of which he legitimately could be an *ārya* or owner. In the second case we have seen that Uditāchārya raised two memorial structures to his gurus in the 'Teachers' Shrine', of which he must doubtless have been an *ārya* or owner.

There now remains only one point to be considered—the date of Lakulī. Uditāchārya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuśika, pupil of Lakulī. Uditāchārya thus belonged to the eleventh generation from Lakulī. Uditāchārya's date, that is, the date of our inscription, is G. E. 61 = A.D. 380-81. If we now allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakulī to A.D. 105-120. This agrees pretty closely with the view I expressed twenty-five years ago² that Lakulī has to be placed as early as the first century A.D. My conclusion was then based merely on the mention, in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, of Lakulī as the last incarnation of Siva. Evidence of this type will always remain of a somewhat conjectural nature. Epigraphic evidence, on the other hand, is more accurate. We may therefore take it now as well-nigh proved that Lakulī flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D., about half a century later than the time so long ascribed to him.

Along with the estampages on which the accompanying transcript of this epigraph is based the Government Epigraphist was kind enough to send me three photos of that part of the pillar

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

² *Martens-Bühler, pargana I.* (v. 23).

³ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 157. J. F. Fleet agrees in this view (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 426).

which has been engraved. The inscribed portion is really the shaft which is octagonal, but four of its faces on which the record is incised being well-dressed and the remaining four left rough. The top and the base of the pillar have each four sides, only one of which is well dressed. While the fine dressed surface of the top is sculptured with a trident, that of the base is carved with a standing figure, with two hands, the right of which is set down catching a staff or club and the other held akimbo but also bearing some unidentifiable object. The hair on the head is matted with some curls falling on both the shoulders. The statue wears, apparently, two garments, the upper or *uttarīga* being made fast to the body by a band passing round between the chest and the belly and with one end flowing loose spirally at the proper left as in the case of some Gupta images in the Udayagiri caves. Although the lower part of the body is apparently clothed with a *dhoti*, the privates are clearly shown like the breast nipples appearing through the upper garment. The last but not the least important point that we have to notice is the third eye in the forehead. All these characteristics point to the conclusion that we have here the figure of Lakulīśa. The images of Lakulīśa have no doubt been found in numbers, but they all belong to the medieval period. None has as far been found which is earlier than the seventh century. Again, Lakulīśa of the medieval period is invariably in a sitting posture. It has two hands, one bearing a club or *lakṣa* and the other a *mūḍalyuga* fruit. Another special feature of Lakulīśa is the *membrum virile* which is shown upraised.* But if he is represented in a standing posture, it is impossible to show it uplifted. It seems sufficient if his privates are exposed to view. When this feature is considered along with the fact that in the present case he wields a *lakṣa* and bears matted hair on the head and a third eye in the forehead, there can be no reasonable doubt as to this being a standing figure of Lakulīśa. This image† is all the more important as it cannot but belong to the fourth century A.D.

We have already seen that only four faces of the shaft and one each of the top and the base have been well-dressed. This clearly shows that our sculpture is not a pillar but a pilaster which was originally stuck up into the wall of some edifice. And we shall not be far from right if we maintain that it was one of many which decorated the exterior of the 'Teachers' Shrine' mentioned in the inscription. The pilaster was already in existence when the inscription was engraved. This may be seen from the fact that the lines of the record run irregularly and that the second half of the *Ārya* verse with which it should have ended could not be engraved as no space was available for it on the shaft. This is possible only when the pilaster is *in situ* and the engraver has to suit himself somehow to the exigencies of the case.

TEXT

- 1 Siddham [] Bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja [rājādhi]rāja-śrī-Samudragupta-sa-
- 2 mputrasya bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja-śrī-rājādhi]rāja-śrī-Chandragupta-
- 3 sya vija-rāja-samvatsa[rā] [Gupta]-kāli-śuvarttamāna-sar-
- 4 vatsarā āka-śaśvathā 60 1 [pra]thama sukla-divasā pam-
- 5 chamyāni [] ayaṁ pūrvāyāni [bha]ga[va]t-Ku[ṣ]āṇḍa-dāmanā bhāgava-
- 6 t-Parāśarāca-chatur[th]a[na] [bhagavat-Ka]ṣ[ṭ]ha-vimala-śi-
- 7 bha-śiśyena bhagavad-Upamitā-vimala-śiśyena
- 8 ārya-Ōḍi[śi]śy[ā] [pa] [ava]-pū[ṣ]ṭ-āryāyana-nimittān
- 9 gurūpām cha kṛtya[rtham-Upamitā]m-Kapilāvarān

* *Archaeol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep., 1906-7, p. 180.*

† For the photograph see *A. & E., 1930-31, Epig. Sect.—Ed.*

* The lacuna may be filled up with *dakṣiṇa-mūḍa*.

* Read *vijaya-śrī*.



- 10 Gurv-āyatanaḥ guru . . .¹ pratishṭhāpitō² n-ai-
 11 tat-khyāty-artham-abhilaḥ[kh]ya[ṭṣ] [attha] mahāśvarāṇāḥ³ vi-
 12 jñaptiḥ-kriyātā samibhāṣanāḥ cha yathā-kā[ṭṣ]n-āchāryyā.
 13 nām parigrahaḥ-iti matvā viśaṅka[m] pā[ṭṣ]-pura-
 14 skāra[m] parigraha-pāripālyam kuryād-iti vijñaptir-iti [1*]
 15 Yāś-cha kīrti-abhidhānam kuryā[ṭṣ]d-yāś-cha-abhiliṅhitam-uparyy-adbō
 16 yā⁴ sa pamehābhīr-mah[ā]pātākair-upapātākāis-cha samyuktas-syāt[1*]
 17 Jayati cha bhagavā[u-Daṇḍa]h⁵ rudra-daṇḍō-gra[nā]yakō nitya[m]

TRANSLATION.

Accomplished.

(Ll. 1-5). In the year—of the victorious reign of the *Bhātāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Chandragupta*, the good son of the *Bhātāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Samudragupta*—on the fifth of the bright half of the First (*Ashādha*) of the year 61 following the Gupta era.

(Ll. 5-10). On this aforesaid (*nāhi*), (the *Lingas*) *Upamitēvara* and *Kapilēvara* (comprising the portraits of) the teachers were installed in the Teachers' Shrine. *Ārya Uditāchāryya*, tenth from the *Bhagavat Kuśika*,⁶ fourth from the *Bhagavat Parāvara*, a stainless disciple's disciple of the *Bhagavat Upamita* (and) a stainless disciple of the *Bhagavat Kapila*, for the commemoration⁷ of the preceptors and for the augmentation of the religious merit of self.

(Ll. 10-16). (*It is*) not written for my own fame, but for beseeching the worshippers of *Mahāśvara*. And it is an address to (*those who are*) the *Āchāryyas* for the time being. Thinking them to be (*their own*) property, they should preserve, worship, and honour (*them*) as (*their own*) property. This is the request. Whosoever will do harm to these memorials or (*destroy*) the writing above or below, shall be possessed of the five great sins and the five minor sins.

(L. 17). And may divine *Daṇḍa* be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader.

No. 2.—ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA: SAKA 1182.

By S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A., MYSONE.

This inscription was first discovered by Rao Sahib P. G. Halakatti of Bijapur who kindly sent me an ink-impression of it. It is engraved on a stone-slab set up in the temple of *Hāla-Samkaralīnga* at *Arjunavāda*, a village, a mile and a half distant from *Hukēri* in the *Belgaum* district of the *Bombay Presidency*. The stone measures 9 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. The writing covers a space of 8 ft. 8 in. At the top, the figures of the *linga*, *Nandin*, and a

¹ This may perhaps be restored to *guru-pratishṭhā-gatam*.

² The *ṭ* in *ṭṣ* is quite clear at the back of the uninked stampage. Correct this word, however, into *pratishṭhā-gatam*.

³ Read *māhāśvarāṇāḥ*.

⁴ Read *ucāchāṇḍyā* or some such word after *et*.

⁵ Read *bhagavān-Daṇḍa* sa.

⁶ To express order of descent, the ablative case is employed. See the remarks of Dr. Hirenanda Sastri, above, Vol. XIX, p. 58.

⁷ For *virṭi* (Ll. 9 and 15) which is distinguished from *bhṛtī* (L. 11) see J. F. Fleet's note 6 in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 212.

worshipper cover a space of 1 ft. 4 in.; at the bottom, a space of 1 ft. 10 in. is left blank. The language of the inscription is Kannada, except in the first verse. The *śiśma* is represented by the usual Kannada sign, viz., two vertical strokes. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The characters are of the regular type of the 13th century A. C., with an occasional reversion to older forms, as in the case of the *aksharas* *o*, *i* and *so*. The use of *ekha* in place of *ta*, as in *samvachhata* (l. 46), the employment of two kinds of *unreḍras*, and two forms of the secondary *e*-symbol are to be noted. Numerous mistakes have also been committed by the scribe, as in *śiruvāṇi* for *niruvāṇi* (l. 68), *tapachakravanti* for *tapachakravanti* (l. 43), *visti* for *visti* (l. 55), etc.

The inscription records that during the rule of the Yādava king Kannara of Dēvagrī, his feudatories Chāvundā-Setti and Nāgarasa made a grant of the village Kavilāśapura to Hāla-Basavidēva, an ascetic of the family of Saṅga-Basava. The importance of the record lies in the fact that this is the first epigraph hitherto obtained which definitely mentions Basava, the restorer of Vira-śaivism during the days of Bijjala Kaśacharya (c. 1160 A. C.). Dr. Fleet had opined that "no epigraphic mention of Basava and Chenna-Basava had been obtained; which is really peculiar if they held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition."¹ Later, while editing the Managōji record,² he held that the mention of the names Mādirāja and Basava, son of a Chandrarāja might have been the nucleus around which later Lingāyat tradition clustered. But this Basava could not have been the reformer as his parents mentioned in the Managavalli record are Chandrarāja and Chandrāmbikā of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, while Mahāprabhu Mādirāja belonged to the Hārīta-gōtra. In the present inscription Basava is mentioned as the son of Mādirāja, the ruler of Bāgavāḍi in the Tardavāḍi-thousand district; and also as Saṅga-Basava—a name which also occurs in the *Vīraśaiva Purāṇas*. He was devoted to the *Purāṇas*, *Jāyamas* and the *Linga* (l. 9). His descendants had the golden bull (*prishatka*) as their insignia—probably in honour of Basava or after the manner of the Kaśacharyas who had also the golden bull as their *dhvaja*, being Śaivas, not Jains as depicted in the *Bijjalarūpa-charita* and other late works. The founder of the Kaśacharya family, according to an epigraph³, was born of Śiva and a Brāhmaṇa girl. The genealogy of the donor Hāla-Basavidēva is not clear as the record is mutilated in vital parts. It speaks of Saṅga-Basava, then his eldest (*agnā*) Next Dēvarājammūpa is mentioned; then a Saṅga; his favourite son Kalidēvarasa; and his son Hāla-Basavidēva. It is possible that Dēvarājammūpa himself was the eldest son (l) of Basava, though the *Vīraśaiva* works like *Bhavarāḍecarakāyaḍa kothā-vāra-ratnākara* mention that Basava had only one son Saṅga, who died at an early age.⁴ Unfortunately it is difficult from the impression, as it is, to decide whether it was four or five generations that elapsed from the time of Basava. In this inscription another Saṅga, the son of Dēvarāja, is also mentioned (l. 37); probably Dēvarāja named his son after his own father Saṅga, the son of Basava, according to tradition—a custom common amongst the Hindus.

The record is a Śaivite one, though it can also be claimed for the particular cult of the Lingāyats as it mentions Basava's devotion to *prashāda* (l. 42) which acquired a new significance with the rise of Basava. The reverence paid to the *Purāṇas*, *Linga* and *Jāyamas*, though emphasised by Vira-śaivism, cannot be said to be particularly characteristic of it. Even

¹ *Dynasties of the Kannara District*, p. 481.

² *Above*, Vol. V, p. 16.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, pp. 42.

⁴ *Kavāḍi Kāvāḍi*, Vol. I, p. 134. The *Basava-gōtra*, attributed to Nārāyaṇa, gives the name Siddhama to the son of Dēvara and Gangadēvi (c. A. D. 90).

Lakulike Pāṣuṇatas and followers of Kashmir Śaivism are said to have been "*jāgama-bhṛg-śaśtras*" and "*mahā-mūhūrtas*" and also "*Lakṣmāgama-samaya-samuddhara*", i.e., the upholders of the *Lakṣmāgama*.¹

The date of the record is Śaka 1182, Siddhārthi, Chaitra, bahujā Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse (ll. 46-47). Putting Randra for Siddhārthi, the date tallies with 12th April 1260 A. C. on which day a solar eclipse occurred.² Incidentally, it might be mentioned that this grant provides the latest date for the Yādava king Kṛishṇa as we know that the third regnal year of his successor Mahādēva falls in Vaitākha of Daudabhi, S. 1185 (1262 A. C.).³ Kṛishṇa probably lived only for a short time after this grant was made.

Chāvunja-Setti, who is the donor of this grant, also figures in other inscriptions. In the Bēhāṭṭi grant,⁴ he is referred to as having quelled the pride of the Hōssang king, and as having come to Kukkanūr in Belvola division of Kuntala on a tour of conquest. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the prime minister of Kṛishṇa and as the establisher of the Rattas kingdom (l. 40). It is not clear whether this re-establishment of the Rattas took place before or after Vichapa had reduced them (Cir. 1238 A. C.).⁵ We know that the capital of the Rattas was transferred from Saundanti to Belgaum about the year 1208 A. C.⁶ A record of the time of Lakshmidēva II, dated 1239 A. C.,⁷ speaks of Mahāpradhāna Munichandra also as "*Ratta-rāja-pratikāṣh-āchārya*", perhaps because of the help he rendered to improve the fortunes of the family. After 1230 A. C. we hear no more of the Ratta ruling family—the Khūḍi province having finally passed into the hands of the Yādavas—though the members of the old family might have continued to be employed as ordinary officials. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the son of Divākaradēva of the Vāgasakula and as a devotee of Janārdana. Evidently his Vaiṣṇavite leanings did not come in the way of making a grant to Śaivas—which proves that there was little of the bitter animosity between the devotees of Viṣṇu and of Śiva as depicted in later Vira-śaiva legends. He seems to have also been a patron of literature as indicated by the title *Pandita-pōrjāta* (l. 34).

The localities mentioned in this inscription are interesting. The province Tālavāḍi-1000 (l. 8) evidently took its name from the small village Taddavāḍi on the banks of the Bhīmā, thirty-seven miles north of Bijāpur. Bāgavāḍi was the centre of Bāge-50 as mentioned in the Honvāḍa inscription of Sōmēśvara I.⁸ The district Nūlenāḍu (l. 49) clustered round the village Nūlegrāma, fifteen miles to the west of Hukēri. The district Kūṇḍi (l. 61) was the territory the boundaries of which had been fixed by Ratta Kārtivīrya I (Cir. 1040-1070 A. C.).⁹ Kaviṣāapura, the lordship over which was claimed by Hāla-Basavidēva, is a village of the same name seven or eight miles from Nūlegrāma. In the thirteenth century it must have been in a very flourishing condition, including within its compass the modern villages of Arjunavāḍa, Koobcharige and Mosaragutti—the Mosaragutti of the present record (l. 69).

Some of the fiscal terms mentioned in the inscription claim our attention. *Kottasi* (l. 65) and *kurucenige* are perhaps land revenues, assessed from the fields, each of which was sufficient for the maintenance of a temple (l. 74), while all the minor taxes like *sumba*, *sāda*, *taḷa*, *sārige*,

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 24 ff.

² Indian Ephemeris, Vol. IV, p. 122.

³ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 627.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 42 ff.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 384 ff.

⁶ Bombay Gazetteer, Belgaum, p. 667.

⁷ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 200 ff.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 272. [Bāge-50 took its name, according to Dr. Fleet, from Tālavāḍi (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXX, p. 380) and so Bāgavāḍi does not appear to be the centre of the division.—Ed.]

⁹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 201.

*kaṭṭi** *ya-bāḍhe*, *grāma-braya*, *oṅke*, *taxā*, *āṇe*, *gōṣane*, *mudre*, etc., combined, were necessary to maintain the temple of Nāgēśvara (l. 73). Perhaps they corresponded to the term *siddhāya* used in later Hoysala inscriptions to mean all the aggregate revenues payable to the king. *Sunka* usually meant a toll on things brought into the village, *kejjugga*¹ or *kejjumka* (l. 62) being the great toll as distinguished from taxes. *Nidhe* and *nishēpa* were two of the eight privileges (the others being *jalo*, *pāchāṇa*, *akshāṇi*, *āgāṇi*, *siddha* and *sādhya*). Other taxes are *oṅke* (a poll-tax), *saṅka* (coinage), *gōṣane* (evidently *ghōṣhāṇa*, a musical honour mentioned in the Bāḥaṭṭi grant² as *grāma-ghōṣha-sahitā*, *grāma-dēva-ghōṣha-yuktam*—different from *ghōṣhā* or a village of cowherds), *mudre* (tax on right of seal), dues from lairs (l. 77) and *lōṇana meyudeye* (tax on buffaloes).

TEXT.

- 1 Namas-tutṭa-siras³-chunṭi-chamdra-chāmara-chāra-
- 2 vā [1*] traṭṭōkyā-nagar-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śaṭṭi-
- 3 lhaṇṭe || [1*]⁴ Śrīyaṁ śrī-Kallināthana kuṭṭa-
- 4 gō bhava-haraha bhakta-brithdak[1*]⁵ Gauri-jāyā-kāy-ā-
- 5 nushadig-ikuṭṭa-lalitātā-prāṇasād-vāma-bhāgām aviya-avā-
- 6 yatta-śakti-traya-maya-mahimam dēva-dāyāda-mā-
- 7 yā-pāyābhīprāya-līlām prapata-jana-duranta-āgha-saṅghaṭṭa-ellam || [2*]⁶
- 8 Mattam Ta[1*]⁷ davāḍi-madhya-grāma-Bāgavāḍi-puravar-ādhiśvara Mādīrājana tanṭi-
- 9 jom Basavarājana mahimey-ant-eṇṭade || Maṅgala-kīrti-purātana-jamgama-lin-
- 10 g-aika-bhakti-nirbhāra-līlā-saṅgam Saṅgana-Basavam saṅgatayam⁸ māḷke bhakti-
- yoḷu(a)-
- 11 g-anayatatam || [3*]⁹ Yādava-bhūmipālar-īḷeyam chatuṣ-ād(b)hi-pari-
- 12 toyam misarg-ōḍayar-āḷvar-ant-svaro[-aṣva-chamū-chaya-vāṇḍi Śimhapa-
- 13 kahunā-dayitam tad-agra-tanaya-prabhavam nripe¹⁰ Kāṭṭanarām samast-ōḍadhi-
- 14 vēḷeyim porage belgoḍeyol-nejalam nimirchēlām || [4*]¹¹ Saḷe bhūḍēva-
- 15 rikūḷ-ito-āḷasade gō-bhūmi-hēma-vast-āḍigalam māḷev-arasuga[-o-
- 16 [-kombam balavaṇṭam Kāṭṭanarām prajāya-sahāyam || [5*]¹² Svasti[1*]¹³ samasta-
- 17 bhuvan-āḷmāya Śrī-Prithvī¹⁴-vallabha ahārājādhirāja paramā-
- 18 āvara paramabhāṭṭāraka Drāṇavati-puravar-ādhiśvara Yā-
- 19 dāva-kuḷa-kamāja-kajikā-vikāsa-bhāṭakara yati¹⁵-rāya-
- 20 jagaj-jhaṭṭe Māḷava-rāya-Madana-Trinētra Gūrjjara-rāya-bhayaṇkara
- 21 Taluṅga-rāya-athāpan-āchāryya ity-āḍi-nām-āvaḷi-samājamaḷita¹⁶

¹ [The context would show that this is a festival. The word means "the big harvest."—Ed.]

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 44 ff.

³ Read *śiras*.

⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ *gō* is written above the line.

⁷ Metre: Kanda.

⁸ Read *ayipe*.

⁹ Metre: Uṣṇasūkt.

¹⁰ Metre: Kanda.

¹¹ Read *Prithvī*.

¹² Read *ayipe*.

¹³ Read *śamāḷita*.

- 22 śrīmat-prauḍha-pratāpa-chakravartī śrī-Kaṁṇaradēvaṁ Dēvagi-
 23 riya nala-viññāṇa sukha-samkathā-vinōdadīm-anavarataṁ rā-
 24 jyaṁ-geyuttam-ire tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi || Chikkama chikka magaṁ vibhavaḥke
 25 Kubēraṁṭige sēnasuvam rāyarumam mikkam Bichuṁṭiy-eu-
 26 dāryakk-āriṁ piriya-ātana-āriṁṭam Mallam || [6*]¹ Ātana taṇṭu-bhavaṁ ||
 27 Chāvunḍam Pārvasī-vallabha-charaṇa-sarōja-dvay-āmōda-bhri(ṛi)ṁṭam Chāvunḍ-
 28 ḍam tyāga-bhōg-ānubhava-Bhava-sukha-śrī-vadhū-nri(ṛi)tya-rarigaṁ Chāvunḍam
 sāma-
 29 bhōda-prabhru(ṛi)ti-[sa]kka-mamtr-āṁga-vidyā-samudraṁ Chāvunḍam vīra-vairi-
 pra-
 30 kara-samara-samghaṭa(tta)-kāḷ-āgni-Rudraṁ || [7*]² Yene negaḷd-ā Chāvunḍana
 masad-amam
 31 Nāgarājan-akshila³-niyōgaṇa⁴-enippa Divākaradēvana putraṁ Vāga-āva-
 32 y-āmhara-mitrāṁ || [8*]⁵ Tyāga-guṇakke tēy-vane samasta-nri(ṛi)pāla-niyōga-vā-
 33 rttaṇā-ērige nivāsam-iṣṭara viśiṣṭara tēṣaṇa-pōṣhaṇaṁṭa-olḷāga-
 34 ram-endu baṁṇi(pī)ṣuvud-ī dharm paṇḍita-pārijātanam Nāgaṇa-ā Janārddanana bha-
 35 kti-bhara-prabhav-ānurāgaṇam || [9*]⁶ Sadigana-Basavana agra.....⁷ kam
 36 Dēvarāja-mumpana tanayaṁ Jaṁgama-perusaṁ.....⁸ ra
 37 Saṁḡam priya-sutan-enippa Kalidēvarasaṁ || [10*]⁹ Kalidēvamuni-
 38 paṇ-ātmaṇa sale mūjagadōḷage meṇva māṇaṇa-dēvaṁ gelidaṁ asa(ā)na-
 39 beṣṇava¹⁰ chahalar-edhikaṁ Hāla-Basavidēva-munisam¹¹ || [11*]¹² Svasti samasta-
 40 bhuvan-āreyaṁ¹³ mahā-māhēvaram¹⁴ Kaviṇāsa-purava-
 41 r-ādhi(ś)vararum suvaṁṇa(vanṇa)-vīrabha¹⁵ dhvajam [tē]sathī-purātha¹⁶-pād-ārch-
 chaka-
 42 ruṁ mahā-liṅga-jaṁgama-prasāda-niyata(ru)ṁ sāma-
 43 ya-bhakti-sampanna(paṇṇa) śrī-Basavarājan-āṁ(ān)vayarum-appa tapa-chakra-
 44 [va]rtti¹⁷ vīra-bhakti Hāla-Basavidēvaṁṭe ā mahāpradhānam Bā-
 45 ṭṭa-rājya-pratiśṭhā-ābhāryaṇum-appa Nāgaressarū S(ś)aka-varuṣam sōara-
 46 da-nūra-yumbhatta-yeraḍaneya Siddhārthi(tthi)-samvachharada¹⁸ Chai-
 47 tra bahula amāṣa Sōma-vāra sūryya-grahanaḍalli Hūḷ(ge)-
 48 reya Sōmanāthadēvara sām(na)ṇiḷhiyalli ā Chauli-Settiyar-ā

¹ Metre : Kanda.

² Metre : Sragdharā.

³ Read akshila.

⁴ Read niyōgaṇa.

⁵ Metre : Kanda.

⁶ Metre : Uṭpalamāli.

⁷ The letters crossed are probably for Saṁghaṭa.

⁸ Probably the missing word is āreya.

⁹ Metre : Kanda.

¹⁰ Read vīra.

¹¹ Read śam.

¹² Metre : Kanda.

¹³ Read āreya.

¹⁴ Read śam.

¹⁵ Read vīrabha.

¹⁶ Read purātha.

¹⁷ Read tapas-chakravartī.

¹⁸ Read samantavarada.

49. t[^{*}]t[^{*}]tha-viśśa(sha)mam besagojalu Nāle-nā[^{*}]ola[^{*}]g[^{*}]ma [manitansāli?] Kaviśśasa-
t[^{*}]ritham]
50. nālku-yugeda purāg-ōktadiṁ buda ksha(ō)trav-ed-ent-ēndade Kr[^{*}]jita-[yu]-
51. gadalli Kaviśśa-muni Kaviśśanātha trēyali Amkarija-muni² Amka-
52. nātha dvāparadalli Mahārija-muni³ Mahālingadēva kali-yugadalli
53. Kalirāja-muni Kalidēva nāma[^{*}] i(ō) muniga[^{*}] mukha⁴ samasta-gaṇē(ō)va-
54. raru āśāhisi sālōka-sāripya-sānipyā-sāyuj[^{*}]j[^{*}]avam padē-
55. da Ma[^{*}]h[^{*}]jādēvarige Amkanātha-vesarim amkavala taja-virtti⁵ ko-
56. ttasi kuruvanige i(ō) ba[^{*}]li Mādhātā-chakravartti bitta dhatir(ar)ama ā-
57. sirithi(tih)akk-ādū a(ō)śāsanāthav-embudam Chavudi-Sett[^{*}]iyaru kō[^{*}]i(ō)du Nāga-
58. rasarū tāva ākathar-āgi Kaviśśapurad-olage Svayambhu-Ma-
59. likārjuna Saṅgamēvara⁶ Nāgēvara⁷ yī māga-lūgakaṁ aṅga-
60. bhōga raṅga-bhōga jirṇa-ō[^{*}]dhārakkam pāraṇya jūgama-ā-
61. rādhanagam kottasi kuruvanige taja-virtti⁸ amkavala Kūm[^{*}]ji-
62. nājoḷu saluvante hejjugōya-habba vo[^{*}]d[^{*}]bhatto-dima somka
63. nū[^{*}]e[^{*}]t[^{*}]ina parihāra yūti-ñitumam sarva-ābādhi(a)-
64. sarva-namaṣyavam mō[^{*}]i Chavudi-Sett[^{*}]iyaru Nāgarasaru
65. yatirāya Hāla-Basavidēvāge pūrya-dattav-ēndu
66. dhārā-pūrvakam mādi kottaru ā Chavudi-Sett[^{*}]iyaru ni-
67. yāmadim Nāgarasaru puradim paduvālu torēya kō-
68. jida ba[^{*}]li niruvarie⁹ mērey-āgi mēge kalukāṭiga-gere
69. Basava-gō[^{*}]i baḍagalu Mosaraguttie¹⁰ rāra-vid[^{*}]du mōḍalu
70. jamehi-galla ha[^{*}]i Kuchchagōdiyim buda ba[^{*}]li niruvarie¹¹ tēhka-
71. lu torēya kūḍalu yī chatu-sim-ūbhyāntara Kaviśśapu-
72. radalli amka sīda taja sūrige ba[^{*}]j[^{*}]j[^{*}]ya-bōdhe gra[^{*}]ma-braya vi-
73. dhi mēkabhā amka t[^{*}]mka āpe gōsme mudre Nāgēvarake¹² Mallēvara¹³
74. ke kuruvanige Saṅgamēvarake¹⁴ pāraṇya jūgama-ār[^{*}]j[^{*}]a-
75. nēge kottasige i(ō) dhammake¹⁵ i[^{*}]du rīvarav-ēndu Nāgarasa[^{*}]ru ko[^{*}]i[^{*}]a
76. āśana¹⁶ i[^{*}]ā[^{*}] vā[^{*}]kum[^{*}] pātṭanarṅgaḷu Nāle-nāḍolage saṅtega[^{*}]a
77. āya-dāya ipaṭṭa kōṇana meyideye amka hadine[^{*}]a
78. t[^{*}]a samayavaraṇatā¹⁷ mūvaru baḷaju-bhakti bhōdavei-
79. la Kaviśśapuravē āśana¹⁸ vana Basavarājane āśanigan¹⁹ en-
80. du vubhaya-nānādōi²⁰ muchāuri-dar[^{*}]a[^{*}]r[^{*}]ga[^{*}]u ko[^{*}]i[^{*}]a [s(ō)śana] i[^{*}]a.

¹ Read *Kuśāla*.

² 'ai' is written above the line.

³ Read *mūḷiga*.

⁴ Read *vāḷi*.

⁵ Read *'āṇṇa*.

⁶ Read *'eriti*.

⁷ Read *'ip*.

⁸ Read *'āṇṇa*.

⁹ Read *dharmasāḍa*.

¹⁰ Read *stana*.

¹¹ Read *arumita*.

¹² Read *āśana*.

¹³ Read *āśana*.

¹⁴ Read *'āṇṇa*.

¹⁵ Read *'āṇṇa*.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Invocation to Śiva.

V. 2. Invocation to god Kallinātha.

V. 3. Praise of Saṅgana-Basava who had unflinching faith in the *Parītanas*, *Jangamas* and

Liṅga.

V. 4. The Yādava rulers held sway over the whole earth bounded by the four seas; among them was Śiṅghaṇa, the possessor of numerous horses. The son of his eldest son was Kannara who brought the whole earth under the shadow of his royal white umbrella.

V. 5. Praises of Kannara.

Ll. 16-24. The refuge of the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, the king of kings, *Paramāśvara*, *Paramahattāra*, lord of *Devārāvati*, the best of towns, the sun to the lotus of the Yādava family, destroyer of the world of hostile kings, a *Trinātra* (Śiva) to the Kāma, the Rājā of Mālava, terror of the ruler of the Gūrjara, the establisher of *Teluhgarāya*—*Pravāha-pratāpa-chakravartī* Kannaradēva was ruling at *Dēvagiri* in peace and wisdom; the dweller at his lotus-like feet,

V. 6. Bichugi, the younger son of Chikka, was the younger brother of Malla; Malla's son.

V. 7. Chāvuppa, worshipper of Śiva, was well versed in arts of diplomacy and war and a veritable Rudra to his foes.

V. 8. His dearest friend was the Niyūgi Nāgarāja, son of Divākaradēva of the Vāgasa family.

V. 9. Praises of this Nāga.

Vv. 10 & 11. Saṅgana-Basava's eldest....., *Dēvarāja's* son, the foremost among the *Jangamas*..... Saṅga (i.e. his) favourite son was Kalidēvarasa. The son of Kalidēva, the lord of ascetics, is Hāla-Basavidēva, the best of men in the three worlds, who has overcome the pain of hunger and thirst.

Ll. 39-50. The refuge of all the three worlds, *Mahāmāhātmya*, the lord of *Kaviṣāpura*, the best of towns, who had the insignia of a golden bull, was the worshipper of the feet of 63 *Parītanas*, believed in *Liṅga*, *Jangamas* and *Pravāha* and was the descendant of Basavarāja. Soch was Hāla-Basavidēva. *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa, the establisher of the Ratta kingdom, and Chaudī-Setṭi requested him for the history of *Kaviṣāsa-tirtha* of Nāle-nālu, on Monday, the new moon (tithi) of the dark half of Chaitra, during a solar eclipse in the year Siddhārthi (corresponding to) the Śaka year 1182, while residing at the temple of *Sōmanātha* in *Huligere*.

Ll. 50-55. These give the history of the place during the four *yugas*.

Ll. 55 & 56. The emperor Māndhātā gave to the god under the name *Aākanātha*, this village (i.e., *Kaviṣāpura*), the fields and the dues from them, viz., *kottasi* and *kuvānige*.

Ll. 56-58. Hearing that it had before been granted to the god, Chaudī-Setṭi and Nāgarasa together gave it to the prince of ascetics, Hāla-Basavidēva, along with the taxes *kottasi*, *kuvānige*, *talavēṭṭi*, *amkavala* in the Kūṇḍi province and tolls on one hundred cattle-loads during the festival called *Hejjuggiya-halaba*, for renovating the temples of, and conducting worship to, the gods *Svayambhū*, *Malikārjuna*, *Saṅgamēśvara* and *Nāgēśvara* and also for the purpose of feeding *Jangamas*.

Ll. 66-76. At the command of Chaudī-Setṭi, Nāgarasa made an allotment of the dues from the village of *Kaviṣāpura*, the boundaries of which are specified. Of the dues from *Kaviṣāpura* the tolls, *aāda*, *talā*, *nāṇḍi*, *talavēṭṭi*, *grāma-braya*, *amk*, *talaka*, *ṣya*, *glaṇa*, *mudra* and *nidhi* and *nīkshēpa* were assigned to *Nāgēśvara*; the *kuvānige* to the god *Mallēśvara* and *kottasi* to the god *Saṅgamēśvara* and for feeding the *Jangamas*.

11, 76-80. The four town-guilds gave the dues from fairs in Nūle-nāḥa, the tax on buffaloes and tolls. There is no difference between the eighteen castes and the sixty-three Bapaju devotees. The *nūnādēśis* and *mummuridaḥḥas* made this grant with the consideration that the place of the grant is Kaviḥḥapura and the donee Basavarāja.

No. 3.—A NOTE ON THE ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

In the transcript of the Arjunavāda inscription published above, Mr. Srikantha Sastri's reading of the tenth verse is defective and, I think, requires correction. It is true that portions of the verse are damaged. But the impression would show that only one letter is completely lost in L. 35 and two more letters, one of which occurs in the same line and the other in the next line (L. 36), are only partly mutilated and can be restored with certainty. Since the letters *signiḥḥa* and the *i* sign of the mutilated letter in L. 35 are clearly visible, the broken letter with which the *i* vowel is connected might be safely read as *h*. Only one more short letter will be wanting to complete the metre of the verse and that letter which is now lost must have been *ya*. In the next line, the bottom portion of the mutilated letter and the *ā* sign attached to it would indicate that the letter in all probability was *Kā*. With this restoration the verses will be read as:—

L. 35 Saḥgana-Basavaṇa agra[*ja*] h[*h*]gaikam

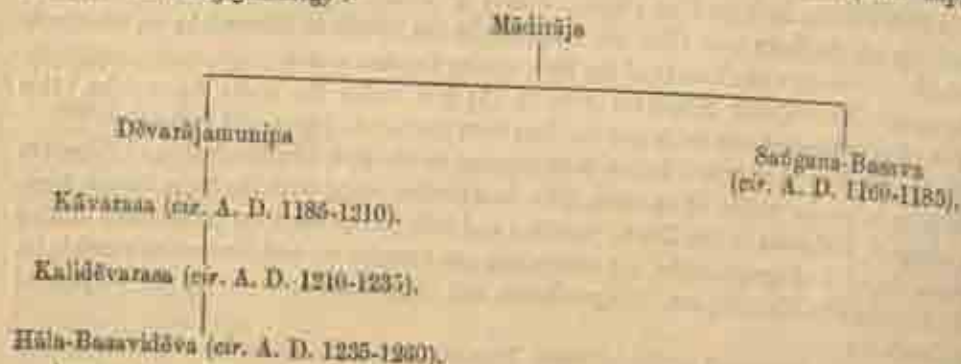
L. 36 Dēvarāja-munipana tanayaṁ [i*] jaṅgama-parusaḥ [Kā]vara.

L. 37 saḥgana priya-sutan-enippa Kalidēvarasaḥ

Accordingly the translation of the stanzas will be like this:—

"Saḥgana-Basava's elder brother who was absorbed in the *linga* was Dēvarājamunipa; to his son [Kā]varasa, who was a touchstone to the *Jaṅgamas*, was born the dear son Kalidēvarasa."

The verses, thus, becomes very important from a historical point of view, for it supplies us with the genealogy of Saḥgana-Basava and his descendants for three generations. This has not been properly made out by Mr. Srikantha Sastri, in his interesting article, and I should like to elucidate it here. From the next verse (i.e., v. 11) we learn that Kalidēva's son was Hāla-Basavidēva, the donee of the present grant; and lines 5 and 9 tell us that Saḥgana-Basava was a son of Mādīrāja, the lord of Hāgarvāḍi. Thus, the inscription supplies us with the following genealogy:—



As a matter of fact, it is in this genealogy that the value of the inscription chiefly lies, for it enables us to determine the period in which Saḥgana-Basava flourished and to identify him with the great Lingayat reformer of that name. The record tells us that Chandī-Setṭi, a minister of the Yadava king Kannara (i.e., Kṛishṇa), and his friend Nāgarasa granted the village Kaviḥḥa-

purs to the ascetic Hāla-Basavidēva in Śaka 1182 (=A.D. 1260). If we suppose this to be the last year of Hāla-Basavidēva and allot him a period of 25 years, his date would be about A. D. 1235-1260. As we have seen above, two generations intervene between Saṅga-Basava and Hāla-Basavidēva. Allowing roughly 25 years for each generation we get A. D. 1160-1185 as the approximate time of Saṅga-Basava. According to the *Basavarājalekha Ragala*, the *Basava-Purāṇa* and the *Chenna-Basava-Purāṇa*, the great reformer Basava, who was also known as Saṅga-Basava and who was the son of Mādirāja of Bagevādi, was a minister of the Kala-churya king Bijjala, who, we know, ruled from A. D. 1156 to 1167. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Saṅga-Basava of the Arjunavāda record is identical with the 'Apostle of Lingāyatana' of that name. Thus we have in this record the first epigraphical confirmation of the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Basava, the reviver of the Vira-saiva faith, with king Bijjala.

No. 4.—CHAUDALA GRANT OF HARIHARA : SAKA-SAMVAT 1313.

By G. V. ACHARYA, B.A., BOMBAY.

The plates bearing this inscription were purchased by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, from Mrs. Da Cunha of Bombay for the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, where they are at present exhibited. The source from which they came originally is not known. They are three in number, each plate measuring 10" by 6½". Their edges are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface to serve as rims for protecting the writing. The second plate is inscribed on both sides, while the first and the third, on one side only. All of them are in a good state of preservation. No ring or seal is attached to them. In weight they are 257 *tolas*.

The inscription incised on these plates is written in Nāgarī script and Sanskrit language. The invocatory as well as the genealogical portion of it (vv. 1-10, ll. 1-36) is in verse but the rest (ll. 37-91) is in prose. It opens with invocations to Śiva, the bear incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Earth (vv. 1-3). Then the city of Vijayanagara is described (v. 4). According to verses 5 and 6, Saṅga was born in the family of Yadu, his son was Bukkarāja and his son was Harihara. In the next verse we are told that king Harihara ruled the earth bounded by the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā, the eastern ocean, the Setu and the western ocean. Verses 8 and 9 relate to the conquest of Gōvā, the capital of Koṅkana, from the Turushkas by the minister Mādhava, and the re-consecration there of the images of Saptanātha and other gods. Next comes the description of Mādhava, who is stated to be the son of the Brahman Chāmuṇḍa of the *Bhāradvāj-śrautya*. He was governing the province of Koṅkana under the orders of the king. He was the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Saiv-āgamas*, the author of *Kāvyas*, performer of *Mohādānas* and the teacher of *Nītiśāstra* (v. 10 and ll. 37-40). While he was seated on the throne at Gōvāpura, on the date specified, he made the gift of the village Paramarāpa in the Vārasa-janopada, forming it into an *agrahāra* and renaming it Chaudalāpura, after his father, to 21 learned Brahmans of different *gōtras*. The object of this charter is to record this gift. The concluding portion states that the minister Naraharidēva purchased two of the granted *vratis* from their holders and made a gift of them to Viṭṭhala-Pattavaridhama of the Kāśyapa-gōtra. This Naraharidēva, we learn, belonged to the Atri-gōtra and was the son of Brahmarasa. He was a disciple of the (sage) Vidyāśankara and had been installed by Mādhavarāja (ll. 41 to 91).

The grant was issued in the Śaka year 1313 expired and the cyclic year Prajāpati, on the new moon *tithi* of Chaitra and Wednesday at the time of the solar eclipse, during Aśvini-nakṣatra

and *Prīti-gōga*. According to L. D. Swamikanam Pillai's *Ephemeris* the date regularly corresponds to A.D. 1391, April 5, Wednesday, on which day there was a solar eclipse.

The *Mādhavarāja* of the present grant has to be identified with *Mādhava*, the minister of Bukka I, who figures in the *Hārēmmahādī-agraśāra* inscription¹ of A. D. 1368, which also describes him as the son of the Brahman Chirugūḍa, the *Upaniśānmūṛṣa-pravāṣhā-guru* and a follower of the tenets of pure Śaivism as taught by the Śaiva teacher Kāśhivilāsa-Kīrtīśanti. That the grant under publication mentions him as a scion of the Bhāradvāja family (*anaga*) would support the identification, for Bhāradvāja is only a division of the Āngirasa-gōtra. This *Mādhavarāja* also figures as a minister of Harihara II² in another grant of the same year, i.e., Śaka 1313, which was published long ago.³ The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of *Mādhava's* father and gives the name of his mother, i.e., *Madhāmbikā*, and of his elder brother Bhāskara. Some of the verses are common to both of these charters (vv. 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the present grant). The details of the date recorded in them are practically the same, though the months are differently named. The charter that has already been published wrongly gives *Vaiśākha* in place of *Chaitra*. Both the grants were issued on the same date, i.e., on the 5th of April, 1391 (A. D.)⁴. As has already been pointed out by Kielhorn, and is substantiated by the present grant, the date concerned pertains to the *amānta* month of *Chaitra*.⁵ As Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhaiah has shown, *Mādhava* flourished between A. D. 1347 and 1391⁶. The conquest of *Gōvā* by *Mādhava* mentioned in these records must have happened before Śaka 1309 (=A. D. 1386) as in that year he was already known as the 'Lord of *Gōvā*'. The copper plate alluded to above shows that *Narahariḍēva*, the minister, was sent to *Goa* to succeed *Mādhava* as the governor of *Jayantīpura-maṇḍala* after the latter's death, which must have happened shortly after the issue of the present grant. *Vidyāsākhara*, the guru of *Narahariḍēva*, was another name of the famous *Vidyāttirtha*, the guru of the brothers *Mādhavāchārya* and *Sāyana*, who considered him as an incarnation of *Mahādeva*.⁷

The list of the donees mentioned in the charter is as follows :—

No.	Gōtra.	Father's name.	Name of the Donee.
1	Kātyapa	Rāmadēva-Pattavaradhana	Vāmana-Pattavaradhana.
2	Vaiśākha	Mahādeva-Bhāṭṭa	Dimōdara-Bhāṭṭa.
3	"	Niraja-Bhāṭṭa	Ajja-Bhāṭṭa.
4	Kātyapa	Rāmadēva-Bhāṭṭa	Hari-Bhāṭṭa.
5	Bhāradvāja	Nāgādēva-Bhāṭṭa	Kṛṣṇa-Bhāṭṭa.
6	Vaiśākha	Vitthala-Bhāṭṭa	" "

¹ *Ep. Carv.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 281.

² The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri who noted this fact (*A. S. E.* 1907-08, p. 244) has not identified him with *Mādhava* the Śaiva minister of Bukka I.

³ *J. B. E. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 115.

⁴ Kielhorn's *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 471.

⁵ 1662, p. 86, f. a. 8 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 271.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ *A. S. E.*, Vol. I, 1928-29, p. 82.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, p. 3.

No.	Gotra.	Father's name.	Name of the Donor.
7	Vasishtha	Mahādēva-Bhatta	Hari-Bhatta.
8	Ātrēya	"	Jānu-Bhatta.
9	Parāśara	Rāma-Bhatta	Mallāra-Bhatta.
10	Kāśyapa	Nārāya-Jyōtirvid	Gaṅgādhara-Jyōtirvid.
11	Bhāradvāja	Mahādēva-Bhatta	Dāmōdhara-Bhatta.
12	"	Ajjam-Bhatta	Mahādēva-Bhatta.
13	"	Nārāya-Bhatta	"
14	"	Vitthala-Bhatta	Saṭam-Bhatta.
15	Ātrēya	Mallinātha-Bhatta	Nārāya-Bhatta.
16	Bhāradvāja	Vitthala-Bhatta	Namhari-Bhatta.
17	Vasishtha	Gōvinda-Bhatta	Ananta-Bhatta.
18	Bhāradvāja	Ajjam-Bhatta	Kṣāra-Bhatta.
19	"	"	Jānu-Bhatta.
20	Sāṅgītya	Bhūmadēva	Harihara.
21	Bhāradvāja	Ambayya	Parṇappa.

Of these *grāntas*, Nos. 9 and 10 were purchased from their holders and donated to Kṛishṇa-Pattavardhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Pattavardhana of the Kāśyapa-*gotra*, by the minister Naraḥari-dēva.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: Vv. 1 and 2, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3, 4, 5, 7 and 10 *Sārdūlavikrīṭita*; v. 6 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 8 and 9 *Indravajrā*.]

Plate I.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमः शिवा-
- 2 य । नमस्तुंगशिरर्धुविचंद्रचामरचार-
- 3 वे । वैलोक्यनगरारंभमु(मू)लक्ष्माय शंभवे ॥ [१^०] ज-
- 4 यत्वेव जगदीजं लीलाकोलः प्रियत्रियः । यस्य
- 5 दंष्ट्राकुटे भूमिरुत्पलपत्रवायते ॥ [२^०] कंदलं क-
- 6 मटेभरः फणपतिर्निलत्वमालंबी
- 7 वर्षाणां ततयो दत्तावजितुलामाश्रय य-
- 8 स्त [स्त्रि]ताः । त्रिंशत्कल्पचिह्नं कुलाचलकु-
- 9 लं मेरुच सत्कर्षिकालीनां यत्र दधाति

¹ From the plates as well as from the impressions.

- 10 भाति तदिदं रम्यं रसा(स)[स्वा]रसं ॥[३*] श्या-
 11 तो भारतवर्षदक्षिणदले देशोऽस्य कर्णो-
 12 टकस्तन्मध्ये विजयाहयास्ति नगरी सा-
 13 रातिभिर्दुर्गया । या कृत्वोपरिवर्तिनी-
 14 मपि पुरं लिप्थोरध[ः*]स्तेर्गुणे[ः*] शुभ्वाभंलि-
 15 ज्जम्भ्यनिर्मलरुचा मन्ये जमत्युजिता [३०*]
 16 [वं]शे यदोरभिनवांश इवाच्युतस्य शीलं-
 17 गमादजनि संगररंगभोमः । शोचुकरा-
 18 ज इति धिक्कृतशत्रुरेष तामध्यनिष्ठदश
 19 मध्यमलोकपालः ॥[३*] तत्पुनस्त्रपदं प्रशास्ति
 20 बलिजिह्वस्त्रविष्टिधुरस्तुर्दृढावततत्पर-
 21 य सुमहासिन[ः*]नित्यतस्तदगुणैः । शोचुकरा-
 22 भवमंगल इति शोपत्युमाकांतयो[वु(र्य)कृत्वा]-
 23 दिह लज्जणैरहरिहराख्यां यो वक्तव्यम्-

Plate II : First Side.

- 24 लां ॥[३*] आकृष्टास्त्रसरिहरोत्तरतटादापूर्वपाद्योजि-
 25 घेरासितोरवनी चिरादवति सत्यापु(प)श्चिमांभोनि-
 26 धेः । श्यातेस्त्रिगुणनामभिर्हरिहरे राजाधिरा-
 27 जादिभिस्त्रावर्षीपतिभौलिलालितपदांभोजि ।
 28 मघीवक्षमे ॥[३०*] तस्याहया माधवमंविष्यो दिशं
 29 जिगोपुर्महता बलेन । गोवाभिर्धा कौकणराज-
 30 धानोमन्येन मन्येरुणदर्शनेन ॥[८*] प्रतिष्ठितास्त-
 31 य तुरुष्कसंधानुत्तय दोषा भुवनैकवीरः ।
 32 उन्मूलितानामकरोत्यतिष्ठां श्रीमत्तनाथादिभु-
 33 धाभुजां यः ॥[८*] भारद्वाजसदन्वितान्वयसुधावारा-
 34 शितारापतिधामुंडाभिधभूभुरेद्रतनयो मंचीश्वरो
 35 माधवः । श्रामल्लोकणनीहतं हरिहरशोणोपतेरा-
 36 जया धर्मानं कुरयत्यसज्जनशिखिज्वालौघदग्धा-
 37 म्पुनः ॥[१०*] स च निर्विनाशिलभूषात्मस्वर्षोपनिषदां व्या-
 38 कर्ता श्रीवाममानां प्रकाशयिता काव्यानां कर्ता म-

- 39 ज्ञादानानां विधाता नोतिशास्त्रोपदेशा सकल-
 40 गुणालंकृतो माधवराजो गोवापुरवरसिंहास-
 41 नमधितिष्ठन्माल(ग्नालि)वाहनशक्ते वर्षाणां त्रयोदशो-
 42 त्तरचयोदशग्रन्थामतोतायां वर्तमानप्रजाप-
 43 तिसंवस(त्स)रे चैवमासे समावास्यायां सौम्यशरे च-
 44 त्विनीनक्षत्रगते पुष्यदंते प्रोतियोगे सूर्योप-
 45 रागे पुष्यकाले वारसनामजनपदे परमरू-
 46 पनामग्रामं स्वपितृनाम्ना चौडलापुराभिधान-
 47 मग्रहारं कृत्वा योनिगोच(त्रु)त(त)िलसंपन्न-

Plate II : Second Side.

- 48 भवतुर्दशविद्यापरिणतेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यः
 49 ऋक्शास्त्राध्यायिभा(भ्य) एकविंशतिवाङ्मणे- ।¹
 50 भ्यः सर्वनमस्यं प्रादात् । तेषां नामगोचवि-
 51 चरणं यथा काश्यपगोचस्य रामदेवपट्टव-
 52 र्धनपुत्रस्य वामनपट्टवर्धनस्य हस्तिरेका
 53 वासिष्ठगोचस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामो-
 54 दरभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका । वासिष्ठगोचस्य नारल-
 55 भट्टप(पु)त्रस्य अज्जभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका काश्य(प)-
 56 पगोचस्य रामदेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभट्टस्य
 57 हस्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोचस्य नागदेवभट्टपु-
 58 त्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका । वासिष्ठगोच-
 59 स्य विह्वलभट्टपुत्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका ।
 60 वासिष्ठगोचस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभ-
 61 ट्टस्य हस्तिरेका आच्यगोचस्य महादेवभट्टपु-
 62 त्रस्य जानुभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका पराशरगोचस्य ज्यो-
 63 रामभट्टपुत्रस्य सैलारभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका काश्य-
 64 पगोचस्य नारणज्योतिर्विष्णुचस्य गंगाधर-
 65 ज्योतिर्विदो हस्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोचस्य महा-
 66 देवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामोदरभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका भा-
 67 रद्वाजगो(गो)चस्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य महादेवभट्ट-

¹ The stroke is not necessary.

- 68 स्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नारणभट्ट-
69 पुत्रस्य महादेवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भा[र]-

Plate III.

- 70 द्वालयगोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य शशभट्ट-
71 स्य वृत्तिरेका चाच्यगोत्रस्य सज्जिनाथभट्ट-
72 पुत्रस्य नारणभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाज-
73 गोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य नरहरिभट्टस्य
74 वृत्तिरेका वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य गोविंदभट्टपुत्र-
75 स्य अनंतभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्र-
76 स्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य क(क)ेशवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका
77 भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य जानुभट्ट-
78 स्य वृत्तिरेका शांतिगोत्रस्य भोमदेव(पु)त्रस्य
79 हरिहरस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य अकं(क)ण्ठपु-
80 त्रस्य पंमण्ठपुत्रस्य वृत्तिरेका एवमेकविंशतिब्राह्म-
81 णानां नामनीचविवरणं ॥ तत्र सैलारभट्टस्य वृत्ति-
82 गंगाधरज्योतिर्विंदो वृत्तिं च पवित्राग्निगोत्रसं-
83 भूतो ब्रह्मरसात्मजो विद्याशंकरकृपावलोक-
84 नमुधासिक्तेन संवर्धितो माधवराजिन कृतः ।²
85 प्रतिष्ठः श्रीमाधवरहरिदेवनामा नं(मं)चोम-
86 रो राजसंसदि तदग्रामोणब्राह्मणपीठपरिवा-
87 रजनसमत्वं सम्यत्त्वेन क्रीत्वा तं हे ह-
88 स्ती काश्यपगोत्राय विठ्ठलपट्टवर्धनपुत्रस्य
89 कश्यपपट्टवर्धनास्ते विद(दु)ष्टे ब्राह्मणाय स्त्रीपु-
90 त्राद्यनुमतेन हरि(र)ज्योदकदानधारापूर्वकं सं-
91 प्रादात् ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verses 1 to 3: Invoke Śiva, Viṣṇu in the form of the Bear, and the Earth.

V. 4. The impregnable city of Vijayanagara in the Karṇāṭaka country which lies to the south of Bhāratavarṇa excelled the city of Indra.

Vv. 5 and 6. In the family of Yadu was born Saṅgama; his son Bukkarāja, the conqueror of enemies, was ruling that city. To him was born Harihara, the destroyer of his enemies.

¹ Read पुत्रस्य

² The stroke is no necessary.

V 7. While this king was ruling the earth from the northern bank of the river Kṛṣṇā to the Sāta and from the eastern to the western ocean, his feet were worshipped by all the kings.

Vv. 8 and 9. By his command, Mādhava, the chief of ministers, set out with a large army to conquer the quarters and captured Gōvā, the capital of Koṅkaya. And having killed the Turnahkas who were established there, he re-instated the gods Saptanātha and others who had been removed by them.

V. 10. By Harihara's command this minister Mādhava, the moon to the ocean of the Bhāradvāja family, the son of the Brahman Chātrupā, was protecting the Koṅkaya country and re-establishing the *Dharma* which had been destroyed by the wicked.

Ll. 37 to 41. This Mādhavarāja, the conqueror of all kings, the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Saṁśāgamas*, the author of *śāstras*, the performer of *mahādānas*, the teacher of *nirvāstra*, being seated on the throne of Gōvā, the best of cities.

Ll. 41 to 50. When 1313 Śaka years had elapsed, on Wednesday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the month of Chaitra in the year Prajāpati, the sun being in the constellation Aśvini, the *yōga* being Prīti, during a solar eclipse, gave to 21 Brahmins, who were of good birth and learned in the fourteen *vidyās*, who were devoted to the six *karmas* and were the students of the *Ṛk-śākhā*, the village of Paramarūpa in the Vāraṇ-janapada, making it into an *agrahāra* called Chaudalāpura after his father's name.

Ll. 50 to 81. Names, etc., of the donces (see list above).

Ll. 81 to 91. The minister Naraharidēva, son of Brahmarasa, who had been reared up by the favour of (the sage) Vidyāśankara, and was installed by Mādhavarāja, purchased two of these *ervits* from Maillāra-Bhaṭṭa and Gaṅgādhara, the astrologer, and gave them in the royal court before the Brahmins and other inhabitants of the village to the learned Brahman Kṛṣṇa-Paṭṭavardhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavardhana.

No. 5.—KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMMAN.

By G. RAMDAS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These are three copper-plates which were discovered by a cultivator of Koroshandā, a village six miles to the south of Parakimīṇi in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency, while he was ploughing his field. The inscription incised on them has been edited by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*¹, but without any facsimile. Owing to certain defects in the reading, re-editing of this record is necessary and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphists for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in this journal.

Each plate is 7½" long and 2" broad and has a ring-hole about ½" in diameter on its left side. I found neither a ring nor a seal attached to them. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on their inner side but the second plate bears writing on both sides.

The alphabet of the plates resembles that of the Poddavāgi plates of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II² and of the Bṛhatprōsthā grant of Umavarman.³ The inscription under notice is written in Sanskrit and is in prose throughout, except for the two imprecatory verses *śakubhāṅg* etc., and *śaṅkh(i)ṁ* etc., which come at the end. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted: (1) consonants are generally doubled after *r*, e.g. *śarva-* (l. 5), *karmma* (l. 6), *kartavyam* (l. 8) and *murgga* (l. 12); (2) the *opadhmānuja* is used in line 4; (3) the final form of it

¹ Vol. XIV, pp. 282 ff.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff.

occurs in line 8; and (4) the numerical symbols for 7 and 20 occur in lines 8 and 9 respectively. The symbol for the latter figure is rather noteworthy.

The inscription records that *Mahārāja Viśākṣavarman*, "who was a worshipper of the gods" and "devoted to the feet of (his) father", granted the village *Tampōyaka* in *Kōrāsōḍaka-Pañchālī* to *Viśṇuśarmman*, *Śrīśiṣhārman*, *Agnīśarmman*, *Nagārman* and *Sivaśarmman*, all of whom belonged to the *Atrēya-gotra* and were the residents of the village *Sabarathāpāja*. The grant was made for increasing the merit of the donor's father who was in heaven. The date of the grant was the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of *Hemanta* in the 7th year (of the king's reign).

The family to which *Viśākṣavarman* belonged is not stated in the charter. But from the *Chinacole* grant of *Indravarman*¹ we learn that the division *Kōrāsōḍaka-Pañchālī*, which is also mentioned in the present grant (l. 2), formed a part of the *Kālīga* country. This would suggest that *Viśākṣavarman* was a *Kālīgādhipati* (i.e., the chief of *Kālīga*) like *Umavarman* of the *Brīhatprōṣhthā* grant, *Chandavarman* of the *Komarti* Plates² and *Saktivarman* of the *Rāgōla* plates.³

Of the places mentioned in the charter, *Śrīpura*, where the king resided at the time of the grant, may be the *Siripuram* (18° 53' N. Lat.; 83° 50' E. Long., Indian Atlas) which now forms part of the *Zamindari* of *Vāvilavalam* in the *Vizagapatam* district. It is only 3 miles south of the *Nāgavālī* river on whose northern bank *Varāhavarman*, the well-known district of *Kālīga*, was situated. *Siripuram* is not far away from *Viśākṣapattanam* (modern *Vizagapatam*) which is said to have been designated after the god *Viśākṣasvamin* who was worshipped there. Possibly *Viśākṣavarman*, the donor of this grant, built a temple in that locality and named the god enshrined in it after himself. *Kōrāsōḍaka-Pañchālī* must have comprised the region round the modern village *Koroshagā* where the plates were found. *Tampōyaka* I am not able to identify.

TEXT.*

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 स्मृतिः¹ विजयश्रीपुराणरमदेवतः² वषभहारकपादमन्त्रः श्रीमहाराजः
- 2 विशाखवर्मा कोरामीडकपचात्रा³ तपोधकग्रामे कुटुम्बिनः
- 3 समाज्ञापयति चरत्पय ग्रामोन्माभिरश्चवषभहारकपादानां

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 सुरलोकादप्रच्युतानां भूयःपुष्पाध्यायनाय चापन्द्रताराकंप्रति-
- 5 ह्रमसहारं कृत्वा सर्वैकरमरेव परिहृत्य चावेयसगोत्रे-
- 6 भ्यः गङ्गमेण्डकविष्णुशर्मोद्योतिशर्मोपमिशर्मोनागशर्मोशिवशर्मो(श्रु)-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 7 भ्यः⁴ संपदसप्तदेवमवेत्य पुर्वोचितसर्वादाभिस्त्वोपपन्नान्
- 8 कर्त्तव्यमिति⁵ चाज्ञामीकश्रीदेवः⁶ [न]वत् ७ ह्रम ७
- 9 अथ च व्यासगोत्रो हो श्रीको दिवस २०⁷

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ From the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁵ Read "वचात्रा".

⁶ Cf. G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of India*, plate LXXII (lower), last column.

KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMAN.

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Third Plate : First Side.

- 10 वहुभिर्वहुधा दत्ता वसुधा वसुधाधिपैः [१*] यस्य यस्य
 11 यदा भूमि[स्तस्य] तस्य तदा फल[म्] [२*] पट्टिं वर्षमहस्याणि
 12 स्मर्त्तुं मोदति भूमिदः [३*] चाक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
 वसेत् [४*]

No. 6.—SADDO ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 104.

By SREN KONOW.

Saddo is a village on the left or eastern bank of the Panjkora river, to the west of the Katgala pass, on the road from Swāt to Chitral, where a bridge leads across the river.

Cunningham discovered a stone inscription in Kharōṣṭhī characters at this place, and his servants copied it 'under great difficulties, and not without danger'.

When I prepared the edition of Indian Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I did not succeed in my efforts to get estampages or photographs of the record, and I could therefore only reproduce Cunningham's plate, without any attempt at an explanation*.

I owe it to the kind assistance of Mr. Hargreaves that I can now publish a reliable reproduction. On the 29th October 1930 he sent me two estampages, prepared by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasiud Din, who had been good enough to add the following information: 'The inscription is situated on the rocky bank (left) of the Panjkora river, between the ruined and existing bridges, which are only a furlong apart. The inscribed boulder is quite smooth and naturally sloped like a camel-back, with no sign of dressing. It is outwardly $5\frac{1}{2}' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ in size, of a dun-buff colour, like the rest of the bluff jutting out into the river. It is only 48 ft. upstream from the broken pier of the ruined bridge, and being on the same level, is submerged in the current for four months in the year, i.e., May to August. It is therefore at the mercy of the torrent which carries a timber trade, besides trees and other things, when inundated.'

We learn from this note that more than one bridge has been constructed in this place, and we also understand why the inscription has suffered so much in the course of time. A comparison of Cunningham's plate will, however, show that not much has disappeared since his copy was made, and also that his assistants have faithfully reproduced what they could see on the rock.

The characters are Kharōṣṭhī, of the same type as in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription. Some details will be mentioned below.

The inscription covers a space measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and contains remnants of four lines, of varying length. The height of the *akṣaras* is 3 to 5 inches.

In l. 1 Cunningham's plate has five *akṣaras*, of which only the first and third are visible in the estampages. The first is a distinct *wa* in the plate, but the estampage shows that the left bar is prolonged upwards and perhaps ends in a curve to the left. I have not met with a

* *A. S. B.*, Vol. V, pp. 62 f., and plate XVI, No. 5.* *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 9 f.

was of this shape in any other Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The nearest approach to our *akshara* is the *ma* of *damamukh(o)* in the Dharmarājikā inscription No. 13, and it is possible that we should read *ma* here. The second *akshara* visible in the estampage can hardly be anything else than *dhe*. In one of my estampages the *e*-stroke is unmistakable, and the *akshara* itself is almost identical with the *dhe* of the Mathurā elephant inscription².

I cannot make anything out of these letters. If the intervening *akshara* were *ra*, we might think of an old form of *surunda*, which must, in some way, be connected with Śaka *ree*, gen. *ruṇḍā*, king. But I should not like to suggest such an explanation.

In l. 2 the first *akshara* which can be read stands below the *dhe* of l. 1, and is so like the *da* of Takht-i-Bāhī II. l. 6, that I have no hesitation in reading so.

Then follows an *akshara* consisting of a damaged vertical, of which only the top and the bottom remain, continued in a horizontal bent downwards into a shorter vertical, which is curved forwards at the bottom. So far as I can see, we can only read *da*.

The ensuing *akshara* is evidently *da*, cf. the *da* in Takht-i-Bāhī l. 4 and in the Pāṇi record.

It is followed by *ma*. In one of my estampages the right-hand bar is bent backwards at the top, but this bend is absent in the other estampage and in Cunningham's copy, wherefore we cannot well think of an irregularly placed *e*-stroke.

Then comes a distinct *ira* and two hooks, which I take to be the numerical figure for 4, twice repeated.

What can be read is accordingly *śaśadama-ira* 44, and, though the names of the months are not abbreviated in other Kharoṣṭhī records, I restore, with some confidence, *śaśadama(e)* Śas 4-4, in the four-hundredth (year, on the) 8, (of) Śrāvaga.

It is true that other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions present *śatama* for 'hundredth,' but this form is probably due to the analogy of ordinals such as *śatama*, *śatama*, and Pāli has *satama*.

What precedes [*śa*]*śadama* cannot be read. The existing traces can, however, be reconciled with the reading *śaśatara*, which we have before [*ti*]*śatama* in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.

L. 3 had already almost disappeared when Cunningham's copy was made. The two first *aksharas* are, however, legible, being *śa*, very similar to the *śa* in l. 3 of Takht-i-Bāhī.

The ensuing 10-12 *aksharas* are quite obliterated, though the first two or three bear a certain resemblance to the unidentified letters following after *śa* in Takht-i-Bāhī. They probably comprised some term for 'time', and the name of the person who had the inscription executed.

Under the *aksharas* *śa* of l. 2 there are traces of a letter which is like the *di* of l. 2 of Takht-i-Bāhī and one might think of restoring [*pra*]*di*-[*śa*]*śa*.

Then follows a fairly distinct *śha*.

At the beginning of l. 4 some *aksharas* have been lost. The first *akshara* of l. 3, however, runs down into the line so that not more than two or three letters can be missing. After the gap comes a distinct *ye*, and it is tempting to restore *śe**ye* or *śe**ye*, cf. Sanskrit *śtūka*, causeway, bridge. It seems to me as if it were possible to trace *se*. We should then have the sentence *pradistavide śha śe**ye*, this bridge was set up, but the reading is highly uncertain.

The next word is certainly *garukea*, but I cannot explain it. *Garu* is evidently the regular Prakrit form of Sanskrit *guru*, heavy, but *ke* remains unexplained. *Garukea* may be a name, but is more probably a noun meaning something heavy.

¹ C. I. E., Vol. II, Part 4, plate XVII, 5.

² Ibid., Pl. X, 1.

After *su* one *alshara* is lost, and then follows what looks like an *e*. I tentatively read *garu-Asarathae*, for the sake of the heavy...

It will be seen that my reading and explanation are rather unsatisfactory. The only thing which seems to be certain is that the inscription is dated in the year 104, and it can hardly be doubted that the era is the same as *e.g.*, in the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription.

In my edition of Kharōshthī inscriptions in the *Corpus* I have assumed that the first year of this era coincided with 84-83 B.C., in accordance with certain calculations made by the Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription was identified by him with the 10 March, A.D. 19, and our record would, similarly, belong to the 16 June, A.D. 20.

My chronology has, however, been severely criticized, especially by Professor Rapson¹, who thinks that we must make use of the Vikrama era, which was, according to him, established by Azes, as proposed by Sir John Marshall. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription would then correspond to 45 A.D., and the Saddo date to 46 A.D.

In the introductory remarks to my edition of the *Kharōshthī Inscriptions* (C. I. I., Vol. II, Part I) I have maintained that it is impossible to refer the dates in the old series of these records to the Vikrama era, if the Sodāsa inscription of the year 72 is dated in it, and I agree with Professor Rapson that such is the case.

But then he maintains that he has proved² that the Āmohini tablet is dated in the year 43 and not in 72, and his arguments have been accepted as final by Professor Charpentier³ and Mr. Jayaswal⁴. The latter scholar goes to the length of asserting that 'throughout the range of Indian epigraphy nowhere the symbol reads 70, and everywhere it reads 40', as if we had to do with a well-known and frequent sign.

I have not been able to accept Professor Rapson's learned and ingenious deductions, for several reasons. And now the Central Asian manuscript remains collected in Berlin have brought fresh light.

In a masterly article⁵ Professor Lüders has examined the decimal symbols occurring in certain old manuscript leaves written in early Kushāṇa characters, and shown that the \mathbb{H} symbol must there mean 40, because it is found in a continuous numbering immediately after 39. The St. Andrews cross occurs at least twice in page numberings, where the \mathbb{H} symbol is used for 40, and since all the other decimal symbols, except that for 70, are used in other folios, the St. Andrews cross can only mean 70. Professor Lüders has further traced the origin of the figure. It is formed from the symbol for 60, which occurs in a shape resembling a Kharōshthī *ja*, by adding a stroke to the left.

Professor Rapson remarks that 'much of the perplexity which scholars have found in their attempts to arrange the chronology of the Sakas and the Kushāṇas seems ... to be due to the belief caused by the reading "year 72" that the Great Satrap Sodāsa ruled ... so late as the second decade of the first century A.D.' And it would certainly make it impossible to refer the dates of the Āmohini tablet and the Patika plate to one and the same era.

Mr. Jayaswal's chronology, on the other hand, which leads to such results as that the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription is dated in the year 20 B.C., discards the unanimous results drawn from Chinese sources by leading sinologists such as Chavannes and Franke, and I must leave it to those who know Chinese and Chinese literature to judge about its merits.

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

² The date of the Āmohini tablet of Mathurā, in *Indian studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*. Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 49 ff. In another paper, which will be published in the *Acta Orientalia*, Professor Rapson maintains the same view, against Professor Lüders.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, lix, 1930, p. 210.

⁴ *J. R. O. R. S.*, xvi, p. 245.

⁵ *Acta Orientalia* X, pp. 118 ff.

After the manuscript of this paper had been sent to press, Sir John Marshall's excavations at Kalavān have brought to light a new record, which shows that Professor Rapson was right in referring the dates of the Takht-i-Bāhī and some other early inscriptions to the so-called Vikrama era, and that the Saddo record accordingly belongs to A.D. 46.

I have discussed the new epigraph in the October number of the *J. R. A. S.*, and prepared a paper on it for the *Epigraphia*. It shows that I was wrong in explaining the word *ayasa* in the Taxila silver scroll as corresponding to Skr. *āyasya*, and that it cannot therefore be utilized for calculating the era used in a series of Kharōṣṭhī dates. We must evidently accept Sir John's explanation, that *āyasa* is the genitive of the name *Āya*, *Azes*.

For reasons specified in the *Corpus*, I cannot, however, accept Sir John's further explanation, that *āyasa* characterizes the era as instituted by *Azes*. It must, I think, have another meaning, viz., to distinguish it from another reckoning, with which the inhabitants of Taxila were familiar.

And it seems to me that we have distinct indications to the effect that such an era existed, and was looked upon as a Saka institution. The reading of the Shahdant inscription¹ is uncertain and does not prove that it was designated as such. The matter would be different if Professor Thomas² is right in reading *sa* before the *ka* with which the inscription on the Taxila silver vase³ seems to open.

Mr. Hargreaves has been good enough to let his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, make a careful examination of the original, especially with a view to find out whether any letter preceded *ka*. He reported that no trace could be found. A plaster cast of the initial portion of the inscription, which Mr. Hargreaves has kindly sent me, seems, however, to show traces of an obliterated *sa*, and it is, besides, difficult to see what *ka* can be unless it is the remaining portion of *saka*.

It was in order to distinguish the era used in the Taxila silver scroll from this Saka reckoning that the word *āyasa* was added, and it was chosen, because the inhabitants of Taxila were so well acquainted with it from the numerous *Azes* coins that it was looked upon as a kind of symbol of the whole Parthian dynasty. The era was not, however, instituted by *Azes*, but by an Indian ruler, who made an end to Saka dominion in another quarter, viz., in Māhava, just as the Parthians had done in Taxila.

We must necessarily draw the inference that two different eras are used in the older series of Kharōṣṭhī records, one old Saka reckoning, and the Vikrama era. To the former we must apparently, *inter alia*, refer the Maira well, the Mansukhā, the Shahdant, the Patika plate, the Taxila silver vase, and probably also the Loryān Tangai, the Hastnagar, and the Starah Dhesi inscriptions; to the latter, *e.g.*, the Takht-i-Bāhī, the Saddo, the Panjtār, and the Taxila silver scroll records.

With every reserve I finally give the text and translation of the Saddo record:

TEXT.

- 1 *mu ... dhe ...*
- 2 [sambatsarne cha*] dūadanyo*] era 4 4
- 3 isa [pra*]dixatavide*] etha
- 4 [sedu*]ye garubessu(rīha*)je

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, No. IX.

² *Quintessence of Indian Archaeology* 1931, p. 2.

³ *C. I. I.*, No. XXX.

28A



TRANSLATION.

In the 104th year, the 8. Śrāvṣa, at this [instant, by . . .] was set up this bridge, for the sake of heavy

No. 7.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

By K. V. SUBRAMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The late Dr. Hultzsch noticed this inscription long ago¹ but did not give the text nor a critical analysis of its contents. In consideration of its historical importance I am editing it below. It seems that the record is not in its original position, for the different portions of it lie in different places, though in the same sanctuary, viz., the Kaṭṭisanātha temple at Conjeeveram. One piece is found in the floor of the *mūḍha-mandapa* and the other is built in the roof of the said temple. Both these pieces, in my opinion, go to make up section I of the record though some portions of it, especially at the middle and at the end, are not forthcoming. Similarly, the third fragment is found in the floor and the other fragment marked B-1 is to be found in the roof. These fragments put together would make up section II of the record, though here too, some portions have not been secured as yet. Each of the fragments A and A-1 contain an equal number of lines incised on them. The portion of the record giving the date (l. 8) which is found on the fragment A, seems to continue on the fragment marked B and 30 on the slab called B-1. I think that lines 16 to 45 of B continue on B-1 for, when put together, they read continuously.

The section marked I gives the genealogy of the Eastern Chāḷukya. Among the kings mentioned in it we find the names of Vijayāditya-Guṇakīṇḍa, i.e., Vijayāditya III, Chāḷukya-Bhīma I, Kollavigaṇḍa, i.e., Vijayāditya IV and Chāḷukya-Bhīma II (ll. 3-4). This Bhīma is compared to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma and is described as a warrior distinguished in many battles. After him comes Dānārṇava whose loot-stool, we are told, was made lustrous by the diadems of potentates like the Vaidumba and who was a worshipper of the God Paramēśvara. Paramēśvara (Bhīmēśvara). After this, the inscription gives the date in the following words:—

[Sā]ka-nri-pa-nuṇ-sata-saṁkhyā-vi śu gāṭṭaka trībhir-adhikēśu etc.

The letter vi which follows the words *nava-sata* and is clearly visible on the stone would indicate that the mutilated word is *viṁśa*. This being the case, the date of the inscription must be Śaka 923 expired (or 924 current) which corresponds to the year 1001-2 of the Christian era. The palaeography of the inscription would support this surmise.

Section II introduces Dānārṇava-Nripakāma (l. 17) stating that by defeating the armies of his enemies and despatching Kāmārṇava to heaven he accomplished all his desires. It then speaks of a chief called Jātāhōja-Bhīma-nripati, giving a number of his epithets, like the following — *Saṁgrāma-vijaya*, *Araṇa-ābharaṇa*, *Sukavi-chintāmayi*, *Kūṭi-Dilīpa*, *Satya-āvalāra*, *Samar-aikavīra*, *Paragaṇḍa-rūḍhaka*, *Dina-kalpadruma*, *Bhūpāla-Mēru*, *Achalita-vīra*, *Vikrama*, *Dhama-vijaya*, *Saujanya-dhatula*, *Dadhā-kāl-ānala*, *Anahāya-Vikrama*, *Bhūton-aikadīpaka*, *Āchāra-Bhagīratha*, *Kārmuka-Rāma*, *Apurāṇa-Idadhīchi*, *Vaṇa-ābhīrāma*, *Abhinav-Āntaka*, *Sūrya-kula*, *vāsa*, *Rāja-Makaradhvaja*, *Vikrānta-Chakravyūha*, *Somasta-rāj-āgrēya*, *Gōṇḍala-sākasa*, *Māna-sampūrva*, *Raṇa-meghēndra*, *Vīra-Naranaka*, *Karikāla-Chōḷa*, *Aricōja-bhīshaya*, *Tyāga-mahārṇava*, and *Nara-bīla-Rudra*. Thereafter comes a mutilated passage in Telugu which describes some achievements of this chief, namely, Jātāhōja-Bhīma. The

inscription ends by saying that "such a distinguished person was captured by king Rājārāja". It is true that only the initial letter of this name is now preserved, but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājārāja. We know that it was Rājārāja who was ruling over these parts in the Śaka year 323-4.

The fact that the chief who was captured by Rājārāja is herein called Karikāla-Chōja and that he claims descent from the Solar dynasty (*Sūrya-kula-cāra*), would show that he was of Teluga-Chōja origin and that he was in possession of the Eastern Chālukya territory during the period of confusion which followed the reign of Dānārṇava.

Though fragmentary, this inscription is very helpful for settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the Chōjas and of the Eastern Chālukyas. We know that Rājārāja I conquered the Vēṅgi country about the 14th year of his reign (A.D. 999) and the Kaliṅga country in the next year (A.D. 1000). The Tiruvālaṅgadu plates of Rājendra-Chōja I report that he defeated an Āndhra chief named Bhīma¹. We also know that Rājārāja invaded the Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga countries about A.D. 999-1000. We have to see who this Bhīma, whom he had routed, was. That he was the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya who bore the surname Mummudi-Bhīma and Birudaṅka-Bhīma² seems to be unlikely, for his dates do not go so far back as A.D. 999-1000³. Here it may be noted that the so-called *interregnum* in the Vēṅgi country had just then come to an end and that no Chōja king prior to the time of Rājārāja I had anything to do with the political situation in the Vēṅgi or Kaliṅga countries. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, we know of no king of the name of Bhīma who came after Dānārṇava and whom Rājārāja I had defeated in A.D. 999. The present inscription enables us to settle the question of his identification definitely, for while revealing his name it states that he was captured by Rājārāja I. Evidently, this chief got possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions in the confusion caused by the deposition of Dānārṇava. Though Dānārṇava was dispossessed of his kingdom about A.D. 973, he appears to have lived till A.D. 1000.

The second point of interest in the inscription is contained in the statement that Dānārṇava slew or defeated king Kāmārṇava, who, to judge from the name, must have been a member of the Eastern Gaṅga line. In this connection, it may be said, that the Vēṅgi and the Kaliṅga countries were fighting each other for some generations prior to the time of Dānārṇava. King Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888) claims to have conquered the Gaṅgas and to have received a tribute of elephants from the king of Kaliṅga⁴. Kollavigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya IV also claims to have conquered the ruler of Kaliṅga in A.D. 918 and to have ruled over the forests of Trikalīṅga⁵. Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925) is said to have held sway over the countries of Vēṅgi and Trikalīṅga⁶. The fact that Dānārṇava-Nripakāma despatched to heaven or defeated Kāmārṇava, which the inscription under notice has brought to light, is not only new to history but it also proves for certain that the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga were inimical towards one another. That the Kāmārṇava who was defeated by Dānārṇava must be identified with Kāmārṇava IV, i.e., the father of Vajrahasta IV, may be shown by working backward the period of rule of the Eastern Gaṅga kings from the date of accession of Vajrahasta V which fell in A.D. 1038⁷. Since Madhukāmārṇava, Guṇama II,

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 421, v. 82.

² *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1906, p. 68.

³ According to the Rameswaram grant Vimalāditya's accession to the throne took place in A.D. 1011, May 10, Thursday. (Above, Vol. VI, p. 349).

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 226.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 104.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

Kāmārṇava V and Vajrahasta IV are reported to have reigned for 19 years, 3 years, 6 months, and 35 years respectively, before the accession of Vajrahasta V, we get A.D. 980 or thereabouts for the end of the reign of Kāmārṇava IV. And since that king is said to have ruled for a period of 25 or 30 years his reign must have lasted from A.D. 955 or 955 to 980. These dates fall within the rule of Dānārṇava which commenced¹ in A.D. 970. It is very likely that the Eastern Gāṅgas made a counter invasion on Vēṅgi which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārṇava and given occasion also to the Telugu Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nripa to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions. Perhaps Dānārṇava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr² plates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II attribute to him a reign of 30 years, a period that exactly covers his actual reign of three years and the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years which immediately followed it, as reported in other Eastern Chālukya charters. What favoured these events seem to be the internal dissensions that were prevailing in the country for a long time as is clearly disclosed by the rule of kings Yuddhamalla, Bādapa and Pāja of the collateral branch of the Eastern Chālukyas. It would not be wrong, therefore, to surmise that the deposed king Dānārṇava applied for help to the Chōḷas against his enemies. In this connection, the following facts revealed by the Chōḷa and the Eastern Chālukya records are worthy of note. Vimalāditya's coronation is stated, in his Raṣastipūṇḍi grant³, dated in the 8th year of reign⁴, to have taken place in Śaka 933 (A. D. 1011). Since his predecessor Chālukya-chandra Śaktivarman is said to have reigned for 12 years before this date⁵, his accession must be placed in A.D. 999, which is very near the date when the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I invaded the Vēṅgi country. The invasion of Rājarāja I resulted in placing over the Vēṅgi country a member of the direct line of the Eastern Chālukyas, namely, Śaktivarman, whose brother Vimalāditya was married to Kundavā, the daughter of the invading Chōḷa king⁶. In view of these facts it may safely be surmised that the Chōḷas must have helped Dānārṇava at the time of his difficulties. This inference is further supported by the fact that the Chōḷa invader Rājarāja I captured Bhīma-nripa, who was then in possession of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, and proceeded straightway against the Kalinga country and subdued it.

The date of the accession of Śaktivarman to the Eastern Chālukya throne being A.D. 999, as shown above, the period of the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years in the Vēṅgi country and the rule of Dānārṇava for 3 years before it, must fall in A.D. 972-3 to 999 and A.D. 970 to 972-3. Dānārṇava's fight with Kāmārṇava and his deposition will have to be placed in A.D. 972-3. It may be observed here, in passing, that the Rāshtrakūṭa power in the Deccan became practically ruined about this time when Siyaka Haraha, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, pillaged their very capital, namely, Mānyakhēṭa, and Taila II, the first member of the revived Chālukya line, ousting the Rāshtrakūṭas, extended his rule right up to the borders of the Eastern Chālukya and the Eastern Gāṅga kingdoms. Possibly it was about this period when there was so much of confusion in the Deccan that the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nripa, also called Karikāla-Chōḷa and Jātā-Chōḷa, of the solar race, found it possible to capture a portion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion.

¹ [See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.—Ed.]

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.

³ *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 331.

⁴ As copper-plates attribute only a reign of 7 years to this king the 8th year must be counted from the date of his nomination to succession.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 331.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 277.

The Telugu portion of the inscription under publication, though very much mutilated, would inform us that this chief engaged himself in fighting the rulers of Aṅga as well as Kalinga, took possession of a fort which could not, perhaps, be seized by Bṛta-Vijayāditya and that he constructed tanks and made gifts to the temple of Bhīmāśvara¹.

TEXT.²

I

- 1 yakṣa-śvara-prabhṛti m-śvarāya dadatā vadatā ka śva
Chōja-Tripṣtra-vasudhā-patinā samānaḥ I- S[va]ti Śrīma-tarṇ(cām)-maka
- 2 [ānām Mahāśvara-vaṇa-pta(s) dhān-āmara-Duryā-prasāda-śrīna³
[ma]hā-laḥ[ha]nām⁴ antaka-Siv-ālaya-tat-ārāma-pravaritana-prabhṛti]
- 3 pari[ḥ]tānām Chōjānām ka [y]āditya-Guyakāṇḍa-Chā[ḥ]ukya-Bhīma-nṛpa-
raṇa⁵-ālarhṛita-Chā[ḥ]ukya-varhā-pradīpāvanāna-Kūllavi-gaḍa-pri]
- 4 dōvyām Oyau(Gau)ryām Kumāra m Bhīm-āpar-āratārah Bhīma-
parākramaḥ pravaritana-mah-āhavaḥ dig-antam-āntan-darpp-āntaḥ [ha]⁶ yathā
yōga]
- 5 Dāna-par-āṇḍava⁷ tat bhṛi V[a]ḍumba-prabhṛti-rāja-rājanya-rāji
rājata⁸-pīthastham-ānka-sahaara-sātakumbha-śmubhūta-prabhṛti-
- 6 kaṭi-sūtra-prabhṛti-vichitra nāk-ālarhṛit-ālarhṛitām-āna⁹-rūpa-āmūly-
ānka-ṛanna¹⁰-dyuti-pātala-virachit-āndra-chāpam-a¹¹kyi]
- 7 lokaṇārtham-avanim-ava [bha]kti-nazamam rachit-āṇjali-putam Bhaga-
vataḥ Paramāśvarasya Paramahattāraḥasya śrīmat-Bhīm[ā]śva]]
- 8 kaṇḍipa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā-vi shu yātēshu tribhūta-adhikēshu cha-
turīshanyayāt-putastān-nirasta saṁti || Bhīmāśvarasya dēvasya Kāl]
- 9 śva rūpā janma-janm-ē[ti] [dha]raṇpatih Kyta-yugē Trōṣ-yugē
Rāvaṇaḥ Bhīmaḥ Pāṇḍu-Prith-ātmajaḥ Kurukula-dhvaṇaḥ yugē nva]
- 10 li-yugē Śauryyādi-dharmā ritum-śaha nṛpatih Chōja¹²-Tripṣtrō-
bhavat I- Bhūtō-bhavan-bhaviṣyan-vā bhūpatir-ddāna-śatryyataḥ]

II

- 1 nāpi bhaviṣyati I- chintyān-chintā]
- 2 la dhāvan syandana-yādaḥ sapura]
- 3 tūrya-ōttirya-mahārūpaṇān-a[ḥ]pu]
- 4 pataṣyat Parachakra-bhīma-tipav[ō]]
- 5 traiya-viśāla-magdapa-risa]
- 6 jēshu Bhagadatta śva turagē]

¹ I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, M.A., the Kanarese Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for this information.

² From the ink-impressions prepared by Mr. V. Venkatesubba Ayyar, B.A.

³ Read -śrīdita.

⁴ Read -dhānānām.

⁵ Read -rāna.

⁶ Read -cha.

⁷ [The reading is -paridraṇṇa which might stand for -paripāra-āna.—Ed.]

⁸ Read -rājita.

⁹ Read -āna.

¹⁰ Can the symbol between "m" and "i" be taken as "dhā"?

¹¹ Read nṛpatih-Chōja.

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[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीमहेश्वराय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ १० ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ १४ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीमहेश्वराय नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २० ॥

The image shows a single page from the Voynich manuscript, a document of unknown origin and language. The text is written in a highly stylized, cursive script that is characteristic of the Voynich alphabet. The page is heavily stained and discolored, with a dark, irregular border around the text area. The text is written in a cursive, flowing style, with many loops and flourishes. The ink is dark, and the parchment is light brown. The overall appearance is that of an ancient, well-used document.

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- 7 tatad Satakra[tu]r-api svarggan¹-tanō.....
 8 masu sthōyāt(d)-bhuvī yāvad-arkka.....
 9 shu babushv-ath-āsīt Karikāla.....
 10 śaiśavō Kṛishṇa-nṛpaśya vā[chā].....
 11 bhīhatya mad-ōddhatān apa.....
 12 chukō[pa] sañjāta-samagra-manyuh.....
 13 ntyai sumukhat-prachandā²*nyayūyu.....
 14 śchalam ava-bhagani³*padam Andhrama.....
 15 nah prāk sāmanā-māny-ājavika-dri.....
 16 na durnnikhō-dhāt da-jvāla-māruta-vaśād.....ya.....
 17 Dānārṇava-Nṛpakānō yō yudhī sat-sakala-sainyam-abhīhatya-dēsam.....
 18 m-avinōt parinōtum-śah chītram su-dūram-api chāru rmmantam Kāmār-
 pṇavan-divam-ani.....
 19 bhūt vyaktam vyaśismapatatsv-iti vaiparītyā Kāmārṇavam bhuvi nayan.....
 20 t vinayād-anya-bhūpatāh⁴:- Tyāgēna Karṇam-api rūpatayā Manōjam tōjō.....
 21 śī samad-ān(t)makam yaḥ :- Sa śrīmān-Jatāchōja-Bhīma-nṛpatīḥ sat-Gaṇḍa⁵-
 Bhūriśravā.....
 22 tha yōgataḥ :- Saśy-āpānya chatu. aya bhīshṇa-chayam Bhī.....
 23 maṇḍali-śikhāmaṇḍi :- Gaṇḍabhūriśravah :- Saṁgrāma-vijayah :-.....
 24 ga-dhavaḥ :- Arasar-ābharaṇah :- Sukavi-chuntāmaṇḍi :- Śau.....
 25 kṛtī-Dīptah :- [Sa]ty-āvatārah :- Samar-aika-vīrah :- Virabhata.....
 26 ..raṇiga-mallah :- Paragaṇḍa-rākshasah :- Dīna-kalpadrumah :-.....
 27 ndrah :- Bhūpāla-Mērah :- Achalita-vīryah :- Chaturanga-Rā.....
 28 Vidyādharah :- Vikrama-Dhanañjavah :- Saujanya-dhavaḥ :-.....
 29 nanah :- Duṣṭa-kāl-ānalah :- Asa[hāya]-Vikramah :- Kara.....
 30 ..yug-śchārah :- nagōvāra-Bṛihaspatīḥ :- Satya-Ma.....
 31 rūpanah :- Bhuvan-aika-dīpi(pa)ka[h] :- Achāra-Bhagīrathah :-.....
 32 Kārmuka-Rāmah :- Atithādityan :- Apurāṇa-Dadhīchīḥ :-.....
 33 uah :- Vanit-ābhīrāmah :- Abhinā(na)v-āntakah :- Sūryakula-vāśah :-.....
 34 Sundarah :- Rāja-Makaradhvajah :- Budha-janaupārah⁶ :- Samvyakta-Bhā.....
 35 Vikrānta-Chakrāyudhah :- Samasta-rāj-āgrēyah :- Rāja-kula.....
 36 rah :- Gōndala-Sāhasah :- Māna-sampūrṇah :- Kshatriya-kula.....
 37 [ā]rah :- Chalaranga-Rāmah :- Raṇānga-mṛigēndrah :- Vira-Narasimhah :-.....
 38 hadśyah :- Karikāla-Chōjah :- Arāja-bhīshah :- Su.....
 39 h :- Tyāga-mahārṇavah :- Naralōka-Rudrah [i*] Sakala-bhū.....
 40 sthira-sanniya-ghatanadh(y)-Arṇaga-Kāliṅka-patīlu nāla.....
 41 laralōpi parikōpi-Roddalair-antu māroḍḍa ś.....
 42 liyure kōtaku Bōtundu Guṇaka-vijayitundu.....
 43 krambu sōdhiśchi sōdhiśchi guṇakonī Bhīmōśva.....
 44 ma-ḍḍiyalu gāluktambu diggayalu kaṭi-sūtra-bahu.....

¹Read svarggam tanō....²Read sa-mukha-prachandaḥ.³Read ava-bhagani³.⁴Read bhūpatiḥ.⁵Read mad-gaṇḍa⁵.⁶Read Rudra-jana-śchārah.⁷Read Raga-ranga⁷.

- 45 trōpula gulliyalaṁ-dutti. mbula saḍḍula rōdā.....
 46 rāyillana tana rūpu bhayḍa nīrvāṣiḍḍiḥ gāyanaḥhamba.....
 47 dāvīkrāyakuḍayya Dākarambi.....
 48 paritaḷḷa [1*] Ivagai ṣrī-kō-Rā.....
 49 kōjōḍār

No. 8.—NIVINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DHARMARAJADEVA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTYCANUND.

The charter under examination consists of **three copper-plates** which were found in 1939 in a field in the Nimmina village of the Kudala taluk in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The plates were sent by the Collector of Ganjam to the Government Museum, Madras, where they are now deposited. They are held together by a ring the ends of which are fastened into a circular seal. Each plate measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " while the diameter of the ring is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and that of the seal $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The rims are slightly raised and the plates are rounded at the corners. Including the ring and the seal, they weigh $77\frac{1}{2}$ tōḷas, approximately. The first plate is engraved on one side only but the remaining two are incised on both the sides. The inscription which they bear consists of 52 lines of writing. The first plate has 11 lines, the second 22, each face of it having 11 lines; but the third plate has 13 lines on the obverse and 6 on the reverse side of it. Owing to corrosion, which has caused holes in the plates, the inscription is badly damaged in several places, though practically the whole of it can be made out with the help of the other known records of the Sailōdbhava family to which it belongs. The seal is marked with the crescent, below which is found a couchant bull in relief. The sign-manual of the king was possibly written below the bull but the letters of the legend are much worn out and the name cannot be read with certainty. The first two letters are *ṣrī* and *mā* and the last letter is *ṣya*. There are traces of three letters between them.

The characters belong to an early type of the Nāgarī script and bear much resemblance to those employed in the Ganjam plates of Nītrībhaṣṭadeva.¹ As Kielhorn² has already made a detailed study of the script employed in these records, I shall make here only a few additional remarks. The initial *a* and *ā* are denoted in the present record by two different signs though they seem to have been mixed up; e.g., *daṣṣāḍ* (l. 12), *anḍaṣṣā* (l. 23), *āṣṣāṣṣā* (l. 34) and *amaṣṣā* (l. 35). For medial *u*, also, there are two signs, one is the ordinary sign for *u* with a rounded curve to the left, as, e.g., in *pāṣṣā* (l. 21) and *bhāṣṣā* (l. 21), while the other is indistinguishable from the sign of *ā*. The sign for *ṣ* has also been used, though only once, in *prāṣṣā* (l. 42). The *Anusvara* is marked in two ways: (1) by the usual dot on the top of the letter as in *bhāṣṣā* (l. 4), or in *āṣṣā* (l. 8) and (2), occasionally, with a dot and a hook below it both added to the right of the letter as in *āṣṣā* (l. 19) and *Phāṣṣā* (l. 31). It may be noted that the latter sign has been used only at the end of a *pāda* or a *verse*.

The grant is written in incorrect **Sanskrit** prose and *verse* and has been very carelessly incised, so much so that, not only have many words been wrongly spelt but letters and even words have been left out in several places. Words like *vaṣṣāṣṣā* (l. 40) (for *vaṣṣāṣṣā*), *Dikṣāṣṣā* (l. 39) (for *Dikṣāṣṣā*), *Paṣṣāṣṣā* (l. 40) (for *Paṣṣā*), *ṣāṣṣā* (l. 40) (for *ṣāṣṣā*), *tāṣṣā* (l. 42) (for *tāṣṣā*), found

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII. pp. 293 ff.

² Above, Vol. VII. pp. 101 ff.

in the text are evidently Prākṛitic. The portion showing the boundary of the gift village is written in a vernacular which appears to contain a mixture of Telugu and Oriya.

As regards orthography the following points may be noted. *Ba* and *va* are not distinguished. A consonant is usually doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r*, but exceptions are also found: e.g., *dayālar-narapatir* (l. 22), *pradarpād* (l. 39), *ka(a)kāl(ga)ir-bhūta* (l. 18), etc. Final *is* is changed into *in* in *valūtrām* (l. 23), *prāplavān* (l. 27), *bhāvān* (l. 30), etc.; *h* is used in *prāṇa* (l. 6), *Kaliaga* (l. 8), etc., side by side with *ś* in *saṁśa* (l. 15), *kalamka* (l. 16), etc. Vowel *re* is wrongly used for *ri* in *saṁśritas-Tṛyasa* (l. 34), *tridhuvana* (l. 5), *dhāriri* (l. 15), etc. *Rapa* has been dropped in many places and in all such cases the following consonant has invariably been left undoubled: as, e.g., *kāmalu va(ba)ddhā* (ll. 1-2), and *dalalita* (l. 18). *Viaṛga* has been wrongly used in *icaḥ* (l. 1), *vyatikaroh* (l. 3), *apā* (l. 11), and wrongly dropped in *kaṁka* (l. 3), *-sā(bā)ḥa* (l. 7), *lhaeḥ* (l. 9), *ārādhita* (l. 10), *pralhu* (l. 12), *-ārdhāra* (l. 18), etc. Other errors and peculiarities have been noticed in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

The grant was issued by the Paramahattāraka-Mahātājādhirāja-Paramādeva-Srimad-Dharmarājadeva alias Mānabhīta of the Śailōdbhava family from the fortress (*kōṭa*) of Alatā-lāghapura in the Kōṅṇōda-maṇḍala. Its object is to register the gift of the village Nivina, laṅghapura in the Kōṅṇōda-maṇḍala. Its object is to register the gift of the village Nivina, situated in the Khilāṅghāra-*viśaya*, to a Brāhman Savaridēva Dikshita of the Vachhha (Vatasa)-*gṛā*, the Pañcharaṣi-prajura and anuprajura, Chhandāgya-*charya* and the Kauthuma school (of the Sāmaveda). Lines 42-46 give in detail the boundaries of the gift village. In l. 47 an additional grant of two *ṭimpiras* (of land) seems to have been made. The *Dutaka* seems to have been an *alahapatalika* but his name is not preserved. The seal was fixed (*lāṅchhita*) by Jayasimha. The name of the engraver is not legible.

Besides the present grant only five other complete records of the Śailōdbhava kings are known.* They are (1) the Ganjam Plates† of the time of Śaśākarāja, (2) the Khurdā Plates‡ of Mādhavarāja, (3) the Bugaḍa Plates§ of Mādhavavarman, (4) the Pārikud Plates¶ of Mādhavarājadeva and (5) the Kōṅṇōḍa Grant¶ of Dharmarāja. Of these, the first two are written completely in prose and the rest, like the present record, are composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Many of the verses found in this record also occur in the Bugaḍa, Pārikud and the Kōṅṇōḍa Plates.

In the grant under publication, the portion containing the date (l. 47) reads: *Saṁvat* [Var]. *tāka-māsi-prabhava-paksha-danti[yā]*. Probably we have to restore the commencement as *Saṁvat* [9*]. From an examination of the plate it becomes clear that the broken space would not allow any numerical sign to be incised before Var, the whole space being covered by the partly

* The word occurs also in the Pārikud Plates (l. 44) in the form *ṭimpira* which Banerji read as *Himira*. Its meaning is not clear. The expression *liddata-ṭimpira-prasāda* in the Pārikud Plates suggests that the word refers to measurement of land.

† There are also two incomplete records of this dynasty, viz., (1) Purī Second Plate of Mādhavarāman-Sahayabhīta alias Trivivasa, (the Bengali monthly) *Sādhya* for the year 1319 (B. S.), p. 993 and pl. and (2) Tekali Plate of the time of Mādhavarāja (III) (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 165 ff.). The latter mentions four other rulers after Dharmarāja. I may mention here in passing that the Plate shows the reading *paṇḍita-ṭimpira* in l. 19. Thus the name should be *ṭimpira* who was the uncle's son of Rāṅgharāja and was a son of Mādhya-mārāja (II), as understood by H. P. Shastri. Cf. Mr. V. Mitra (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (*J. & H. Soc. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 165 ff.). How it may incidentally be remarked that Mr. Rajaguru's reading of the date in the Purī Plates is incorrect. The date is undoubtedly regal.

* Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff. and Plates.

* 2, 3, & 4, Vol. LXIII, pt. 1, pp. 232 ff.

* Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 109 ff. and Plates.

* Above, Vol. XI, pp. 284 ff. and Plates.

* Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 367 ff. and Plates.

missing vowel sign in this letter. Moreover, the signs for the numerical figure 9 and the final *t* are so much alike that it is not impossible that the scribe finding two similar signs on the document omitted one of them, either through inadvertence, or because of his not understanding its significance. If this supposition is correct, then the date of the inscription would be the **second day of the bright fortnight of the 9th year of the reign of Dharmarāja**.

In our present state of knowledge it is not possible to determine the exact dates of all the Śailōdhhava rulers. The only certain date about this dynasty is found in the Ganjām Plates of G. E. 300 (= 619-20 A.D.). In the other dated inscriptions either the reading of the date is uncertain, or only the regnal year is given. According to Kielhorn,¹ the Buguḍa Plates should, on palaeographic grounds, be placed in the 10th century A.D. If this scholar is right in his assumption, then the rulers mentioned in the Khurdā and the Ganjām Plates are to be regarded as remote ancestors of the homonymous rulers mentioned in the Buguḍa and other Plates. But in that case we have to admit that no history of the dynasty is available for three centuries or more. In spite of the apparent palaeographic difficulty, can it not be possible that Mādhavarāja Sainyabhiṭa of the Ganjām and the Khurdā Plates may be identical with Mādhavarman Sainyabhiṭa of the Buguḍa Plates? But to accept this view we have to assign long rules to Mādhavarman and some of his successors.

There may also be another ground in dating the Buguḍa grant to an earlier period. Both in the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant and the present record mention is made of a king Trivara,² an ally of the rebel Mādhava who was probably a younger brother of Dharmarāja. Both Mādhava and his ally were defeated by Dharmarāja at Phāsikā as a result of which Mādhava is said to have died broken hearted near the Vindhya-pāda. We do not know of any ruler of the name of Trivara from inscriptions. But we know of one Mahāśiva Tivara-dēva belonging to the Śōmavamsi rulers of Mahākōśala. Two of his inscriptions are known which are dated in the regnal years 7 and 9. Palaeographically, these inscriptions have been assigned to the 8th century A.D.³ The name Trivara of the present record and the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant may have been assimilated from the wrongly supposed Prakrit form of Tivara and, if he is the same as the ruler of Mahākōśala, the present record as well as the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant should be assigned to the 8th century A.D. It may be possible that Mādhava, when defeated at Phāsikā, sought the help of the neighbouring powerful king of Mahākōśala, and, having been defeated for the second time, was forced to leave his own country, take shelter in that of his ally and to spend his last days somewhere near the Vindhya-pāda (Sarpurā range), which was, at that time, within the realm of Tivara-dēva. In that case the Pārikud grant may have to be placed towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century of the Christian era and in spite of the apparent palaeographic difficulty the Buguḍa and the Ganjām Plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler.

It is to be noted that in the Ganjām Plates of Mādhavarāja II, he is stated to be a founder of Śaśāṅka. In the Pārikud Plates, Madhyamarājadēva bears no titles of a supreme ruler, though he is stated to have performed the Āśvamedha sacrifice. This last incident shows that he claimed the rank of a *Chakravartin*. In the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant the horse sacrifice is referred to (l. 43), though neither Madhyamarāja, nor his son and successor Dharmarāja, bears any titles of a paramount

¹ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 100 f.

² The name has been read as Sutvara in the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant, but I would ascribe the *s* to *scāli*.

³ His date will be about the middle of the 8th century if Prof. Bhattacharya is right in his assumption that Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjām Plates of Amoghavaraha I (Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff.) as being defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa, Govinda III, was the ruler of Mahākōśala. We know of only one Chandragupta in this family who was the son of Nannādēva and consequently a brother of Tivara-dēva whom Chandragupta appears to have succeeded.

sovereign. But in the present grant Dharmarāja is given the titles *Paramādhattāraka*, *Mahā-ājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* which were borne by independent rulers alone. In our present knowledge of the history of Orissa, it is difficult to say definitely whose subordinates the Śailōdbhavas were after the rule of Śaśāṅka was at an end, but it is not impossible that sometime after the breaking up of Harsha's empire *Madhyamarāja* declared independence and his successor used all the titles befitting an independent ruler. I cannot, however, account for the omission of such titles in the Kōṇḍōḍa grant.

It appears that there has been, from the beginning, a misconception regarding the names of certain Śailōdbhava rulers. The name read as *Yasōbhita* till now, should correctly be *Ayasōbhita*. It was pointed out in the Kōṇḍōḍa grant¹ that in l. 22 the plate read *narapatir-Ayasōbhita*. This reading is authenticated by the present grant also. Banerji's correction² into *narapatish* *Yasōbhita* is thus not justified. Wherever this name occurs the *sandhi* seems to have been overlooked. Even Dr. Hultzsch appears to have done this for, in the Ganjam Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, he changed the reading into *Mahārāja-Yasōbhita* although the inscription gave it quite correctly as *Mahārāj-Ayasōbhita*.³

When Professor Kielhorn first published the Buguda Plates he was under the impression that Mādhavavarman was the son of Sainyabhita (II). Dr. Hultzsch pointed out that Sainyabhita was only a surname of Mādhavavarman II⁴. In the same way, there is nothing in these inscriptions to show that *Yasōbhita*, i.e., *Ayasōbhita* and *Madhyamarāja* were different persons. Mr. R. D. Banerji in his article on the Pārikud Plates, though accepting the analogy of the Buguda Plates, was of the opinion that *Madhyamarāja* was probably a son of *Yasōbhita*⁵ (i.e., *Ayasōbhita*) II, while Mr. Y. R. Gupta writing on the Kōṇḍōḍa grant presumed, on the same analogy, that *Yasōbhita* was the surname of *Madhyamarāja*, though he was unable to prove his point. The difficulty of both the scholars was due to the misunderstanding of a passage in the text. The last pāda of verse 12 in the present inscription, which occurs in other grants also, was wrongly read by Banerji as *Madhyamarājādēva-guṇa-dāyid-rājyaṃ piṭṭh prāptavān* while the correct reading is *rājya-pi tat-prāptavān*. The verse under reference simply means that the sages leave their homes and perform various austerities in seeking after *dīya-pada* while *Ayasōbhita* II got the same abode, i.e., *mōksha* in his own kingdom.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant Kōṇḍōḍa has been identified by Kielhorn with *Kwag-yü* (or *gu*)⁶ of Yuan Chwang. Cunningham identified Kōṇḍōḍa, the capital city of the province of the same name, with Ganjam while Fergusson placed it somewhere between Kuttack and Aska⁷ in the Ganjam district. We find from his records that the Chinese pilgrim journeyed south west from the Oṭa country, through a forest, for over 1,200 li and reached *Kung*

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 268, note 2.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 285, l. 21.

³ On the same analogy it may be possible that the name in l. 12 should be read as *Arasabhita*. In fact, the internal evidence of the grants of this dynasty shows that the names should be *Ayasōbhita* and *Arasabhita*. In the Khurda Plates we find *Śrī-Sainyabhita-guṇa-paṭha* (*paṭha*) *pravarita-vipulāmalā-yāśaś-śatataṃ-ṛṣabhāṅga* *śrīmatō-Yasōbhita-guṇa* etc. Similarly cf. verse 8 of the present grant and note the expression *patārtha-nāma*. For *Arasabhita* cf. verse 6 in the text of the present record where this bravery in battle is described. (It may, however, be pointed out that the Gangā king Hastivarman appears to have borne the *śiruda* of *Kasabhita*—Above, Vol. XVII, p. 322.). In the case of *Sainyabhita* we probably have to take the name as a *Sakavāṭa* compound (*Śāṅga*, II. ii. 23-24) meaning thereby 'of whom the army was afraid.' The epithet *guṇāpa-cirā-dri-śaṅga* given to *Sainyabhita* in the Khurda Plates, seems to confirm this explanation.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 144, note 1.

⁵ Above, Vol. XI, p. 283.

⁶ See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 197.

yu-t'a. As the inscriptions of the Śailōddhava dynasty mentioning Kōngōda-mayāla have been found at Cuttack, Khurdā, and Ganjām, we may well conclude that all these places were within the province of Kōngōda. In all probability the province extended from the southern bank of the Mahānadi and included within it the northern portion of Ganjām. The country outlying the northern bank of the Mahānadi was probably the Wu-t'a or Oja (Skt. Odra) of Yuan Chwang, while the southern part of Ganjām was within the Kallāga territory. According to the same pilgrim the capital city of Keng-yu-t'o was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea. The Ganjām Plate of Sāsāla mentions that it was situated on the bank of the Sālmā river. I have not been able to find the name elsewhere. The trace of the ancient name may, however, be found in the small river Siliā which is fed by the Chilkā lake.* This part of the country would answer well to the description of the Chinese pilgrim. But at present no place recalling the name of Kōngōda is found on the bank of this river. The village Kōṅkōda situated in the Rāmagiri Agency of the Ganjām district, however, reminds us of the ancient name of Kōngōda, though the former could not have been the site of the capital city mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

Of the other place-names mentioned in the present record the name of the *vishaya* of **Khiṭṭōgahāra** may be recognised in the village Khujūgi in the Kudala taluk of the Ganjām district while **Nivina** is undoubtedly the village of Nimina in the same taluk where the plates were found.

TEXT.[†]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 4 and 12, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 10, 11 and 14, *Bradykūṭ*; vv. 3, 6, 7, 9 and 13, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 5 and 15-17, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Plate: Reverse.

- 1 Om[‡] svasti || Indrōr(udr)ṛ-dhanta-mṛṇāla-(tantubhi)[§]r-ivāḥ(va) śāhātāḥ karaḥ[¶] kōma-lai-
- 2 [r[¶]]-va(ha)dih-āhr-aruṇa(ṇa)ḥ sphurāt-pharī - manai(nā)(r-dīgdhā)-prabhā(nō - ch)en[¶]hiḥ
[[¶]] [Pārvaltyā[¶]] sa-kaca-
- 3 graha-vyatikaraḥ(ra)-vyāyitra-va(ha)nūha-śāthā Gaṅg-āmbhaḥ[¶]-pharī-bhinnā-bhānu-karī]-
kṣ[¶] [h[¶]] Sāmbhōr-ijā[¶] [h[¶]]
- 4 pāntu vaḥ[¶] [1[¶]] Sāmāmbhina (Śrīmān-mahai)c-ona(nna)bhast[¶](to) gurur-Achalapati
(teḥ) kahōḥha[¶]id-yah[¶] kahōḥ[¶]yā[¶] gambhīra-tōya-rā-
- 5 śr-atha divākara[¶] [h[¶]] bhānu(bhāva)d-ślōka-kārī(ri) | hūḥ | sacrvasya ch-āndōs-ṭṭi
(tri)-hū(va)ḥa-bhava(na-pr)rakṣa-ch[¶] [h[¶]]pi
- 6 vāyō rājā eva(m) Śhāgu-mūrti-jayati Kali-mala-kahālaḥ Mūha(vēndra)ḥ || [3[¶]]
Prā(n)sur-mahātā ka-
- 7 ra-pivara-chāru-vā(hā)lu[¶] [h[¶]] kṛishṇ-āva(āma)-māchaya-viśāla-vivēka-dukṣhō[¶] [7[¶] rā]va-
[kōmala-dal]-āyā-lō-
- 8 ehan-āntaḥ [1[¶]] khyātāḥ Kaliāga-janitasa(janatā) Pulindanānaḥ || [3[¶]] Tān-
śhātāḥ(tihāḥ) guṇ(n-āpi) sa[¶] [h[¶]]va-mahātā[¶] [h[¶]] na-

[†] See *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 192.

[‡] See Indian Sheet Atlas, No. 74 (India and adjacent countries maps).

[§] From impressions and the original plates.

[¶] Expressed by a symbol.

[‡] Portents within square brackets are either broken or not clear and have been restored on the authority of other published records belonging to the same family.

[¶] Read *śāhātāḥ* with *śāhātāḥ* in *śāhātāḥ*.

[‡] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

- 9 śhaṭa bhuvvṛt-muṇḍalam* (ḥ) śaktō-yam* paripālanāyā(ya) jagataḥ kō nāva
[sa*] syād-ā[ti]] pṛatyāśiṣṭa-vi-
10 bh-ūtsavēna bhagavō(ḥ)n-ārādhitā(ṭa) [xvāvatam]* tach-chi[ti-āna]gupaṭa vi-
[dhutaur-a]ḍisa(d*)-va(vā)śchhā[m*] Śva(Sva)-
11 yachhā(bhū)[t-a]pū[pi] || [i] [r*] Śa śhā-ma(kal-ā-dhā)ḍa tñ-ā[py-
āḍōkya] dhā-mā [i*] [pa]rikalmita(ṭa)-

Second Plate: Gōnera.

- 12 [śad-vamśah*] prā[hm]h[ḥ*] Śailōdbhava(h*) kr[ta]ḥ [ḥ*] Śailōdbhavaṣya kula-
[ō-Ra]nabhita [ā]śad anāśakti-
13 t-krītabhīyam vi(dvī)śad-āṅganānāni | [yōtanyā]anā-pravāha-samayō eva-
dhīy-ēva* śārdham-ā[ka]mpitō naya-
14 na-pakṣa(kṣma)-jalēṣu chandrah || [ḥ*] Tasy-ābhavad-Viru(bu)dhapāla-sama-
ṣya sāmūh(sūnah) śrī-Saiṇya(bhita) iti bhūmi-
15 patir-ggarīyā[n*] yam prāpya nāga-ghatā-ghaṭa-jav(h)dhā-prasāda¹¹ vijaya[ḥ*] mum-
[dē*] dhacitri(tri) | [ḥ*] Tasy-āpi vama[ḥ*]-
16 shu¹² yathā[r*]cha-nāmō(mā) jātō-Yasōbhita iti [kshiti*]śah[ḥ*] [yē*]na
purnāhō¹³ [pi*] śubhō(bhā)ś-charitō(trair)-mūṣṭah kaladka[ḥ*] kali-padala-
17 na syāt¹⁴ | [ḥ*] Jātō-[ḥ*] tasya tanayā[ḥ] sukṛiti samasta* [śimantini(ni)-nayana-
śhaṭpāda-purīṇḍarikah(puṇḍarikah) [ḥ*] śrī-Saiṇyabhita |
18 ti bhūmipatir-mmahōbha-kumhasthali(ḥ)-dalana-dula(durila)lit-āśidhār[ḥ*] [ḥ*] Kala-
yair¹⁵ bhāta-dhāt[ri(tri)]-patibhir¹⁶ -u-
19 pachit-ānyā(ni)ka-pāśvatārah || nīā¹⁷ yēshām kathā-bhā[pi] pralayam-abhi-
matā kṛti-mō(pā)lir-ā[ḥ*] [ḥ*]
20 yaḥ[ḥ] [ḥ]śa[ḥ] tair-Asvāmōdha-prahṛitibhir-amarā lamvitas¹⁸ triptim-[urvvi]m-udript-ār-
ātr[ḥ*] [ḥ] pakṣa-kṣaya-kṛti-paṭu-
21 nā Śrīnivāsēni(na) yēnab(na) | [ḥ*] Tasy-ōkhat-ākḥil-ārēt-mmārur(d)-ēva [ḥ*]
nan-ōdbhāvat(d)-ushnāḥ[ḥ] [ḥ*] [ḥ*] mā-
22 ni(nā) dayālur-narapatir-Avasōbhita-dēvas-tanūjāḥ | [ḥ*] mātangāmn(gān)-yō-ti-tu-
[ḥ*] va[ḥ] bhāla-māda-mu-

* This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

* Read *śaṭpāda-muṇḍalam*.* Other inscriptions of this dynasty have *śaktō yam*.* Read *śhāta*.* Read *śakal-ōdbhāḍi*.* Read *śhāyā-ēva*.* Read *prabōdha*.* Read *dhīy-ānim*.* Read *śhāka-kata-āṅga-ghatā-ghaṭa*.* On the impression the last syllable looks like 'dash'. But what looks like an *anuvāsa* is only a hole in the plate.* The Kōṇḍōḍa grant reads: *mmāś-cha*.* Read *prasadā*.* Read *Kālī-darpanāya*.* Read *Kālīgān*.* There are traces of another sign before *pa*. Either it was a mark of punctuation wrongly put, or the plate read *aripati* by mistake.* Read *śhāp-śhāśvair-narāḥ*. The marks of punctuation before *śhā* are unnecessary.* Read *śhāśvā*.

* The marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

* *Dupā* unnecessary.* Read *śhāśvā*.

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 23 *chī(cha)ḥ-chāru-vaktrām(kitrān) prachapjā(nī)ḥ(udān) vaddh-ākashati khimach' pu-*
nar-āpi navatē yat-kṛtam(taḥ) sampragabhā(bhah)ḥ || 11 ||¹
- 24 *Kōchid-vī(va)nya-mṛigopa sārddha[m*] ramatē(nte) tatām(tā) sthiti-ālayat(yā)**
kochit(ch)-chōrdh(v)ḥ-mukhā mayūkha-*
- 25 *kirāṇa-jyāl-āvali-prēkshapāḥ(ṣāḥ) [v*] kōchit śāila-guhōdarēṣhu niratē* dhūm-āvali(ṇ-)*
pāi(yi)na(h) s-*
- 26 *nō(nyō) vāyu-phal-ārvu(bu)-bhaksha-niratē(h*) kōchī(n*)-nū(nī)r-āhārakāḥ () (i*)-*
tham yōga-jushō vihāya vasatē(n)*
- 27 *dhyaṇanti divyān padān' chitran(m)Madhyamarājadēva-triguṇān-dkrīd rājya-*
pi² tat-prāptavān(vān) || 12 || Tasy-ābha-
- 28 *vat-sakala-śāstra-vāśha-yādī | śrī-Dharmmarāja iti sūnur-adhiti(dhīta)-śā-*
trah | () tasy-ā
- 29 *ti-nī(nī)mmala-yatāḥ parivardhamāna(m*) pōdan Harit-id(iva) na māyati*
mariti-ṛkyaḥ³ || 13 ||⁴ Rājyam lavdhā(bdhvā) pra-
- 30 *darpad-aviṣṇita-tay⁵ Mōdhavō j(yō)shtha-bhāvām(vān) | tasyā tannād-apas-*
trām⁶ kṛta-vishama-matī(r)-vigna-*
- 31 *hō Phāsikāyām | yuddha-kahōbhāna(na) la(bha)gnō nripotiparam-asaṇ samāḥ |*
(śrī)tas T(iva)ḥ-ākhyah⁷ | pa-
- 32 *śchān(śchāt)-tēn-āpi sārddham punar-āpi vijitā(tō) Vindhya-pādēṣhu jīroḥt*
(jīroṇah) || 14 || Sauṛyaḥ śrī-yauvanash
- 33 *rājyam-ēkaikya(ka)ḥ mada-mā(kā)rakah | sarraṇ. śrī-Mānabhītasya n(rvi)kās-*
am-upasthitah(tah) || 15 ||⁸ Ala-

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 34 *tīlānḥapura⁹-kōṣāt | Parama-māhōsvarō mātē-pitṛi-pādānudhyātō(taḥ) Pa-*
- 35 *rama-bhātā(tā)rakō Mahārājā¹⁰dhīrāja¹¹-paramēsvara(h*) śrī(ma*)d-Dharmmar¹²(a*)-*
jadēva(h) kulaḥ || Śmit¹³-Kōṅgō-*

¹ Read *baddh-ākashati-akhimach*.

² Pārikul and Kōṅḍōḍja grants have *paṇ-antah sampragabhaḥ*.

³ Pārikul grant reads : *sārddham-ācharanantah*.

⁴ What looks like an enunciation above it is merely a depression on the plate.

⁵ *Tasya* unnecessary.

⁶ Read *akāṣa-ārvu* as in the Pārikul grant.

⁷ Pārikul grant has two verses (12-13) in this connection, while Kōṅḍōḍja grant omits one. Here we have only the first half of the previous verse and the whole of the latter, the second half of the former being omitted - most probably, by oversight. [Reading given in both is wrong. One should expect something like. *Ek chāt- tasya-avīṣṇita kōḍham-ācharan rāma-sūktah āgāḥ*—Ed.]

⁸ Pārikul and Kōṅḍōḍja grants read *ajyoti*.

⁹ Read *śam-pura-śrīd rājya-ṣṭi*.

¹⁰ Read *mātya-śchāt*. The suggestion to read *śchāt-śchāt* in the Kōṅḍōḍja grant is not correct. In the Tekkal Plate the reading is *śchāt-śchāt*. It is to be noted however that the root *mā* (in the Div-ḍol group) is *śchāt-śchāt*.

¹¹ Verses 12-14 of the Kōṅḍōḍja grant have been omitted from the present record.

¹² In the Kōṅḍōḍja grant also the reading is *śchāt* which has been wrongly read as *śchāt*; *śchāt* has been used here in the sense of 'protection'.

¹³ Read with the Kōṅḍōḍja grant : *śchāt-śchāt-āgāḥ*.

¹⁴ Read *Triṣṭ-śchāt* or *Tri* as in the Kōṅḍōḍja grant. In the former case, however, the meter suffers.

¹⁵ Kōṅḍōḍja grant records two more verses after this.

¹⁶ The reading of the first letter is not very certain.

¹⁷ *Ja* is written in a smaller letter between *rā* and *pa*. Evidently it was inserted later, on finding out the error.

¹⁸ Read *śchāt*.



iia



iib



iii

34 34
36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44
46 46

iiib

48 48
50 50
52 52

- 36 da-maṇḍalā śrī-sāmantā-mā(ma)hāsāmantā-mā(ma)hārājanakārājaka¹ - rājaputrāḥ(tr-ā)
[ntara*]ṛga-daṇḍanā-
37 yaka-dāyāḥ* [pāṣāṅka-ōparika-stakad(stad)](tadāyuktaka—Ed.)-vinīyuktaka-sakaraga-vyavahā-
riṇa-nānyānā-cha² vrā(hrā)hmagā-
38 purōg-ādī-vēṣaḥka³-janapadāḥ(dān) yath-ārha(rh*) mānaya(ti*) vō(bō)dhayati jūṣa-
yati viditam astu
39 bhavatām Khicīngahāra-viśha(ya*)-sammānādha⁴-Nivisā-grāmāt(mah) |⁵ Savaridēva-
dikhida ||⁶(dikahita)-
40 bhātta(bhāttāya) Vachchha(tsa)-gōtrāya pañcha-riṣha-pravara-anupravārāya⁷ Kau-
thuka(ma)-śākhāya Chhandō⁸-charaṇāya
41 mātā-pitrōr-ātmanā-cha puṇy(uy)-ābhivṛ(d*)dhayō(yō) saṁlīla-dhārā-puraḥ(b*)sarēṇa
chandr-ārka-kahiti-sama-kāla(m*)-a-
42 kari(rū)kṛtya tāmra(mra)-śāsa(sa)tvā(nō)na pratiprā(pā)ditā(tō)-amai⁹ na kōchit
(kēnachit) viḥātita(vya*)m-it || grāmesya śimā kata¹⁰
43 Paachima-diśahi(diā) Trikuta Jōḍapāpādi vaṇarāl vālmika-varhūka(ka)-
sila-vaṇarāl (*) Uta(tta)ra-diśahi(diā)
44 Trikuta | Pāṇi-sākhā(?)traimasiṇvāḥhaivaṇi [*] Uta¹¹(*)ra-diśahi(diā) digha-sila [*]
Pūvhi (Pūvayān) jōḍavavārāi
45 vaḥa[*]Pūva-utara-kōṇhi sōmaṇi¹² Trikuta | Pūva-dakhiṇ[ā]hi sē...ma Trikuta |
Pūva-diśahi khō-
46 lāḍa[*]Pūva-dakhiṇa-kōṇhi vāgha-guhā(guhā?) Trikuta [*] Dakhiṇa-diśa pavadi
sila gāḍi savatīḥ ||

Third Plate: Reverse.

- 47 'paradyau timpirah¹³ || Samvat [9*] [Vai]śākha-sadi-prathama-paksha-dviti[yā *]
48 Uktān-cha dharmma-sāstrā[*] Vahubhiḥ (Bahubhiḥ-) [vasu]dā datām(datā)
rājā(ja)bhūḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ[*]
49 rya(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmī(a*)-¹⁴ tasya tasya (tadā phalam) || [16*] Sva-
dat[*]jām para-dat[*]jām-vā yō ha-
50 rēti(ta) vasundharān[ā] [*] sa viśvāśyām krimir-(bhūtvā) pitṛi(bhūḥ) [*] saka puchyatēḥ
(tē) || [17*] Itikō(Dūtako)-
51 tra mahākāhapata[ḥ]a¹⁵ ...dēvō(vah) [pradhānatana(mah) I] | Lānchhitam Jayasīnghēna
52 utkīrṇam Chāhā(hibhāyē) [nāḥ(na) mītiḥ(itā) ||

No. 9.—TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS.

By B. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

About the beginning of the 10th century A.D. a branch of the Paramāra of Mālwa was founded by Dambarasinhha, the younger brother of Vairisinhha of Mālwa. The rulers of this

¹ Read -rājāsaka-² Read 'ābhivā- ayābhivā-cha.³ Read -māṇayika-⁴ Read -anupravārā-⁵ Read -anupravārā-⁶ Read pañchavak- paur-ānupravārā- These five vakas are: Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jamadagnya and Agastya.⁷ Read Chāndogya-⁸ Read 'tāmādhā-⁹ Read śimā kata. [Kata, katta, kāt, etc. are evidently Prakrit formations—Ed.]¹⁰ The first syllable may be read vāḥ.¹¹ The meaning of this expression is not at all clear. The sign at the commencement looks like that of an anupravāḥ but it cannot be connected with the previous line.¹² Does not seem necessary.

family may be called the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa from the name of the territory over which they ruled and which comprised the present Bānswāra and Durgapūr States. These rulers, who were subordinate to the Paramāras of Mālwa, had for a long time their seat of Government at Uthhūpaka, the modern Arbhūḍā in the Bānswāra State in Rājputāna. The two inscriptions edited below belong to the rulers of this family and were found in the Bānswāra State. These documents, together with the one already published,¹ throw much light on the history of this branch of the Paramāras.

A.—PANAHERA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHĀDEVA OF MALWA:
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1116.

This inscription has already been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1916-17.² It is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a wall of the temple of Mandalesar (Maṇḍalēśvara) Mahādēva at Pānāhūḍā in the Bānswāra State of Rājputāna. The slab is broken into pieces and at present only the two sides, right and left, are available, the middle portion being altogether missing.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī characters of about the 11th century A.D. But *ṛ* in *śr* (l. 20) and *ṛ* in *śrī* (l. 2) have forms which are generally found in the inscriptions of an earlier period.³

The inscription consists of 38 lines of writing and is written in verse with the exception of a few words in ll. 1, 26, 36 and the concluding portion of l. 38 which are in prose. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

In respect of orthography the following points may be noted: *r* and *b* are not distinguished as in *vārahāṣṭ* (l. 8), *vahat* (l. 15), etc.; *ṛ* is used for *ṛ* in *śrī* (l. 11), *śrī* (l. 16), etc. and *ṛ* for *r* in *śrī* (l. 20), *śrī* (l. 34), etc.; consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* are usually doubled as in *śrī* (l. 12), *śrī* (l. 14), *śrī* (l. 11), *śrī* (l. 13), etc.; *ṇ* is used for *ṇ* in *śrī* (l. 12), *śrī* (l. 13), etc. as well as at the end of stichs and hemistichs as in *śrī* (l. 26), *śrī* (l. 33), etc.

The inscription is a *prastāva* of the Paramāra kings of Mālwa and their subordinate rulers, the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa. It consists of two parts: the first part in 25 verses is given to the Paramāras of Mālwa and the other part, beginning from verse 26, to those of Vāgaḍa. Its object is to record the foundation of the temple of Maṇḍalēśvara (Śiva) at Pānāhūḍā (Pānāhūḍā) and various endowments in that connection, by the Paramāra ruler Maṇḍalīna. After the usual praise of the god Śiva in the first five verses, the inscription gives, in verse 6, the familiar legend of the origin of the Paramāra family from the sacrificial fire on the Arhuda mountain. It then describes the army of some king, evidently an early Paramāra ruler, and the scene of a battle (vv. 7-9). Maṇḍalēśvara is then mentioned (v. 10) who is said to have won victory in a battle (v. 12). *Sindhurāja* is spoken of in verse 13 and his army is extolled in this as well as in the next two verses. Verse 16 states that from him sprang a king whose name is not preserved in the inscription but which was most probably Bhōjarāja. The next four verses are devoted to the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80 and above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.

² *Id.* p. 81.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 300 and Vol. XVIII, p. 98.

praise of this king and his army. King **Jayasimha** is mentioned in verse 21 and the splendours of his army are likewise described, while his superiority and control over other kings are spoken of in the next four verses. Here ends the first part of the inscription.

The second part commences by saying that in the Paramāra family was born **Dhanika**, who built the temple of **Dhanēśvara** near **Mahākāla** (at **Ujjain**) (vv. 26-27). After him, his brother's son **Chachcha** became king (v. 28). Verse 29 tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost in the present portion of the record, gave battle to **Khōttigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** on the bank of the **Rēvā** (**Narmadā**) in the cause of **Siyaka** and went to heaven. Verse 31 introduces **Satyarāja** who is said to have received a fortune from king **Bhōja** and fought with the **Gārjaras**. He married **Rājasri** of the **Chāhamāna** family from whom was born **Limbārāja** (vv. 32-33). His (i.e., **Limbārāja**'s) younger brother was **Mandalika**, who took General **Kanha** prisoner and handed him over to **Jayasimha** (vv. 34-37). **Mandalika** is glorified in verse 39 and is said to have built the temple of **Mandalēśvara** (**Śiva**) at **Pāṃśulākhṭaka** (vv. 45-47). This king **Jayasimha** is said to have assigned to the god, for defraying the expenses of worship, one **viśṭōpaka** on every bull (that passed) on the road and also some land at **Pāṃśulākhṭaka**. **Mandalika** also granted to this temple, for his own spiritual welfare, some lands and a garden behind **Nagna-tadāga** and (the temple of) **Varuṇēśvari** together with some rice-fields as well as lands in the villages of **Nattapātaka**, **Pānāchhi** and **Maṇḍaladraha** (vv. 47-52). The date is given at the end as **Vikrama-Samvat 1218** (A.D. 1059). The inscription was engraved by **Asarāja**, son of **Kāyastha Śrīdhara** of **Valabhi**.

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, kings **Siyaka**, **Muñjadēva**, **Sindhurāja**, **Bhōjadēva** and **Jayasimhadēva** are the well known Paramāra rulers of **Mālwa**. Up till now only one copper plate inscription¹ dated V. 1112 (A.D. 1055) of the time of **Jayasimha** (I) has been discovered, so this inscription carries his reign to a further period of some four years. Among the rulers of **Vāgaḍa**, **Dhanika**, **Chachcha**, **Satyarāja**, **Limbārāja** and **Mandalika** are mentioned in the inscription. The names of **Kankadēva** and **Chandapa**, the two rulers after **Chachcha**, which are found in the **Arthūpā** Inscription of V. 1136² are not preserved in the present record. The battle fought against **Khōttigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) is evidently the one mentioned in the **Arthūpā** Inscription of V. 1136 (verse 19) as being fought by **Kankadēva** against the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king of **Karttāṭa**.

From verse 36 of the present record, **Mandalika** who is called **Maṇḍaladēva** in the **Arthūpā** Inscription, appears to have been the feudatory of King **Jayasimhadēva** (I) of **Mālwa**.

Many of the localities mentioned in this inscription may be easily identified. Thus **Pāṃśulākhṭaka** (vv. 39, 46) is the village of **Pāṃśhēṭṭā** where the inscription was found. **Nattapātaka** (v. 50) is the village called **Nāṭāwārā** lying about two miles to the west of **Pāṃśhēṭṭā**. **Dēulapātaka** is the modern **Dēulwārā** situated about 4 miles south-west of **Jagapurā**. **Bhōgyapura** is the village **Bhagōrā** which stands about 3 miles to the north-west of **Pāṃśhēṭṭā**. **Pānāchhi** is now called **Pāṇāl** and is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from **Pāṃśhēṭṭā**. **Maṇḍaladraha** is **Māḍaldā** of the present day and is about 4 miles to the west of **Nāṭāwārā**. **Nagna-tadāga** (v. 48) is a tank called **Nūḡḍātālāva** and is to be seen at the foot of the temple of **Mandalēśvara** at **Pāṃśhēṭṭā**. **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) was evidently the name of a ford on the bank of the **Narmadā**. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

¹ For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. I, p. 164.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 46.

³ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.

TEXT.¹

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 2 (1) and 52, *Arjā*; vv. 3-6, 8, 11, 13-15, 23, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39 and 60, *Sāreṇavakriṣṭa*; vv. 7 and 16, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 22 and 33, *Śrīgharā*; vv. 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 44-51, 53-59 and 61, *Anuśubhā*; v. 21, *Mālinī*; v. 25, *Śālinī*; v. 38, *Upajālī*; vv. 40-43, *Tōṭaka*.]

1 श्री श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

धृतगगनसिन्धुपटः श्रीलसुताशालभञ्जिकासुभगः । जयति जगत्(ज)य-
मंडपमुल्लसंभो मञ्जादेवः ॥१॥* जयति शिवो यस्मू[वि] . . .
. [१*] ————— [॥२॥] —
— ॐ — [श—]

2

मां ककलया सवः प्रपद्यासते

वामः प्राप्य सुरा जगाम गरलघामादधोरः सुखं ।

ईशानेन समुद्रमंथनविधौ नेत्रोक्तः पद्मगो— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ — [॥३॥*] ——— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
——— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ———

3 तैश्चैर्ममैकलिताः पुनश्च दक्षितामृतेन्दुलिखांशभिः । भूयः स्फारमुज्ज-
मोगश(ग)रलघामासोन्मिभिः संभृताः शंभोः पातु कठोरकंठ ॐ —
—— ॐ ——— ॐ — [॥४॥*] ——— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
—— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ———

4

चेत्ते कुटुंबे(वं) हरिः ।

मैनाकावृ(वृ)न्दयोः स्वसुखं यद्वे को नाय मे वर्जति मिषाहं
भवतः प्रियैरुत्तमसुताभिर्भो हरः पातु वः ॥५॥* अथास्ववृ(वृ)न्द-
— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ — ॐ —
ॐ — ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ — [१*] ——— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — [वि*].

5

तते श्रीमक्षिणाप्रक्षे

कुंडाण्यैः परमार इत्यभिधया दिव्यः पुमानुलितः ॥६॥* आसीद-
कंठमुत्तमद्वयकठोरवैरिकंठास्त्रनिर्दशनदंतुरखट्व[धारः १*] — ॐ — ॐ —
ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ——— ॐ ——— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
[॥७॥*] ——— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —

6

अये संचापनावै सुह-

श्वंडीहामररावसुवकुम्भं द्राक्षादिते दुंदुभौ । धिनुः पोषुघटातुरंगस-

¹ From an impression.² Expressed by a symbol. [It is preferable to read the symbol as *addition*.—Ed.]

- चमूंसवहदपोक्ताः सामन्ताः कटकाय — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ —
 — ७ — [॥८॥*] — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ —
 — ७ नेवेर्वेतालेः सातुकामै-
 7 रनवि(धि)गततलास्तस्य बुद्धस्वलीषु ।
 दोहं डोषं डखद्वाहतकरटिघटाघोरकंकालकूलाः मयः कीनालनयः स्फुटित-
 नरशिरःपद्म — ७ — — [॥९॥*] — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७
 ७ — — ७ — — ७ — — [उद्य]द्दिहंठपोठस्फुटविगलदस्यसि-
 त्तसंयामरंगः ।
 8 राजा श्रीमज्जदेवः समन्तानि क्षतिनां वां(वां)धवो यस्य कीर्तिः
 कुंजे कुंजे गिरीणां प्रकटितपुलकं गीयते किन्नरोभिः [॥१०॥*]
 — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — —
 — ७ [स]कातरेण मनसा वां(चं)चत्कणामंडलः ।
 9 क्षिमे(ऽ)नंतरमेव सौख्यमतुलं तुल्यमप्यन्यत्रो
 त्वंगत्तु(त्तु)गत्तु(त्तु)रंगनिधुरस्वरचोदोदत्तैः पांसुभिः [॥११॥*] सुंडा(शुण्डा)रा
 डाकिनीनां [॥॥] ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — —
 — — ७ — — [श]तकरटिघटाः सत्वरं जित्वरेण । येन्या(ना)-
 10 दीयन्ता मूर्ध्नि स्फुरदसिस्तलिनं पातयित्वा रिभेभ्यो
 गृह(घ)षीणां ररंघ(धुः)श्रुतवचनं वसासोधवो योद्ध(डु)कंठाः [॥१२॥*]
 रंभावा(वा)[डु?] ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — —
 — ७ ७ — पराक्रमनिधिः श्रीसिंधुराजो ह्यपः । भजे यस्य
 11 विसर्पिकंजरघटासंघट्टहेलानम-
 डाक्षीमंडलभारधारणपरिक्रमे(शं) भुजगेश्वरः [॥१३॥*] कः स्थातुं क्षमते
 पराक्रम- — — ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ —
 ७ [ति]प्रोद्दामगर्वं वचः ते दृष्यंतु क[बंध]नामरिप-
 12 वः सौ(शौ)यप्रतिगृह्या
 दध्रे येभ्यश्च एव यस्य यम(य)सा विवासितः कालिमा [॥१४॥*]
 आता वागसमंजसा मयव[वा]दुम् ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ —
 ७ — ७ ७ ७ — [य*]वा गृह्ये यादृसं(शं) । सु(श्रु)त्वा यद्गज-
 दंडपोडितधनुः
 13 दृक्कारमाराहतं
 गाढापाणिर्वपानहः परमभूदे(दे)केव विदेयिणां [॥१५॥*] तस्मादजायत

सरोरुपचनेषो विद्यानि[धिः*] — — — — — [१*]
 — — — — — चन्द्रकपाणदंडत्वापारजोस(श)कविदम्भुजो नर-

14

दः ॥१५[१*]
 सपर्यव्युहामदप्योक्तकरटिघटामेदुरे यस्य सैन्ये मेदिन्यामलमायामसहम-
 रधुरा धर्तुमुधर्तुकामः । — — — — —
 — — — — — कस्यो मनीष्यवामिः समजनि निश्चयः(तः)
 पाणदीपन्तु

15

[शे]षः ॥१७
 [१*] यस्मिन्नुर्वी विजितुं प्रचलति च(व)लपत्तुंगमातंगसैन्यलोभनीय-
 प्रवाहाः पमवितनल्लिनीभंडपोडोनचंसाः [१] — — — — —
 — — — — — वैरिसोवा(वा)प्यपूरैर्यरुपु
 समभव(व)क्षेपि कृपाः

16

[श]लिह्याः ॥१८[१*]
 दर्शयत्वाकनो रूपं विद्यान्(क)रितविश्वसैः । यत्प्रतापाव(वु)दो
 भूत्वा का(दा)नवर्षो प्रजासभूत् ॥१८[१*] भुक्ता मि(शि)रसि यच्चूणा
 खड्ग — — — — — [१*] — — — — —
 — — — — — रियं ॥ २०[१*] तमत्तु विततभूभृषकचुडाचिंता-
 छिः प्रतप-

17

ति जय[मि]शः पार्थिवो माय(ल)वानां ।
 चटुस्तुरगसेनापांशुभिर्भ्यः प्रयाणि कलुषयति चतुष्पामर्षवानां पवांसि
 ॥२१[१*] यडा(दा)हुः सो(शो)यवेमो — — — — —
 — — — — — [अ०]मरुवतिभिः कोर्येते
 पुष्यवत्या । हिलाकटासिदडाहतसु-

18

मटप्टाकंधकंडा^१स्त्रिखंड-
 प्रचोतद्रक्तवाराहतसमरधरापुष्टवृत्त्यत्कवं(वं)धः ॥२२[१*] ताः कंडल-
 कपोलकेलिकवणचुत्त्यत्कटोर[द्रुमा*] — — — — —
 — — — — — [१*] दोर्दण्डविनासद्वं(व)ररणबंधासिधारावले
 दाम्म(च)ज्जति वि-

19

पञ्चवारणघटाः संयामसोमास्तशः ॥२३
 [१*] यस्याजो यमजिह्वाभं खड्गमानोक्त विदियः । यमातेप्यायुषः
 का..... ॥२४[१*] — — — — —

... [१*] [२*] च पृथ्वीसुतविषं सुष्टिमघ्ये
निवेसि(मि)ताः ॥२५॥

- 20 अवागो(सो)त्परमारवं[ग्र]विततौ लब्धा(व्या)न्य[यः] पार्थिवो
मात्वा श्रीधनिको धनेश्वर इव त्यागैककल्पद्रुमः । — — —
— — — — — निम्बे स्वकीयं वपुः ॥२६॥ श्रीमहाकालदेवस्य
निकटे हिमपाङ्क-

- 21 रं ।
श्रीधनेश्वर इत्युच्चैः कीर्त्तनं यस्य राजते ॥२७॥ [१*] चञ्चलामाभवे(व)-
त्त्व(त्त)स्माद्भावसुसुमङ्गावृषः । रणे
— — — [१२८*] — — — — —
— — — स्वया विख्यातः करवाचघातदक्षितदिदुर्भिकुम्भस्यक्तः ।
यः श्री-

- 22 खोट्टु(हि)कदेवदत्तममरः श्रीसीयकार्ये कृतो
रेवायाः खलिच[इ]नामनि तटे सुध्वा(डा) प्रतस्थे दिवं ॥२८॥
... [१*]
... वासिता ॥२९॥ [१*] आतः
कीर्त्तितरंगिणीस(चु)ल(चु)कितचैसोवसीमातरस्वागी

- 23 सत्यपराक्रमो [गुण*]मिधिः श्रीसत्पराजोभवत् ।
यः श्रीभोजनरेदुदत्तविभवः साधे रणे गृह्यैः कृत्वा[सं] — — —
— — — [१३१*] — — —
— — — मास्यभागीरथीमैलः(तुः) कीर्त्तिषु चाहमान-
महतां वंशोद्भवा लभ्यते । रा-

- 24 अचोः सहजैव येन सहजश्रीमन्वतिः स्वामिना
यस्याः स्वादुपमानमादिपुरुष(धा)पीत[स्व]मी देवकी ॥३२॥ [१*] तस्या —
— — — — —
निर्व(च)राजः प्रकटसुमटता(तः) खट्टिषु व(म)कल्पः [१*] स्वल्पश्री-

- 25 भूरिदाता नयविनयमहापंडितस्तद्वरिष्ठः
स्त्रि(स्त्र)मं प्राप्त्यन्वित्वा क[लि]युगमधिपदेविणो निर्दलित्वा ॥३३॥
भोगत्यागो यज्ञो[त्वा] श्रीमंड-

* Correctly चत. The first syllable is lengthened for the sake of the metre.

लोक इत्यस्य लघुस्वातामवे(व)वृपः ॥३४[४*] सु(शु)रस्त्वामो नमो
शोनी वि-

26

पथित्

कंदर्पाभिः कामिनीचित्तचौरः । सामंतानां मूर्ध्नि दत्ताङ्गिरको
राजसुर्ध्वमंडले मंडलोकः ॥३४(३५)[४*] अपि च ॥ भोज . . .
— — — — — [४*]
— — — — — [४*] येना-
दाय रणे कर्त्तुं दंडाधीसं(शं) महाव(व)लं । अपि च जयसिंहाय
सा[स्त्रं]

27

गजसमन्विधं(तं) ॥३५(३६)

[४*] जयत्यसौ श्रीपरमारवंशी यत्र प्रभुः श्रीजयसिंहदेवः । जातः
प्रसा(शा)खानु च यस्य तुंगसामंतपूज्य — — — — — [४*](३८)
॥३॥ — — — — —
भक्त्याकार्यत मंदिरं अररिपोस्तत्प्राशुलाखेटके । यस्मिन्(त्तुं)गशिरः-

28

प्रदेशनिहितैर्दोषोक्तवे दोषकै-

ईत्तं कल्लसमंजयति नयनान्यादायसिद्धिः ॥३८(३९)[४*] वृण-
सुष्टिमुपाहृतवानपि यः । — — — — — [४*]
— — — — — भुवि सोप्यवतोर्य भवेत्पतिः
॥३९(४०)[४*] शरदारुसुदालयमोशकते

29

सुरतेत्यध[नी] दिननेत्रमपि । दिवि सर्वसमस्तमुपास्य सि(शि)वं
पुनरव महीपततः प्रभवेत् ॥४०(४१)[४*] व(वृ)हदाम — — — — — [४*]
— — — — —
कामयतेपि महेन्द्रप्रदंसुरनाथमपि स्वस्वयेदचिरात् ॥४१(४२)[४*]

30

यदि पञ्चमहेष्टकया तरुभिर्वरसारश(शि)लाघटितैर्घटयेत् । निखिला-
मस्ते(शे)खरघट्टनया निविसे(शे)हिवि घटपदां(वृ)कचः ॥४२(४३)[४*]
— — — — — विषाणजं ।

प्रासादमयं मानियं शिव एव करोति यः ॥४३(४४)[४*]

31

राजा सो(शो)जयसिंहिन चक्षुः देवाय भक्तिः ।

हवभं प्रति भोगार्थं मानं पिमो(शो)पको दत्तः ॥४४(४५)[४*]

- पांसुलाखिटके स्वानि कच्छीक . . . [1*]
 द्वितीयस्तु दत्तः शंभोः स्वभक्तिना⁽²⁾ ॥४५(४६)॥[1*] वंदनाख्ये(5)रघटे च
 भूमे(मि)-
- 32 भूमिदत्तं तथा ।
 दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन स्वयेया(य)य(मि) महेस(श)तः ॥४६(४७)॥[1*]
 पृष्ठे नमस्तडागस्य वरुणेश्व(श्व)र्यास्त्वयैव च । वाटिका सुभगा दत्ता-
 ॥४७(४८)॥[1*] एवादितः
 कृत्वा यावच्छंद्रदिवाकरौ । भूमिदत्ता महेदारा बुध्वा(बुद्धा)
- 33 मांसारिकं फलं ॥४८(४९)॥[1*]
 नडापाटकयामि भूरन्धा देउलपाटके । भीमपुरे च पानाद्यामपरा
 मंडलद्वये ॥४९(५०)॥[1*] एवमेतेषु यामिषु⁽³⁾
 [1*] चिता । भूमिः श्रीमंडलीकेन दत्ता श्रीमंडलेश्वरे ॥५०(५१)॥[1*]
 एतच्च पु-
- 34 रं ललनानूपुरभंकारमुखरिताभोगं ।
 भोगनिमित्तं शंभोर्दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन ॥५१(५२)॥[1*] पुरेच मत्तद्व्यस्य
 भूरघटादिकस्य च [1*] म शः
 प्रकल्पितः ॥५२(५३)॥[1*] तपस्वो(स्वो) ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारि(री) यं(यः) [श]चि-
 दीता(तो) जितेंद्रि-
- 35 यः ।
 तिनान्न त(न)विः(तिः) कर्त्तव्या पारिकेः मच्च सर्वदा ॥५३(५४)॥[1*]
 भरती धुंधुमारच कान्तवीर्यो शिविवं(व)लिः । हरिश्चंद्र(चन्द्र)स्तु
 मांधाता नको वेणुर्नपाद(यः) ॥५४(५५)॥[1*]
 जान(ताः) वरपूरिताः । तंप्प्यायुषि परिजीवि म(ताः)
 कृता(कर्त्ता)तिकं पुरं ॥५५(५६)॥[1*]
- 36 मत्वे[न*]दस्त्रिं सर्वं राज्यमायुधेनं नृपैः ।
 न क्षीर्यं सि(श्रि)यसंबंधि वस्तु श्लोकं(कम)पि यद्वेत् ॥५६(५७)॥[1*] यतः
 [1*] भवद्यानाज्यमज्ञा(ज्ञ)नाद्यस्त्रितं करजोद(रे) [1*]
 हरिद्विपः ॥५७(५८)॥[1*] विसे(मि)प्रतः ।
 यस्मिंसे(शे)व — — विषये भो-
- 37 लाभ यो भवेत् ।
 तस्यास्माभिः कृताभ्यर्था (र्था) सि(श्रि)वदनं न चालयेत् ॥५८(५९)॥[1*] अस्ति
 प्रत्यवनीम(श)चक्रमुकुटस्यष्टाङ्गिपीठस्थितः । श्रीक्रीटश्चतुर्भुजः
 — — — — — [1*] [ते*]नियं स्फुटवर्णपा-
 कपटिमग्रीदेः पदाङ्गं(व)रिः संदृष्ट्वा सुम-

38

[सः]प्रवो(वो)धजननो यंभोः प्रवन्तिगुहे ॥६०॥*

यावदाद्रो कला यंभोद्योतिते कुटम्बपे । कीर्तिः योमंडलोक्त्वा तावद-

स्त्वयया भुवि ॥६०'६१[॥] संवत् विक्रम- १११६ . . .

[वा]सभकायस्त्वयोधरसुतासराजिनेयमुक्तीरिता(का?) [स(स)डा] ॥

B.—ARTHUNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIJAYARAJA : VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1166.

This record was found at Arthūnā in the Bānswāra state in Rājputāna¹ and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer. It consists of thirty-one lines of writing, covering a space of $1' 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1'$. Excepting a few letters, the inscription is well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of a type which was common in Rājputāna during the period to which the record belongs. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}''$. The letter *ṣ* is differently written in lines 15 and 21.

The language is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of a few words at the beginning of l. 1 and at the end of verses 25, 26 and 30, the record is written in verse.

In respect of orthography it may be noted that *v* is used for *h* in *vaśuś* (l. 2), *vāḍha* (l. 12), etc.; *n* for *s* in *nirvāṇa* (l. 7); *s* for *ś* in *sāsaṅga* (l. 15), *saṅvara* (l. 19), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *śaḍāṇa* (l. 31). Consonants with a superscript *r* are doubled in *-pater-uridhana-* (l. 2), *sarve-āyureveda* (l. 7), etc. *Anusvara* is used for nasals in *Mandaliḥka* (l. 2), *-chāṇchurika* (l. 16), etc. Rules of sandhi have been frequently violated. *Jihvāmūliya* has been used in lines 29 and 30.

The subject of the inscription is the foundation of a Jaina temple and the consecration of the image of Vṛishabhānātha at the town of Utthūpaka during the reign of Vijayarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Vāgaḍa. After paying homage to Vitarūga in verse 1, the inscription records in verse 2 that Mandaliḥka of the Paramāra lineage killed the general Kanha and Sindhurāja. It then speaks of Mandaliḥka's son Chāmundaarāja as having destroyed the army of the lord of Avanti in the Sthall country. Verse 3 speaks of his son Vijayarāja, who was a brave and famous ruler and a conqueror of his foes. The inscription then turns to the description of the Jaina family one of whose descendants caused the temple of Vṛishabhānātha to be built. Verses 4-5 inform us that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Talapāṭaka, the residence of Ambaṭa, a learned Jaina physician and jewel of the Nāgara family. His son was Pāpaka, who knew the whole of Ayurvāda (v. 7). He had three sons, Ālaka, Sāhasa and Lalūka (v. 8). Ālaka was benevolent, well versed in history and a pupil of Chhetrasena of the Māthura family (vv. 9-11). He had three sons by his wife Hōlā. The eldest was Pāhuka who was well versed in Sāstras and who became a recluse (vv. 12-14). His younger brother was Bhūshana, a pious Jaina whose glories are described in verses 15-19. He had two wives, Lakshmi and Sill. By the latter he had three sons, Ālaka, Sādhārana and Sāntimukhya. It was Bhūshana who re-established this Jaina temple (vv. 20-22). His younger brother was Lalūka. His elder brother Pāhuka had a son named Ambaṭa by his wife Stukā (vv. 23-24). Verses 25-26 and the prose line between them inform us that an image of Vṛishabhānātha was established by Bhūshana in the town of Utthūpaka in the year 1166 of the Vikrama era, while Vijayarāja was reigning in the province of Sthall and that the image was consecrated on Monday, the 3rd day of the bright

¹ F. R. A. S. W. C., 1905-06, p. 40.

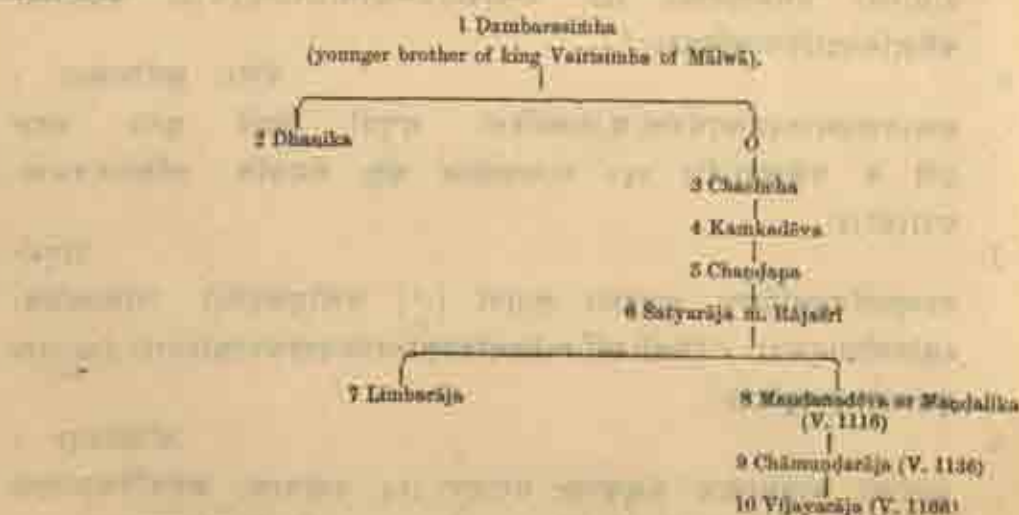
half of *Vaiśākha* of the same year which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 5th April, 1109 A.D. The next two verses inform us that 16 verses from the fourth as well as the first verse were composed by the learned *Kaṭuka* while the rest was the work of *Bhātuka*, son of the Brahman *Sāvaḍa* who was the son of *Bhātula* of the *Valha* family. The *prabasti* was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* *Vāmana*, son of *Kāyaastha Rājapāla* of the *Vālabha* family (v. 29). The inscription was engraved by the *vijānaka* *Steamāka*. The *prabasti* practically ends with line 26. The next five lines, which seem to have been added later, are herein styled *dharmśūśaṅga*.¹

As regards the *personages* mentioned in the inscription, much is already known about *Maṇḍalika* and *Chāmunḍarāja* from other inscriptions. The inscription A says that *Maṇḍalika* took general *Kanha* prisoner and handed him over to king *Jayasimhadēva*, whereas in the inscription B he is said to have killed him. Again, in the *Arthūgā* inscription of V. 1136,² *Chāmunḍarāja*, son of *Maṇḍanadēva*, is said to have overcome *Sindhurāja*, whereas in the present record *Maṇḍalika* is said to have killed him which would be impossible unless the two *Sindhurājas* were different persons, or the word '*Sindhurāja*' was used in the general sense of 'a ruler of *Sindhu*'. Thus the facts mentioned in inscription A and the *Arthūgā* inscription of V. 1136 do not agree with those found in the present record.³ The former inscriptions are earlier and, perhaps, more reliable than the present record.

Vijayarāja, in whose time this inscription was written, was the last known ruler of the *Vāgaḍa* branch. No trace has yet been found of his successors. It is known, however, that *Vāgaḍa*, after a few decades, went under the control of the *Guhila* king *Sammatsamīha* of *Mewār*, who established a kingdom there in about V. 1236 (A.D. 1179) and thus became the founder of the present State of *Dungarpur* in *Rājputāna*.⁴

As to the *places* mentioned in the inscription, *Utthāṇaka* is the modern *Arthūgā* which is about 28 miles south-west of *Bānswāra*. *Talapāṭaka* is now a village called *Talavāḍā* lying about 12 miles to the south of *Bānswāra*.

The genealogy of the *Paramāras* of *Vāgaḍa* according to the inscriptions now available would stand thus:—



¹ [This, I understand from *Muni Puṇyavijaya* of *Pāṇa*, is some small *Dopshara*—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XIV. pp. 297 ff.

³ See Dr. Barnett's remarks in the last para. on page 296 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV—Ed.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 101 f.

TEXT.¹

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 13 and 14, *Mālinī*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 22 and 30, *Sārdūlavṛṇḍita*; vv. 3, 25, 26, 31, 32 and 33, *Āryā*; vv. 4, 11 and 17, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 7, *Sragdharā*; vv. 8, 20, 23, 24, 27-29 and 34-38, *Anuśtubh*; vv. 9 and 10, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 12 and 21, *Uṣṇasravīṇī*; vv. 15, 16 and 29, *Śikharīṇī*; v. 18, *Prithvī*; v. 19, *Harinī*.]

1 श्रीं ॥ श्रीं जमो धेतरागाय ॥

स जयतु जिनभातुर्भयराजोवराजो जनितावरविकाशो दत्तलोकप्रकाशः ।

परममयतमोभिर्न स्थितं यत्परस्ताच्चणमपि चपलाभहादिखद्योतकैश्च ॥१॥

2 चामोच्छीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमंडलौकाभिधः कन्दस्य ध्वजिनौपतर्षिधनकच्छौ-
सिंधुराजस्य च । जज्ञे कीर्तिलतालवालक इतस्सामुंडराजो नृपो योर्वति-
प्रभुसाधनानि व(ब)हुशो हंति स्म

3 देशे सखलौ(जाम्) ॥२॥

श्रीविजयराजना[मा] तस्य सुतो जयति जगति विततयशाः । सुभगो
जितारवर्गो गुणरत्नपयोनिधिः शूरः ॥३॥ देशेऽस्य पत्तनवरं तत्तपाटकाश्वं
पञ्चाङ्गनाजनिता-

4 मरसुंदरोकम् ।

अस्ति प्रशस्तसुरमंदिरवैजयन्तीविस्तारवत्तदिननायकरप्र[चा]रं ॥४॥ तस्मिन्नाग-
रवंशशेखरमणिनिःशेषशास्त्राभ्यु(स्व)धिर्जनेद्रागमवासनारससुधाविवास्त्रिम[ज्जो]भवत् ।

5 श्रीमानव(ब)टसंज्ञकः कलिव(ब)हिर्भूतो भिषपा(ग्वा)मणीगोर्ध्व्येपि निर्वचिता-
प(प्र)मरो देशप्रतालंजतः ॥५॥ यस्यावश्यककर्मनिष्ठितमते[नि]ष्टा वनातिभव-
चंतिवासिनादाजिताञ्जलिपुटा-²

6 चौराः कृतोपासनाः ।

यस्यानन्यसमानदर्शनगुणैरन्त[व]मत्कारिता शश्रूषा विदधे सुतेव सततं
देवी च चक्रेश्वरा(रो) ॥६॥ पापाकस्तस्य स्तुः समजनि जनितानिकमव्य-
प्रपो(मो)दः

7 प्रादुर्भू-

तप्रभूतप्रविमलधिषणः पारदृष्ट्वा नृतानां [1³] सर्वायुर्वेदेयो विहितसकल-
रुद्रांतलोकानुकंपो ।⁴ निर्वी(श्वी)ताशेषदोषप्रकृतिरपगदस्तत्प्रतोकारमारः ॥७॥ तस्य
पुत्राभ्योभूवन्भूरिगा-

8 सविशारदाः ।

आलाकः साहसाल्यश्च लज्जाल्यः परोनुजः ॥८॥ यस्तवायः सज्जविशदप्रज्ञया
भासमानः स्वातादृशं स्फुरितसकलैतिष्ठतत्त्वार्थसारः । संवेगादिस्कृटतरगुणव्य-

¹ From the original inscription.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The strokes are redundant.

⁴ Danda unnecessary.

- 18 स्थिरमतिमहास्त्राया नीती विभूतिगिरिः शिरः ॥१८॥ हे भार्ये भूषणस्य स्तः
लक्ष्मीशीलीतिविद्युते । पतिव्रतत्वसंयुक्ते चारित्र्यगुणभूषिते ॥२०॥^[१४] स [शी]-
19 लिकायामुदपादि पुचान्मन्त्राभयोभ्याम्गुरुदेवभक्तः ।
षष्ठोक्तसाधारणशान्तिमु[स्या]म्भवंधु(वन्धु)चित्ताज्ञ(ज्ञ)विकाशभानून् ॥२१॥ चायुस्त-
ममशोधभारनिहितश्लोकाभ्यु(भ्यु)वयस्व(श्व)र
20 संचित्य द्विपक्षगणपंचलतरां लक्ष्म्याच दृष्टा स्थितिं । ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रसुनिषया-
त्स्थिरतरं नूनं — — — सी तेनाकारि मनोहरं जिनशृङ्गं भूमेरिदं
भूषणं(णम्) ॥२२॥ भूषणस्य ज-
21 निष्ठो(ष्ठः) शीलज्ञाक इति विद्युतः ।
देवपूजापरी नित्यं भ्रातुरादेशलक्षदा ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठः) पादुजनामा यः सोड-
कायामजोजनत् । शुभलक्षणसंयुक्तं पुत्रमश्व(श्व)टसंज्ञकं(कम्) २४^[१५]
22 वर्षसहस्रे याते षट्शततरशतेन संयुक्ते ।
विक्रमभानोः काले स्वलि(लो)विषयमवति सति विजयराजे ॥२५॥ विक्रम-
संवत् ११६६ वैशाख सु(शु)दि ३ मासे वृषभनाथस्य प्रतिष्ठा ॥
23 श्रोतृवृषभनाथनाथः प्रति[ष्ठितं] भूषणेन विव(विम्ब)मिदं ।
उत्कृष्टकनगरस्थिस्थितं जगतो(त्यां) वृषभनाथस्य ॥२६॥ युगलं ॥०॥ तुर्यवृत्ता
लभारम्भं वृत्तात्वे(न्वे)तानि षोडश । चायुवृत्ते-
24 न युक्तानि कृतवान्कटुको तु(तु)घः ॥२७॥
भाद्रपदे वल्लवंसे(शे)भूतजः शोसावडो द्विजः । तत्कृतोर्भाटुकस्थेयं निःशेषाधा-
परा कृतिः ॥२८॥ वालभ्यान्वयकायस्तराजपालस्य
25 शतुना ।
संधिविषयसंस्थेन लिखिता वाग(ने)न वै ॥२९॥ यावद्वावचराभयोः सुपरितं
भूमौ जनैर्गीयते ।^१ यावद्विष्णुपदी जलं प्रवहति श्योम्भस्ति यावच्छशी । यज्ञ-
26 इक्षवितिर्मातं यवणकैः यावत्सु(च्छु)तं पलाते तावत्कीर्ति-
रियं चिराय जयतामस्तुयमाना(ना) जनैः ॥३०॥ उत्कीर्णा विद्वानिकसुमा-
किन ॥ मंगलं भवत्योः ॥
27 श्री ॥ लक्ष्मीनिवासनिलयं विनोदकिल(कलु)षं निधाय इति शीर ।
शालानुशाश(स)नमहं व(च्छे) जायकध्याना^२(?)॥१३॥(३१) दुःखादि(दि)भेषि नितराम-
भिवाञ्छसि सुखमतोदमध्यामन् । दुःखापहारि सुख-

^१ *Isaia's unnecessary.*^२ *Perhaps we have to read भीष्माय शिष्याय(?)—Nil.*

28

कारमनुसा(शा)स्त्रि त[वा]नुम[त]मेव ॥२(३२)॥

यद्यपि कदाचिदस्मिन्निपाकमधुरं तदात्वकटु किञ्चित् । त्वं तस्मात्मा भैषो-
र्यथातुरो भैषजादुद्यात् ॥३(३३)॥ जना घनाश्च वाचालाः सुलभाः सुर्वथो-
त्थिताः । दुर्ल-

29

भा श्रुतरादांस्ते जगदम(स)जिहोघेवः ॥४(३४)॥

परायत्तास्तुष्टादुःखं स्वायत्तं केवलं वरं । अन्वया सुखिनामानङ्गमा[र्त्ता]
स्तपस्विनः ॥५(३५)॥ उपायकोटिदूरचे स्तपस्तत इतोन्वतः । सर्वतः
पतनप्राये

30

काये लीयं तवाय जः ॥६(३६)॥

अवस्थं(श्वं) नस्व(श्व)रैरभिराद्युःकायादिभिर्यदि । सास्व(शास्त्र)तं पदमायाति
सुधायातमवेदि ते ॥७(३७)॥ गंतुमुच्छासनिःस्वामैरभ्यस्यत्येष संततं । लोकः
प्रथमितो^२ वाङ्मत्वात्मा-

31

[नमज^३]रामरं ॥८(३८)॥

गलत्वायुः प्रायः प्रकटितघटोयंचश(स)लिलं खलुः(स्तः) कायोप्यायुः सतिमभिपतत्येष
अनतं । किमस्य(प्य)न्वैरन्वेदयमयमिदं जीवितमिह स्थितौ भ्रातृानाविस्त(?)-
मिव मनुजे स्वास्तु मरणं(णम्)^४ [॥^५] ८(३८) [॥^६]

No. 10.—MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By STEEN KONOW.

In a field opposite the Chaurāl Jains temple in Mathurā, 200 yards due south of the Govardhan Road, is a wall called Lāl Kūvā. Some eight or nine years ago a pillar of red Mathurā sandstone was found here, and left on the surface till it was deposited in the Mathurā Museum, as No. 1119, on the 13th June, 1929, at the instance of the late Pandit Radhakrishna.

The pillar is 6' 7" high and 11·8" broad at the bottom. Up to a height of 2' 7" it is square, above that, octangular.

The pillar bears an inscription, 14" high and 11" broad, consisting of thirteen lines. The height of individual letters varies between $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 1". The beginning of ll. 12-13 has peeled off. In other respects the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.*

The characters are Brāhmī of the Kuṣāṇa type. In l. 1, after the word *siddha*, we find the crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, which occurs in two other Brāhmī records, in the same position. Bühler[†] explained it as a stop, of the same kind as the crescent used after

* Read श्रवमितो.

* मरणं is written on the left hand margin with the sign of *idā-pada* before it.* After my manuscript was sent to press, the inscription was published by Mr. Jaysawal, *J.B.O.I.S.*, XVIII, pp. 4 E., and noticed by Mr. Hari Krishna Deb, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 117 ff. These papers have not brought me to modify my views.† *Indica Palaeography*, I, 38, C. 5.

the first edicts in the Kāśī version of Aśoka's inscriptions. It is, however, possible that it is used to denote final *m*.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 5, 8, 20, 50 and 100.

The characters are well cut, but the shape of individual *akṣaras* is not always quite the same. Thus the long *ā* is sometimes straight, and sometimes curved: cf. *anādhānām*, l. 8, where we find both forms used side by side. In *ā*, ll. 2 and 4, it is placed about the middle of the bar, in *ā*, l. 6, at the bottom. The *u-mātrā*, which also stands for *ū*, is a straight downward stroke after *u* (l. 4), *p* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9-13), *m* (l. 6) and *k* (l. 10); an upward slope after *t* (ll. 3, 4) and *s* (l. 4); a downward slope after *h* (l. 7) and *r* (l. 2); and a forward stroke after *t* (l. 11). *R* is straight in ll. 1, 6, 7, 12, while the bottom is curved to the left in ll. 2, 3, 5, 12, 13. The central bar of *ya* in *dhārya*, l. 5, is bent to the left, so that the letter looks like a *ye*. The object was perhaps to avoid its running into the subscript *ya* standing above it.

There are some cases of carelessness. The *anuvāsa* is frequently omitted: cf. *vidhā*, l. 1, if we should not read *vidhām*; *puṇya*, ll. 9, 11, and several plural genitives. Short vowel is written for a long one in *śivī*, l. 3; *śivī*, l. 11; *yachatra* for *yachchātra*, l. 9; *patina* side by side with *patinā*, l. 3; *pibāsānām*, l. 9, etc. Other mistakes are *tulā* for *talā*, l. 3; *bubhukṣhātām* for *bubhukṣhātām*, l. 9; *anādhānām* for *anādhānām*, l. 8; *areḍyā* for *areḍyā*, l. 11; *visarga* before *t*, l. 10, etc.

Some of these inconsistencies and mistakes are due to the fact that the writer attempted to write Sanskrit, but was not able to do so correctly. The language is the mixed dialect, though the Sanskrit element is exceptionally strong. Thus the *ri*-vowel occurs in *vidhā*, l. 3; *krīṭā*, l. 8. The form *laṣṭipā* for *laṣṭipā*, l. 7, may be of interest, because the origin of this word, which makes its first appearance in the *Aśvatthāyana-Srautasūtra* and the *Chāṇakya-Upaniṣad*, is not known. It is, however, not probable that the *ri* is anything else than a misunderstood Sanskritization. The three *s*-sounds are distinguished as in Sanskrit. The word *śak*, l. 7, seems to be certain, but I cannot explain it. *R*-compounds such as *pr*, *br* and *ir* are preserved throughout, and the *ti* in *sanvatsarā*, l. 1, is also in accordance with Sanskrit phonetics. Similar cases are, however, well known from other inscriptions in the mixed dialect and from the North-Western Prakrit. Forms such as *brāhmaṇa*, l. 5, *yachatra*, i.e., *yachchātra*, l. 9, *prīṣā*, *yādhā*, *tākhā*, l. 10, are Sanskrit.

There are, however, numerous **Prakriticisms**. Compare *prastā*, l. 7; *śārapātra*, l. 10; *śākhā*, l. 6; *śākhāya*, l. 10; *śākhā*, l. 6; *prastāya*, l. 11; the frequent shortening of the termination of the genitive plural; pronominal forms such as *yaṁ* for *yaṁ*, l. 1; *taṁ* for *taṁ*, l. 9; *taṁ* for *taṁ*, l. 8; *dinā* for *dinā*, ll. 3, 11; *dhārya*, l. 6; *chāṇakya* for *chāṇakya*, l. 4, etc.

The record is dated on the first day of Gurpīya in the year 28, and we learn from ll. 9f. that the Dēvaputra Shāhi Ruvishka was then on the throne.

Gurpīya is the Macedonian month *Gorpaios*, corresponding to the Indian *Pratibhā* and this is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in a Brāhmī inscription. We have, on the whole, no other example of the use of the Macedonian calendar in Mathurā, and it is *a priori* likely that the person at whose request the inscription was drawn up was a foreigner, from a country where that calendar was known and used, i.e., that he came from the North-West. This inference is also borne out by other considerations, as we shall see below.

The Hidda inscription is dated in the same year as our record, viz., on the 10th Apellais 28. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the corresponding Christian date is the 24th November 155 A.D., and that of our record, the 19th August 156 A.D.

As set out in the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part I, this dating is based on the assumption that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is the year 128-9 A.D., and I am still convinced, that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later. The common opinion among scholars in India and Europe is, however, apparently that we must refer them to the historical Śaka era.¹

This theory is not based on any indication in Indian sources, but simply on the assumptions that the founder of the era was a Śaka, and that this Śaka must have been Kanishka, the most famous of the Kushāṇa rulers of India.

I have no doubt that the former assertion is correct. Dr. Fleet's remarks about this point are unanswerable. The only question is about the individuality of this ruler. I fail to see how it is possible to get away from Dr. Fleet's remark that the Śaka era is emphatically a southern reckoning.² It must have been instituted in commemoration of an event which was of importance in the history of Southern India, but was of no consequence for the development of Northern India. Else it would be difficult to account for the fact that it has not with certainty been traced in northern inscriptions before the year A.D. 862.

As I have stated in the introduction to the *Corpus*, Vol. II, Part I, we have a tradition about its introduction in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, to the effect that it was introduced by a Śaka ruler who repeated an older Śaka conquest of Mālava, and uprooted the dynasty of Vikramāditya, the ruler who had, in his turn, overthrown the earlier Śaka conquerors. It is expressly stated that this narrative is an incident, introduced in order to explain the origin of the Śaka era: *ayam pārasargiyas samakkhāyās Saṃkālāpācāryathurū*. It is evident, therefore, that the author of the text knew a tradition about a Śaka ruler, who effected a reconquest of that part of India, and that this second Śaka conquest was commemorated through the introduction of the historical Śaka era, to replace the reckoning introduced by Vikramāditya.³ And we know from Chinese sources that a similar tradition about a reconquest was known at a much earlier date. For the *Hou Han-shu* states that Yen Kao-ch'en, i.e., Wima Kadphises, again extinguished T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, and, according to Professor Karlgren, the Chinese word for *again* cannot be twisted to mean anything else than *again, afresh*. Now Yen Kao-ch'en's predecessor, K'iu-tsu-k'io, i.e., Kuṣāṇa Kadphises, did not conquer T'ien-chu, and the word *again* must therefore bear reference to an earlier conquest by kindred tribes. The author of the *Hou Han-shu* had heard about this earlier conquest, and introduced a reference to it, perhaps without noticing that some confusion was, in this way, introduced into the narrative.

It is, I think, unavoidable to draw the inference that two 'Śaka' conquests of T'ien-chu were believed to have taken place at the time when the *Hou Han-shu* was compiled, i.e., in the fifth century A.D. And the author states that his narrative is based on the reports of Pan-yung towards the end of the rule of the emperor An-ti (107-125 A.D.). In other words, the story about the two conquests was known in the first half of the second century A.D., and it has evidently been the same tale which was handed down in India and made use of by the author of the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*.

The only old traditional account of the introduction of the Śaka era which we possess seems, accordingly, to indicate that it was due to Wima Kadphises. It is not necessary to assume

¹ Cf. especially Professor Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 287 ff.

³ In face of the facts drawn attention to by the late Haraprasād Shastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 320, I do not understand Professor Rapson's remark that Dr. Fleet has proved that "later research, however, has shown that there was no such King Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D."

that he effected the reconquest in person. That may have been done by one of his governors or generals; e.g., by Nahapāna. And subsequently the Saka rulers of these reconquered districts began to date their records from this reconquest, through which their rule had been established.

There are also other considerations which speak against ascribing the introduction of the historical Saka era to Kanishka. It is hardly possible to deny the justice of the remark made by M. Sylvain Lévi¹ about the defeat of the Yue-chi Shūhi by Pan-ch'ao and about the Yü-chi ruler paying tribute to China in A.D. 90, that 'it was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation'.

So far as I can see, weighty reasons speak against the theory that Kanishka's era was the historical Saka era. It cannot be proved simply by being repeated, without any real reasons. We cannot definitely settle the question about its epoch, but we can confidently state that it was not A.D. 78.

Traditional tales, corroborated by epigraphical evidence, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka added a large territory in Northern India to the Sertthian Empire, and it is not to be wondered at that his era was introduced everywhere in the north, though an old Saka era still lingered on in the North-West, and even seems to have been occasionally used in Mathurā.²

Our inscription brings an addition to our knowledge about the chronology of his successors, in so far as it reduces the interval between Vāsishka and Huvishka to some few months. The latest recorded date of Vāsishka is some day in the third month of Hēmantā, i.e., of Pāusha, in the year 28; and our record shows that Huvishka was on the throne less than eight months afterwards. He is designated as *dēvaputra Śākhi*, and the imperial title is not applied to him in any record before the year 41. It is therefore possible that another Kushāna was the real suzerain at the centre of Kushāna power in Badakshān. But it is evident that the person at whose request our record was drawn up in Mathurā owed allegiance to Huvishka.

The purport of the inscription is to record the endowment of a *pūyasilā*, a hall for acquiring merit through distribution of alms, with an *akshaya-dān*, i.e., a permanent endowment, wherewith the capital could not be touched. On behalf of the donor, about whom I shall make some remarks below, two *śrēṣṭh* or guilds were entrusted with the management of 350 *parīvas* each. The name of the first *śrēṣṭh* is written in the part of the stone which has been broken off, and I can only read the last two akṣaras *sika*. The second was the *śamīlābana-śrēṣṭh*, i.e., probably the makers of *śamīlā*, wheat-flour.

Out of the interest realized from month to month the expenses are to be covered for serving hundred Brāhmanas in the hall, and for daily keeping some provisions at the door for the benefit of hungry and thirsty indigent people, and distributing them on the same day (supposing *sādayas* to be synonymous with *sadya*), viz., 3 *āṭhaka* of groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha* *śaka*, 3 *ghaṭaka* and five *mallaka* *horvā-kalāpaka*. The reading *śaktuvā*, i.e., *śaktāndvā*, is uncertain, the *śakara* *śva* being apparently identical with *śva* in *śrīteva*, i. 8. The meaning of the word *śaka* is, as already remarked, unknown to me. *Horvā-kalāpaka* must be bundled fresh vegetables. The measures *āṭhaka* and *prastha* are known, the latter being a fourth of the former. I do not know anything about the size of the *ghaṭaka*, jar, and *mallaka*, bowl.

The *pūyasilā* is characterised as *prāchīnī*, i.e., evidently 'eastern,' perhaps in order to distinguish it from another, western, hall. It is further said to be *chaturdī*, i.e., *chaturdī*, opening towards the four quarters.

¹ J. A. IX, ix, 1897, p. 26, Ind. Ant., XXXII, 1903, p. 422.

² Cf. the Kanakī Tīra inscription of the year 290, if this is a genuine record.

The principal donor is designated *Kanasarukamānuputra Kharāśāṭṭrapati Vakanopati*.

The first term may be compared with *Kushāṇa[m]putra* in a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal of a statue found by Pandit Radhakrishna at Māt near Mathurā and described by Professor Vogel.¹ Mr. Jayaswal² has explained this word as 'son of Kushāṇa', taking Kushāṇa to be the name of Wima Kadphises' father, whom he identifies with the *Maharaja Gushana* of the Panjar and the *Maharaja Rajatimja Khushana* of the Taxila silver-coin inscriptions. He finds the same name in the *Kuei-shuang-wang* of the Chinese *Han Annals*, which is said to mean, "according to the established Chinese system," 'King Kuei-shuang,' i.e., 'King Kushan', and in the last word of the coin-legend *shaonana shuo Kaneshki Kushano*,³ where *Kushano* is explained as *Kanushāṇa* meaning 'descendant of Kushāṇa.' I am afraid that these statements cannot well be upheld.

To judge from estampages which I owe to the kind assistance of the Government Epigraphist the beginning of the Māt inscription is *Mahārājā Rājātirājā devaputrō Kushāṇa[m]putrō śāhi Vanata* *lshumana*, essentially as read by Professor Vogel, i.e., a string of titles in the nominative, followed by a name in the genitive, a feature which is well known from other sources.⁴ Here *Kushāṇa[m]putra* follows after *devaputra*, i.e., 'a god's son,' and not 'God's son,' and similarly *Kushāṇa[m]putra* might mean 'a Kushāṇas' son,' 'a Kushāṇa scion'. At all events the inscription does not in any way prove the existence of a personal name *Kushāṇa*.

I am not in a position to form an opinion about Chinese grammar. But Sinologists have not apparently thought of translating *Kuei-shuang-wang* as 'King Kuei-shuang,' no more than of rendering *Sai-wang* as 'King Sai.' The *Ts'ien Han-shu* says about Ta-hu that there were five principalities: Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Kao-tu, each under one *hi-hou*. The *Hou Han-shu* states that the Yü-chi divided the country into five principalities, giving the same names, only correcting Kao-tu to Tu-mi. It further relates how K'iu-tzu-k'io, the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, attacked the other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang. These statements can hardly be reconciled with Mr. Jayaswal's new explanation.

Further the form *Kushano* in the coin-legends cannot represent *Kanushāṇa*. The legends are written in Saka,⁵ and in Saka *kushano*, i.e., *kushāṇa*, cannot be anything else than the gen. plur. of a base *Kusha*, which is rendered *Kiu-sha* in the Chinese translation of the *Kalpandamanjītikā*, where it is stated that Kanishka belonged to the family of the *Kiu-sha*.⁶ We accordingly know that the name of Kanishka's family was *Kusha*, and *Kushāṇa[m]putra* might accordingly be two words, *Kushāṇa* *putra*, a son, i.e., scion, of the *Kushas*, as proposed by Baron A. von Süss-Holstein⁷ who reads *Kushāṇa* *putra*. So far as I can see, that reading is probable, but also *Kushāṇa* can very well be the gen. pl. of *Kusha*. On the other hand, an adjective *Kushāṇa* might be formed from *Kusha*, just as we have Saka *balgāna*, lordly, from *balga*, lord, and the existence of this derivative is proved by the use of the inflected base *gushana*, *kāushāṇa* in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions mentioned above.

¹ A. S. I. 1911-12, pp. 120 ff.

² J. R. O. R. S. VI, pp. 12 ff.

³ In the present connexion it is not necessary to give the Greek letters of the legend.

⁴ We do not know this ruler from other sources. If there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, as stated by Sir John Marshall, A. S. I. A. R. 1912-13, p. 8, he may have been a successor of the former. Mr. Jayaswal's attempt to show that Wima Kadphises is meant is not convincing.

⁵ Z. D. M. G., 68, 1914, pp. 85 ff.

⁶ Aśvaghoṣa, *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, traduit par Édouard Huber, Paris 1909, p. 158. The Sanskrit original has *(ku)ṣa*, but the name of the family is not found in the fragment, a. Lüder, *Bruchstücke der Kalpandamanjītikā des Kāśyapa*, Leipzig 1926, p. 67.

⁷ S. P. A. W., 1914, pp. 643 ff.

I therefore think that *Kushāpa(a)putra* in the Māt inscription must mean 'Kushāpa-son.' And similarly I would translate *Kanasarukamānaputra* in our record as 'the Kanasarukamāna-son,' or, 'the son of the Kanasarukamāna,' though it is possible that *Kanasarukamāna* is the name of a person.

It would be possible to read *prāchīnikana Sarukamāna putrēya*, by the action of the eastern Sarukamāna, but that would necessitate the assumption of rather many slips in one word, *prāchīnikana* in that case standing for *prāchīnakāndāna*, and the other alternative seems to be preferable.

I am unable to offer any explanation of *Kanasarukamāna*, *Kanasarukama*, for *saruka* cannot well be separated out and compared with the ethnic name *Sarmica*, mentioned by Ptolemy,* for which other sources have *Sakarauloi*, *Sakaurakoi*, and *Sacarancae*.

The other designations of the donor, *Kharāśātrapati* and *Vakanaṣpati*, i.e., the ruler of *Kharāśāstra* and *Vakana*, are likewise unexplained. *Vakanaṣpati* is evidently the same title which occurs as *Bakanaṣpati* in the Māt inscription, where the person who erected the chapel of Vamastakshama is described as *Bakanaṣpatina Hwa*..... It is possible that *Bakana*, *Vakana* is the well-known *Wakhān*, which occurs as *Vakāṣāna* in other sources, such as the *Dyāvadāna*. But it would be unsafe to consider this identification as certain. If it should prove to be right, it would perhaps be possible to connect the incomplete *Hwa*..... following after *Bakanaṣpatina* in the Mathurā inscription with the old name of *Wakhān* represented by Chinese *Hwa-mi*, or that of the capital, Chinese *Hwa-mo*.

As pointed out by Chavannes,† *Badakshān* remained the stronghold of the Yü-chi down to the fifth century. After their dominion had been established in Mathurā, it would be natural for chiefs from the North West to pay occasional visits to that place, and the use of the Macedonian calendar in our inscription seems to point to a north-western origin of the donor. He was not an Indian, but came from abroad.

TEXT.

- L. 1 Siddham¹ Sattvataarē 20 8 Gurppiya divasē 1 ayam purya-
 L. 2 sālā prāchīni Kanasarukamāna - putrēya Kharāśā-
 L. 3 rapatinā² Vakanaṣpatinā akshaya-nivā dima³ Ta⁴ta⁵ vṛddhi-
 L. 4 tē mās-ānumāsa⁶ śodihakya chatuṣṭi purya-⁷4[1]
 L. 5 yach brāhmaṇa-saṭam pativishatavyam divasē diva⁸[6]
 L. 6 cha purya-sālayē dvāra-ma⁹(5)ḥ dhāriya sūlyach saktim¹⁰ 2.
 L. 7 dhakā 3 lavṛṇa-prasthō 1 sakn-prasthō 1 hama-kalṇaka-
 L. 8 ghatakā¹¹ 3 malla¹²[ā] 5 sam anādh[ā]nāth¹³ kṛtāna dātavya¹⁴(4)
 L. 9 bahhakshatāna pūṣattānam¹⁵ Yach[ā]tra purya¹⁶(*)th tam dvāputmāya

¹Prof. 41, 42: Deinde quo regnante Scythicus gentes Sarmas et Avani Bactra occupavit et Scythiam. Reges Thosarum Asiaticosque Sarmarum.

²To avoid misunderstanding I may state that I cannot accept Mr. Jayawad's explanation of these terms.

³T'oung Pao II, viii, p. 187.

⁴For the facsimile see plate facing page 6, J. A. S. B. N., Vol. XVIII (1932).—Ed.

⁵Perhaps *śāṭha*. ⁶Read *śāṭha*. ⁷Read *śāṭha*. ⁸Read *śāṭha*. ⁹Read *śāṭha*. ¹⁰Read *śāṭha*. ¹¹Read *śāṭha*. ¹²Read *śāṭha*. ¹³Read *śāṭha*. ¹⁴Read *śāṭha*. ¹⁵Read *śāṭha*. ¹⁶Read *śāṭha*.

- L. 10. *Shāhīya Huvishkāya*¹ *yāśā[di*]* *cha dēvaputro priyah tēshām -api*
puṇya[di]*
- L. 11. *bhavatu sarvāṇi² cha prithivīyē puṇya[di*]* *bhavatu akshaya-nivī³*
dim[ā]
- L. 12. *[r]āka-śrēṇ[ī]yē purāṇa-śata 500 50 Samitakara-śrēṇi-*
- L. 13. *[r]ē cha⁴* *purāṇa-śata 500 50*

TRANSLATION.

Success. In the year 28, on the first day of Gorpiālos, this eastern hall of merit was given a perpetual endowment by the **Kanasarukamāna-scion, the lord of Kharāsalēra, the lord of Vakana**. From what is cleared off month for month from the interest therefrom hundred Brāhmanas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three *āḥaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha* laka, three *ghataka* and five *mallaka* of green-vegetable bundles, this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty. And what merit is herein, may that accrue to the **Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka**, and also to those to whom the Dēvaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the *-rāka*-guild, 500 *purāṇa*, and to the fourmaker-guild, 500 *purāṇa*.

No. 11.—ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

By PROFESSOR J. PR. VOGEL, Ph. D., LEIDEN.

In addition to the important inscriptions from **Nāgārjunikonda** edited by me in this journal,^{*} Mr. Longhurst's excavations on that Buddhist site have yielded some more epigraphical documents which it is my intention to publish in the present paper. As regards the site, on which these records have been discovered, and the peculiarities in language and script noticed in them, I may refer to my previous article.

Ayaka-pillar Inscriptions belonging to Stūpa No. 5.

At the south-eastern foot of the Nāgārjunikonda Hill and about two furlongs from the Great Stūpa or *Mahāchetiya* there is a group of ruined buildings consisting of a monastery (No. 4), a *stūpa* (No. 5), two apsidal temples and a roofless *anāpāna*. The site of the *stūpa* was marked by a large mound of brick debris overgrown with jungle and locally known as *Itikarāḥabōju*. A pillar inscription from this site published under the letter *G* in my previous paper records the foundation of a monastery by a Queen *Bhāṭṭī*, who calls herself the daughter-in-law of *Vāseṭhiputṭi* a *Siri-Chātāmūla*, the consort of *Māḥuriputṭi* a *Siri-Virapurisakati* a and the mother of *Siri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla*, who evidently was the then reigning king. The *śāḍāra*, which according to this inscription was dedicated to the Masters of the *Bahmūtṭi* sect, is no doubt the ruined monastery (No. 4) found on this site.

In the course of Mr. Longhurst's explorations two more inscribed pillars have come to light here. They are *āyaka*-pillars and must, therefore, have belonged to the *stūpa* No. 5. The information contained in these two epigraphs agrees with what is found in the pillar-inscrip-

¹ Looks almost like *Parasakara*.

² Read *śarvāṇi*.

³ Read *śist*.

⁴ Vol. XX, pp. 1-27.

tion G. They are, however, valuable, because they settle some doubtful points in the latter inscription which has suffered much from exposure. The new inscriptions, which I call G2 and G3, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Siri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

The inscription G2 is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions. Double consonants are indicated in several instances (*putta*, *samkappasa*, *Purisedattasa*, *bhuyyāsa*, *Bhattidevāsa*) and even in **patti* where the doubling of the consonant is wrong. In the same way we find a ligature in *Viripakkha*, *patittapito*, *Ikkhākumam*, *paikkham*. This practice, however, is not universally followed; we find a single consonant in *apithoma*, *savathesa*, *samvachharam*, and in the genitive ending *-sa*.

The final *m* in *siddham* (l. 1) is expressed by a small letter written under the line.

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G2.

Transcript.

(l. 1) Siddham namo bhagavato Buddhassa Mahārājassa (l. 2) Viripakkhapatti-Mahāsena-parigahitassa agihot-[*ā]lithoma-vājape- (l. 3) 5-[*ā]samedha-yājīsa aneka-hirapa-koti-go-sata-sahasa-hala-satasaha- (l. 4) [sa-padāyīsa savathesa apatitha-samkappasa Vāsithiputtasa Ikkhākumam] (l. 5) Siri-Chātāmūlassa saṅghāya mahārājassa Mājhariputtassa Siri-Virapuri- (l. 6) sadattassa bhayyāya mahādeviāya [Bhattidevāya] deyadhamma imam savajāṇiyyato (l. 7) vihāro achariyānam Bahusutiyānam] patittapito Rāṇo Vāsithiputtasa Ikkhākumam (l. 8) Siri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūlassa samvachharam hitiya gūḥa-pakkha chhiṭṭham 6 divasam dasamam 10.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahusutiyā sect by Mahādevī [Bhattidevā], (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsithiputta Siri-Chātāmūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed) by Mahāsena, the lord of Viripakkha, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnidhōma, Vājapēya, and Aśvamōdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Mājhariputta Siri-Virapurisadatta. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Vāsithiputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, the sixth 6 fortnight of Summer, the tenth 10 day.

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G3.

Transcript.

(l. 1) Siddham namo bha(gava)to (l. 2) Buddhassa Mahārājassa Viripakkhapatti-Mahāsena- (l. 3) [parigahitassa agihot-[*ā]lithoma-vājape-[*ā]samedha- (l. 4) yājīsa hirapa-koti-go-sata-sahasa-ha- (l. 5) [sa-satasahasa-padāyīsa savathesa apa- (l. 6) titha-samkappasa Vāsithiputtasa Ikkhākumam] Si- (l. 7) ri-Chātāmūlassa saṅghāya mahārājassa (l. 8) Mājhariputtassa Ikkhākumam Siri-Virapu- (l. 9) sadattassa bhayāya mahādeviāya Bha- (l. 10) tidevāya deyadhamma saram Devī-vi- (l. 11) hāro savajāṇiyyato achariyānam [Ba-] (l. 12) hūstiy[*ā]na[m] patittapito Rāṇo Siri-Ehu- (l. 13) vula-Chātāmūlassa samvachharam hitiya gūḥa-pakha (l. 14) [chhiṭṭham] divasam dasamam.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the Queen's Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bah-

G-2.

2 4 6 8

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

G-3.

11 12 10 8 6 4 2

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय



From a photograph,

1

12

3

1

8

1

[The manuscript page contains approximately 18 lines of handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a 16th-century German or Dutch source. The ink is dark brown/black, and the parchment shows signs of age and wear.]

suttiya sect by Mahādevī Bhāṭiderā (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsethīput(t)a Siri-Chāntamūla, of (the house of) the I[k]khākus, etc., (see above, sub-G 2), (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍharīput(t)a Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a of (the house of) the I[k]khākus. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Siri-Ehuvuḍa-Chāntamūla, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

Inscription on carved pillar found near Stūpa No. 9.

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near stūpa No. 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at the top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure; but, as far as we can see, the subject of the reliefs does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the *jātakas*. The uppermost panel contains a domed building. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a *chāmara*. In the third panel there is apparently the same royal personage,¹ attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fourth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a *rājā*, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men; most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones.² Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call L, is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purport, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāsethīput(t)a Siri-Chāntamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7-13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāntamūla's son, King Māḍharīput(t)a Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a.

As the pillar was evidently erected in memory of the deceased king Chāntamūla, perhaps on the spot of his cremation, there is some reason to suppose that the five reliefs carved on it relate to that ruler and that we may recognise him in the corpulent personage who occupies a prominent place in three of the five panels. The royal elephant-driver in the fourth panel would then likewise represent King Chāntamūla. In the fifth panel he seems to be shown in the act of performing some ceremony, perhaps a donation, as may be surmised from the vessel held by one of the attendants.

Pillar-inscription L.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Sidiḥa Mahārājasa samadha-yājña anekā-hiraṇa-kotā-paḍā]vīsa (L. 2) Siri-Chāntamūlāsa putāsa raṭṭo Mā[dha]riputāsa [Ikhākumā] Siri-Virapurisadatāsa (L. 3)

¹ See my remarks in *J. S. R.*, 1929-30, Epigraphical Section, under Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda.—Ed.

² Possibly ingots of gift-money.—Ed.

vaṁṣamīya sāmīyachhara viṁṣaya[m] vāṁ-pakham prathamam] divasa[m] hīriya[m] saga-gataṣa (l. 4) raṭṭo aṣihot-[*ā]gīthoma-vāpave-[*ā]samedha-yājīṣa hirapa-koṭi-go-antasaṣaṣa- (l. 5) hala-sataṣaṣa-padāyīṣa sevāthēṣu apatihata-samkapasa Vāṣāpīputasa (l. 6) [Kha]ṣa [sāmi]-[Siri-Chantamūla] eṣadara[ā]hi m[ā]pahr mah[ā]devīhi Sūntiāsiya (l. 7) Khaṣaṣi[ya] Vījhaṭhavi[riya] M[ā]sa[riya] Samu[riya] [Nā]ga[va]ṣi[riya] (l. 8) [Nā]ga[si]riya Khaṣaṣa[si]riya Mahāsa[si]riya Ratumati[riya] Māla[si]riya (l. 9) Ayakoṭa[si]riya Madu[si]riya [Nā]ga[si]riya [Rā]ma[si]riya Golma[si]riya (l. 10) Vela[si]riya [E]dha[si]riya Kha[ṣa]ṣa[si]riya Saṭi[si]riya Para[si]riya (l. 11) Paṇḍita[si]riya Sivaṇaga[si]riya Samu[si]riya Bapa[si]riya Nadi[si]riya (l. 12) Ayasi[riya] Raṭṭu[si]riya S[ā]vanāga[si]riya subhatarikāhi cha (l. 13) Saraṣikāya Kusuma-
latāya [Dya]ṣa[m] *tha[m]p[ā]ho.

TRANSLATION.

Succasa! In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Mādhariput[sa] Siri-Virapurisadata [Va] of (the house of) the [K]hāka, the son of Mahārāja Siri-Chantamūla, the offerer of an Aṣvamedha, and the giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day, this pillar (has been erected) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late¹ Rājan Vāsi-[(?)]put[sa] Svāmin Siri-Chantamūla, etc., (see above, sub-II 2), (to wit), by Sūntisiri, Khaṣasiri, Vījhaṭhavi[riya], M[ā]sa[riya], Samu[riya], [Nā]ga[va]ṣi[riya], [Nā]ga[si]riya, Khaṣaṣa[si]riya, Mahāsa[si]riya, Ratumati[riya], Māla[si]riya, Ayakoṭa[si]riya, Madu[si]riya, [Nā]ga[si]riya, Rāma[si]riya, Golma[si]riya, Vela[si]riya, Edha[si]riya, Khaṣaṣa[si]riya, Saṭi[si]riya, Para[si]riya, Paṇḍita[si]riya, Sivaṇaga[si]riya, Samu[si]riya, Bapa[si]riya, Nadi[si]riya, Ayasi[riya], Raṭṭu[si]riya, S[ā]vanāga[si]riya and by the subhatarikā Saraṣikā and Kusumalatā.

Fragmentary pillar inscriptions (M 1-19) belonging to the monastic hall (*maṇḍapa*) of Chāntisiri.

Not far from the Mahāchetiya and close to the eastern side of the first apsidal temple which, according to the long inscription on the pavement,² was founded by Chāntisiri, the maternal aunt of King Siri-Virapurisadata in the 18th year of his reign, Mr. Longhurst discovered the remains of a large stone-paved hall. A number of stone pillars belonging to this building are still extant, but all in a broken condition. The tops of the pillars are provided with a groove or mortise to receive the longitudinal beams of the roof which must have been of timber. The pillar-shafts are inscribed, but, owing to their mutilated condition, not a single inscription has been preserved entire. Altogether twenty fragments were recovered, two of which can be pieced together (M 4). In some cases several lines of the epigraph are partly preserved (M 1 consists of eight lines), but some of the smaller fragments contain only a single word (M 15, 18 and 19).

Immediately above the inscription, the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways.³ From this we can tell that the two largest pieces (M 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (M 16), too, shows a recumbent animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few *akṣaras* preserved on it must have belonged to the first line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages.

¹ There is inserted above this letter and the character is more like *ṇ*. The reading might be *Kaṣaṣa*.—Ed.

² *Prakṛit saṁgraha*, Skt. *saṁgraha*, III, 'gone to heaven'.

³ It seems to read *vāṣa*.—Ed.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 21, First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, plate III.

⁵ In the same way the pillar on which the inscription G is found bears the figures of two animals (ll. 18-19) running to the left. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, plate V.

which are also found in the *Śyaka*-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchetiya and in the first Apaidal Temple inscription E. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* by the same lady Chāntisiri (or Chātsiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchetiya and the Chetiya-ghara or Apaidal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (*Āchāriyas*) of the Buddhist sect of the Apuramahāvinseliyas.¹ The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (M 4); it is the 15th year of the reign of Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

It would seem at first sight that the fragments which were recovered, do not indicate what kind of building it was, the foundation of which the inscriptions were meant to record. One of the fragments (M 11), however, retains the *āksharas* -*ṭa* and -*ṭa* which can easily be restored into *maṇḍapa*. It should be remembered that the first Apaidal Temple inscription E refers to a stone hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya (*śāramiṇḍa(m) chātusāla-parigahita(m) sala-maṇḍapa(m)*). There can be little doubt that this stone *maṇḍapa* is the stone-paved hall with its inscribed pillars of stone which had been built three years before. No trace was found of the *chātusāla* mentioned in the inscriptions.

The inscriptions found at Nāgarjunikonda enable us to draw up the following chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised.

Reign of King Māthariputta Siri-Virapurisadatta.

6th year.—Mahāchetiya founded by Chāntisiri and dedicated to the Masters (*Āchāriyas*) of the Apuramahāvinseliya sect.

14th year.—Second apaidal temple founded by the nun Bodhisiri.

15th year.—Pillared *maṇḍapa* founded by Chāntisiri and dedicated as above.

18th year.—First apaidal temple founded by Chāntisiri and dedicated as above.

20th year.—Carved pillar erected in memory of the late king Vāseṭhiputta Siri-Chāntamūla by his sisters, mothers and consorts.

[30th year.—Five *Śyaka*-pillars erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggaṇḍapeta) by the artisan Siddhattha.]

Reign of King Vāseṭhiputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

2nd year.—Monastery (No. 4) founded by Bhāṭṭadevā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (*Āchāriyas*) of the Bahus(s)uttīya² sect.

11th year.—Monastery (No. 5), founded by Kodabhasiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahāsāsaka³ sect.

Pillar-inscriptions M1-19.

*Transcripts.*⁴

Pillar-inscription M 1.

- (l. 1) Mahārājasa asamedha-yājasa (l. 2) aneka-hirahga-koṭi-padāyisa Siri-Chāntamūlasa
(l. 3) sehodarā bhagini mahāsena-patīsa (l. 4) mahātalaṇḍa-Vasēṭhiputasa Pūkiyānath
(l. 5) Kamdasirisa bhāṭṭiyā mahātalaṇḍa Chāntisiri (l. 6) [śrīpaṇḍa jānātukasasa rathāsā]

¹ Sanskrit *Āpuramahāvinsīya* (?).

² Sanskrit *Bāhuvīryīya*, Pali *Bahuvīryīya*.

³ Sanskrit *Mahāsāsaka*, Pali *Mahāsāsaka*.

⁴ Owing to the very incomplete condition of these inscriptions we have abstained from giving transcriptions.

Māṭharipu[*ra]sa Ikhāku[nam] (l. 7) [Sri]-Virapurisadatasa āyuvadhanike veja[y]ā[ke]
(l. 8) [*apano] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha[ni] [*vāpathanāya]....

Pillar-inscription M 2.

(l. 1) [Apatihata-sath]kupasa [Vā]s[thi]puta[sa] Pūkiyānam (l. 2) [Kamdasirisa]
bhariyā Khamdasāgarasaka-mātā (l. 3) [Sri]-Virapurisadatasa āyuvadhanike vejayike
cha (l. 4) atichhitam-anāgata-vatamāna[ke] nikapanike cha (l. 5) [mahāchetiya-
pā]damūle Aparamā[hā]vinase[ti]vānath pari-gahe (l. 6)[bhikṣu]saṅghasa
patiphatam ti.

Pillar-inscription M 3.

(l. 1) atichhitam-anāgata-vatamānake) (l. 3) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-
sukha-nivāpathanāya (l. 5) mahāvihāre mahāchetiya-pādamūle pavajitānath (l. 4) [nūnā]dasa-
saman-āgatānath mahābhikṣu-saṅghasa pa[rigahe] (l. 5) Sri-Virapurisadatasa vasasānāya
sathva 10 [*+] 5 vā (l. 6) [Aparamā]hāvinase[ti]yānam parigahe sa-chāru[ā]ṇa
(l. 7) [pa]tīpātā[ti]ti.

Pillar-inscription M 4.

(l. 1) [nī]yutath chātusāla-parigahita
(l. 2) [Sri]-Virapurisadatasa sathva 10 [*+] 5 vā pa/ 8 [diva]

Pillar-inscription M 5.

(l. 1) [Kamdasirisa]
(l. 2) [-m]ātā Chātisiri spa[ṇo] jānātukasa]
(l. 3) ... [sam]ho Māṭharipu[ṭasa] Ikhākunam
(l. 4) ... [āyuvad]hanike vijaya-vijayike
(l. 5) ... [hita-su]kha-nivāpathanāya bhagavato
(l. 6) mahāchetiya-pādamūle

Pillar-inscription M 6.

(l. 1) savathesu apat[ihata-sath]kupasa ...]
(l. 2) Ikhākusa Sri-Chandamūlāsa sa[hodārā] ...]
(l. 3) ... [ma]hātavalavassa Vāsithiputasa
(l. 4) ... [mahā]talavari
(l. 5) Mātha[riputasa]

Pillar-inscription M 7.

(l. 1) ni
(l. 2) Kamdasirisa
(l. 3) Chā[ti]siri apano

Pillar-inscription M 8.

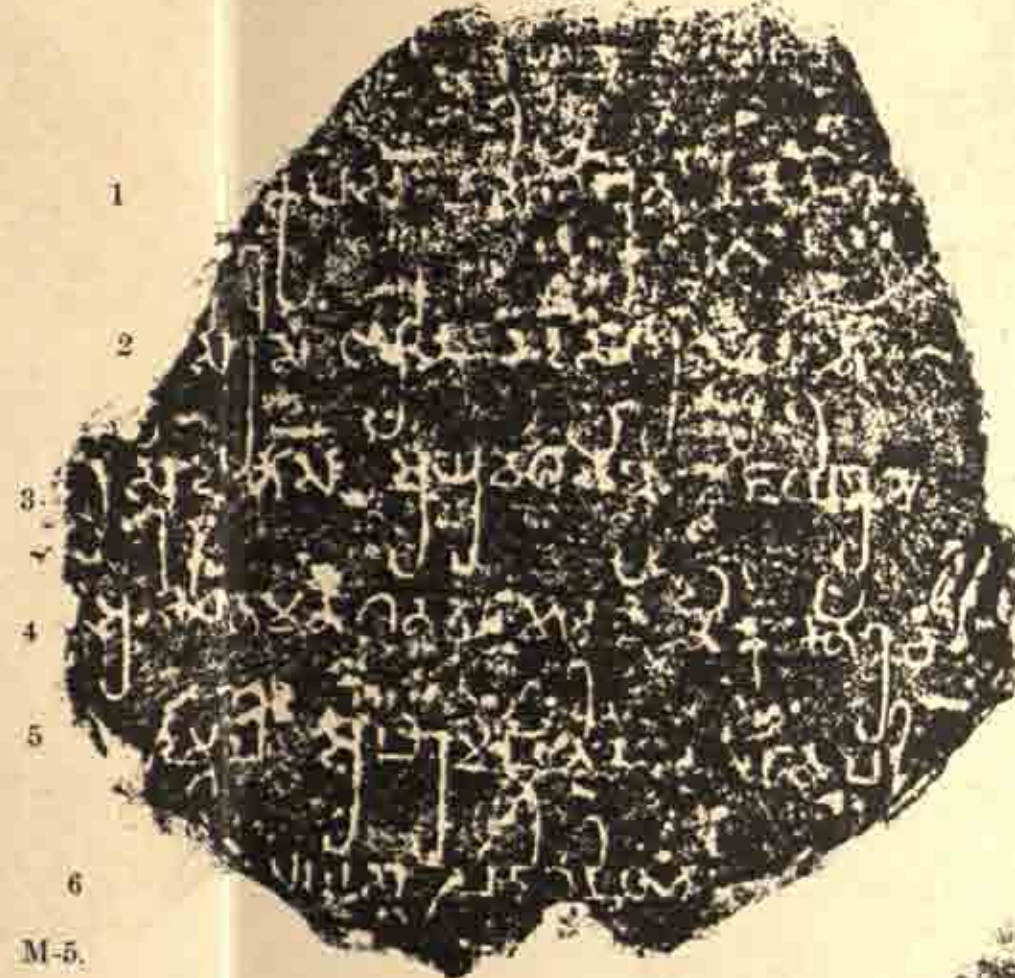
(l. 1) [samsa]llhayājina
(l. 2) [sata]pahasa-hala-satauhasa-[padyā]na
(l. 3) [apatihata-sath]kupasa Vāsithipu[ṭasa] ..
(l. 4) [bhā]gini mahā[senā]patina]

¹ There are traces of another line before this. See above, Vol. XX, p. 16, line 4 of inscription C 2.—Ed.

M-1.



M-2.



M-3.



M-7.



M-9.



M-5.



M-6.



M-8.



M-4.





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ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA (III).

PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS M 10—19 & N.

M-10.



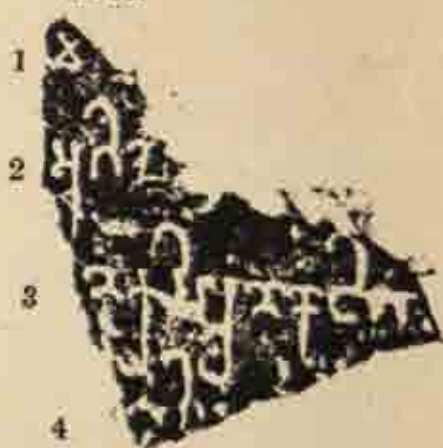
M-11.



M-12.



M-13.



M-14.



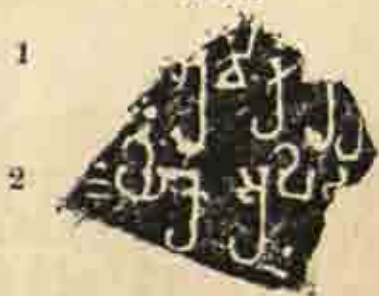
M-15.



M-16.



M-17.



N.



M-18.



M-19.



Pillar-inscription M 9.

- (l. 1) ... aghot-[ā]githoma-vā[japeya-]
 (l. 2) ... padāyisa savathesu ...
 (l. 3) ... [Vā]sithiputasa Puki[yānath] ...
 (l. 4) ... Ikhākunath Siri-Virapu[rīsadatasa] ..
 (l. 5) ... [a]pano ubhaya-kulasa¹

Pillar-inscription M 10.

- (l. 1) na[ni] nānādesa-saman-[āgatānath] ...
 (l. 2) api cha apano ubhaya-kulasa at[icchita] ...
 (l. 3) ... nikapanūke parināmetuna ma
 (l. 4) parigahe savani[yutath]
 (l. 5) parīṭhapitath

Pillar-inscription M 11.

- (l. 1) nivāgathanāya
 (l. 2) tasa
 (l. 3) n-āgatānath
 (l. 4) dhiva
 (l. 5) nath
 (l. 6) [math]tavan

Pillar-inscription M 12.

- (l. 1) sa vasa- ...
 (l. 2) nikapa[nike] ...
 (l. 3) parigahe
 (l. 4) vā pa 8

Pillar-inscription M 13.

- (l. 1) ma
 (l. 2) agho[t-ā]
 (l. 3) neka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go[-natasahasa]
 (l. 4) [-padā]y[ino]

Pillar-inscription M 14.

- (l. 1) [sa]vajātan[īyutath] chatasāla]
 (l. 2) stano ubhaya-kulasa ...
 (l. 3) [ke] parināmetuna
 (l. 4) pu[ta]

Pillar-inscription M 15.

- (l. 1) [putasa]
 (l. 2) . [mahācheti]ya-[pādamāle] pavaj[i]tānam] ..
 (l. 3) . [mahābhi]khu-sad[ghasa]
 (l. 4) na pari[nāma]tuna

Pillar-inscription M 16.

- (l. 1) [-parjigahīrasa]

¹ Traces of another line are discernible below this line. See line 11 of inscription G 3 above, Vol. XX, p. 16.—Ed.

Pillar-inscription M 17.

- (l. 11) [Sri-]Vira[raśadatta]
 (l. 2) [vī]jayika apī[cha]

Pillar-inscription M 18.

- (l. 1) ... mahāsenap[ti]na] ...

Pillar-inscription M 19.

- (l. 1) [Sri-]Virap[ur]i[raśadatta]

Ayaka-pillar Inscription N belonging to Stūpa No. 9.

The Stūpa No. 9, to which we have had occasion to refer above, must have been provided with *ayaka*-pillars in the same manner as the Mahācetiya. But only one inscribed pillar was recovered on this site, and the inscription engraved on it is incomplete. The preserved portion contains nothing but a string of names, so that a translation is superfluous.

Transcript.

- (l. 1) ... rinastikānam Mūlasirinaka[sa] Sudhathā- (l. 2) [ka]pa Chadamkhāsa
 Padhinakama bālīka(ā) (l. 3) Mahatuvapika Sallakhamānikā Jakkhāna

Addenda and Corrigenda to the previous article.

In the First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, translation, read 'stone hall' instead of 'stone shrine' (*śala-masūterā[ṇ]*) and 'chaitya-shrine' instead of 'chaitya-hall' (*chaitiya-ghara*). The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription F, line 3, contains the following passage:—*Kaṣṭakasaḥ mahācetiyaṃ pava-dāre śala-maṇḍavo*. As explained in the 'Glossary' (p. 35) the text has *Kaṣṭakasaḥ*; but as in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions errors with regard to vowel-marks are very common, I ventured to correct the word into *Kaṣṭakasaḥ*, which would correspond to Sanskrit *Kaṣṭakasaḥ*. Cf. *Puṇḍarikā* (Skt. *Pāṇḍarikā*) in the same inscription.

At the time it had escaped my notice that an inscription from Amarāvati¹ contains the genitive singular of the noun *Kaṣṭakasaḥ*, meaning 'a resident of K'. As here the vowel-mark attached to the *s* is clearly the *e*-sign, we shall have to assume that, after all, the reading *Kaṣṭakasaḥ* is correct. The form with *ḥ* agrees, indeed, more closely with Ptolemy's *Καστακασαῖα*. The entry in our 'Glossary of Geographical Names' s.v. *Kaṣṭakasaḥ* should be corrected accordingly.

In this connection it may be pointed out that another Amarāvati inscription makes mention of a locality, probably a town, of the name of *Vijayapura*.² It is, of course, impossible to decide whether this place is identical with the Vijayapuri referred to in the second Apsidal Temple inscription F, line 2, in the following passage:—*Siripavata Vijayapuriya-pava-dīḍ-ṭhāḍe viḥāre Chula-Dharmapūjiraya chaitiya-gharaṃ sa-paṭa-samāhāraṃ sa-chaitiyaṃ am-ṇiputāṃ lāritāṃ vāṣāḥlāya Bodhisāvaya*. It may, however, safely be inferred from this passage that the town once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikonda was named Vijayapuri. For there can be little doubt that the *chaitiya-ghara* mentioned here is the Apsidal Temple, on the stone floor of which the long inscription is engraved. All details tend to corroborate this assumption. Not only does this building enshrine a *chaitya*, measuring 5 feet in diameter, and is it paved with

¹ J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Joggayyapeta*, p. 106, No. 54.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 50, plate LVIII.

stone slabs; but, what is more remarkable, it is associated with a monastery (*vihāra*) and both edifices are raised on the southern and higher end of a hill, now known by the name of Nāharā[[abōdu, which rises on the eastern side of the valley in which the town of Vijayapuri was once situated.

The 'Glossary' contains the word *Apāramahāvīnaseliya* which is the name of a Buddhist sect. It is of some interest that an Amarāvati inscription mentions a locality *Mahāvanasela*.¹ The vowel-marks are not very certain and we may perhaps assume that the correct form of the name is *Mahāvīnasela* or *Mahāvīnasela*. The inscription in question does not give any clue as to the position of the place, but in all probability it was situated in the lower Krishna valley.

GLOSSARY.

apikot-āgithoma-rājapey-āsumedha-yāji (G 2, l. 2; G 3, ll. 3-4; L, l. 4; M 9, l. 1; cf. M 13, l. 2).
achariya (G 2, l. 7), *ajariya* (G 3, l. 11).

atichhitam-arōgata-vatamānaka (M 2, l. 4; M 3, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

aneka-hiraniya-koti-go-satasahasā-hata-satasahasā-paṭāyi (G 2, ll. 3-4; M 8, l. 2; cf. M 9, l. 2 and M 13, l. 3).

aneka-hiraniya-koti-paṭāyi (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 2).

Apāramahāvīnaseliya (M 2, l. 5; M 3, l. 6).

Ayakoṭṭasiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.

Ayasiri (L, l. 12), i.e. *Ayyasiri*=Skt. *Āryasiri*.

āsumedha-yāji (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 1; M 8, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

āyuvadhānīke (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 5, l. 4).

Ikkhā (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, ll. 6 and 8; L, l. 2 *ex conj.*, and l. 6; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 2; M 9, l. 4).

ubhaya-kula (M 9, l. 5; M 10, l. 2; M 14, l. 2).

ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathanāya (M 4, l. 8; M 3, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 5 and M 11, l. 1).

Edhisiri (L, l. 10), a personal name.

Kaṇḍasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2 *ex conj.*; M 5, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 7, l. 2).

Kusumalātā (L, l. 13), a personal name.

Khaṇḍakotiṭṭhā (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Skandakotiṭṭhā*, a personal name.

Khaṇḍasāgarasānaka-mātā (M 2, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 2).

Khaṇḍasiri (L, ll. 7 and 10).

gimha-pakkha (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 10)=Skt. *grishma-paksha* 'a fortnight of Summer.'

Golasiri (L, l. 9), a personal name. Cf. *Goḷā* in Bharhut inscription. Lüders' *List*, no. 836; also no. 596.

Chandamukha (N, l. 2), i.e. *Chandamukha*=Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.

chāṇusāla-parigahita (M 4, l. 1). Cf. *sa-chāṇusāla*, and *chāṇusāla* in E, l. 2.

Chāṇṭasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 5, l. 2; M 7, l. 3).

chhoṭha (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 14 *ex conj.*), i.e. *chhoṭha* 'sixth.'

Jakhava (N, l. 3), a personal name (l). Cf. such proper names as *Yakhadasi*, *Yakhadina*, *Yakhi* and *Yakhila*. Lüders' *List*, nos. 329, 211, 254, 500, 344, 376, 580, 549.

jāmātuka (M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 2).

thambha (L, l. 13)=Skt. *stambha* 'pillar'. Cf. *selathambha* in C 2, l. 8.

deyadha(m)ma (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 10)=Skt. *deyadharma* 'a pious gift'. Also in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37).

¹ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 91, No. 35, plate LVIII. Cf. p. 105, No. 49, plate LX.

Devī(-)vihāra (G 3, ll. 10-11) 'the Queen's Monastery'.

Nandisiri (L, l. 13), i.e. Nandisiri Skt. *Nandīśrī*, a personal name. Cf. the name *Nandisiri* in Nāśik cave inscription. Lüders' List, no. 1127.

Nāgavarasiri (T) (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Nāgasiri (L, ll. 7 and 9), a personal name, also found in Jaggayyapeta inscriptions. Lüders' List, nos. 1202-4.

nānūdesa-saman-āgata (M 3, l. 4; M 10, l. 1 *ex conj.*),

nīhapanika (M 2, l. 4; M 10, l. 3; M 12, l. 2), a word of uncertain meaning. Also in B, l. 2.

patipaddā in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37). The word apparently indicates the object on which it is found.

Parāññitasiri (L, l. 11)=Skt. *Parāññitāśrī*, a personal name.

Parajatisiri (L, l. 10), perhaps=Skt. *Pārijātāśrī*, a personal name.

parināmetana (M 10, l. 3; M 14, l. 3; M 15, l. 4).

parajita (M 3, l. 3).

Pudhinaka (N, l. 2), a personal name.

Pūkiya (M 1, l. 4; M 9, l. 3).

Bopisiri (L, l. 11), a personal name.

Bahusūtiya (G 2, l. 7; G 3, ll. 11-12; cf. G, l. 8).

bālikā (N, l. 2) 'a daughter'.

bāliya or *bīliya* (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 9; L, l. 3)=Skt. *dvitīya* 'second'. Cf. *bīya* and *bīa* (Pischel, *Grammatik*, §§ 82, 165, 300 and 449).

Budhi in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37), i.e. *Buddhi*, a personal name.

bhagiri (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 *ex conj.*). In footprint-slab inscription from Nāgārjunikoṭṭa (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37) we have the form *dhagini*.

Bhaṭṭ(ī)devā (G 2, l. 6; G 3, ll. 9-10).

bharyā (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2) and *bharyā* (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9)=Skt. *bhāryā*.

manjara (M 11, l. 6 *ex conj.*), i.e. *manjara*=Skt. *manjara*.

Mahariput(t)a or *Mādhariputa* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 8; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 5 *ex conj.*).

Maduvīsiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.

Mahatuvāṣika (N, l. 3), a personal name.

mahāchetiya-pādamūla (M 2, l. 5 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 3; M 5, l. 6).

mahātālavara (M 1, l. 4; M 6, l. 3).

mahātālavari (M 1, l. 5; M 6, l. 4).

mahādevi (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9; L, l. 6).

mahābhikkhu-saṅgha (M 3, l. 4).

mahāvihāra (M 3, l. 3).

mahāśāṇḍipati (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 *ex conj.*; M 18, l. 1).

Mahisarasiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Mahīśvaraśrī*, a personal name.

Misusiri (L, l. 7)=Skt. *Mīśraśrī*, a personal name. Cf. the name *Misi*, i.e. *Misā* in P, l. 3.

Mulasirivika (N, l. 1), a personal name.

Mūlasiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Mūlāśrī*, a personal name.

Moda in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37), a personal name.

Ratumativiri (L, l. 8), a personal name.

Ratūmāsi (L, l. 12), a personal name.

Rōmasiri (L, l. 9)=Skt. *Rōmāśrī*, a personal name.

*vasavanaga*¹ (L, l. 3; M 3, l. 5), a term of uncertain meaning.

vāsa-pakha (L, l. 3) or *vā. pa.* (M 4, l. 2; cf. M 3, l. 5; M 12, l. 4) Skt. *varsha-paksha* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'.

Vāsahiputa or *Vasethiputa* (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, l. 6; L, l. 5; M 1, l. 4; M 2, l. 1; M 6, l. 3; M 8, l. 3; M 9, l. 3).

Vijhāhavisiri (L, l. 7), a personal name. Cf. the name *Vijha*=Skt. *Vindhya*, Lüders' List, no. 579.

Virūpa(k)khopati-Mohāsena-parigahita (G 2, l. 2; G 3, l. 2).

vihāra (G 2, l. 7).

vī(śh)saga (L, l. 3) 'twentieth'.

vejayike (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 17, l. 2) and *vejaya-vejayike* (M 5, l. 4).

Saka in footprint-slab inscription (Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 37)=Skt. *Śaka* 'Scythian'.

sagagata (L, l. 3), i.e. *sagga-gata*=Skt. *svarga-gata* 'gone to heaven'.

sa-chātusāla (M 3, l. 6).

Satilisiri (L, l. 10), a personal name. Cf. the name *Sātīla*, Lüders' List, no. 259.

Samuddasiri (L, l. 11), i.e. *Samuddasiri*=Skt. *Samudratrī*, a personal name.

Samusiri (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Sarasikā (L, l. 13), a personal name.

savajñānigata (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 11; cf. M 4, l. 1 and M 14, l. 1).

savathesu apatihata-saśharp(p)a (G 2, l. 4; G 3, ll. 5-6; L, l. 5; M 2, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 6, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 8, l. 3 *ex conj.*; cf. M 9, l. 2).

svaniyuta (M 10, l. 4).

sa(śh)vashhara (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13) or *saśhca* (M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2).

śahodarā (L, l. 6; M 1, l. 3; M 6, l. 3).

śāmi (L, l. 6 *ex conj.*) Skt. *śrāmin*. A royal title found associated also with the name of the Andhra king Siri-Pulumāvi. Cf. Amarāvati inscription no. 1, Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p. 100, pl. LVI, no. 1.

Siddhatthaka (N, ll. 1-2), i.e. *Siddhatthaka*=Skt. *Siddhārthaka*, a personal name.

Siddhatthamnikā (N, l. 3), i.e. *Siddhatthamnikā*, a personal name.

Siri-Khucula-Chātāmūla (G 2, l. 8) or *Khucula* (G 3, ll. 12-13).

Siri-Chātāmūla (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; L, ll. 2, 6; M 1, l. 2; M 6, l. 2).

Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a (G 2, l. 5; G 3, ll. 8-9; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2; M 9, l. 4 *ex conj.*; M 17, l. 1; M 19, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

Sivanāpusiri (L, ll. 11 and 12), a personal name.

Sunālisiri (L, l. 6), a personal name.

sunhā (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; cf. P, l. 3 and G, l. 5)=Skt. *sunhā* 'a daughter-in-law'.

subhatarikā (L, l. 12), a word of uncertain meaning.

hiraṇya-kop-go-satasahasa-hula-satasahasa-palāyi (G 3, ll. 4-5; L, ll. 4-5).

POSTSCRIPT.

For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that two words, apparently consisting of seven and two aksharas respectively, occur on an uncarved stone slab found near *Stupa* No. 9. A third inscription, evidently a single word of four aksharas, is cut on the base of a carved slab belonging to the same monument. The lettering of these short epigraphs is partly indistinct and I have not succeeded in making out their meaning.

¹ Can it be *śamānta*?—Ed.

No. 12.—THE CLAY SEALS OF NĀLANDĀ.

By HIRANANDA SASTRI.

Some sixteen years ago the archaeological exploration of the ancient site of Nālandā was taken up by our Department and it has been continued all these years. During this period very valuable seals or sealings have been found but they have not been fully described anywhere as yet. In the memoir which I am writing on Nālandā I intend to notice them in detail but as that will take some time to come out I propose to publish here a few of them as specimens. These relics of the past, minor though they might be called, are invaluable not only for the past history of Nālandā but of Northern India as well.

For the sake of convenience these seals or sealings—I shall call them seals—might be put under two main heads, namely, Religious or Ecclesiastical and Secular or Civil. Under the former head I would classify those seals which are either votive or are connected with some religious congregation, communities or monastic orders, and under the latter head I would put such of them as are personal, whether they belong to royalties, officials or private individuals or are related to offices, villages and village communities. The majority of these seals are votive and Buddhist, a number of them only giving in Sanskrit or in Prakrit the well-known formula

ये धर्मा इतुप्रभवा इतुन्तेषां तयागतो हवदत् ।

तेषाञ्च वो निरोध एव वादो महायमणः ॥

which, we are told, Āśvajit read to Śāriputra, and is usually interpreted¹ as

'Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause

The cause has been told by Tathāgata;

And their suppression likewise

The Great Śramaṇa has revealed.'

This formula is found written usually in the northern script of about the eighth century (A.D.), and even later, not only on the seals or plaques but also on a number of images, stones and bricks, excavated at Nālandā. Some of these seals or plaques only give a Buddhist text, while others bear the figure of the Buddha, single or accompanied by the attendant Bodhisattvas, Mañjārī and Avalokiteśvara, with or without the above-mentioned creed formula. Some have a text or the representation of a stūpa or stūpas. Such seals or impressions were, evidently, meant for offerings, or for being taken as mementoes. Among the seals connected with Buddhist Congregations, or *Saṅghas*, the majority belong to the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā and give the legend:—

योगानन्दमहाविहारोदार्यभिक्षुसङ्घः,

meaning

'Of the Community of the Venerable Monks in the Mahāvihāra of *śrī*-Nālandā.' The symbol they bear is practically the same as the one connected with the 'Preaching of the Law' (धर्मचक्रप्रवर्त्तन) by the Buddha. They are mostly circular in shape and the device, which occurs in the upper field above a line of dotted ornament, consists of the Wheel of the Law flanked by two gazelles, recumbent, with heads upraised, looking towards the Wheel. This device is a copy of the insignia of the monastery at the "Deer Park" where the Buddha first turned the 'Dharmacakra' (=Wheel of Law). It is an appropriate symbol for both the places. At Sārnāth or the Deer Park the Great Teacher preached the First Sermon. At Nālandā many *bhikkhus* were engaged in expounding or preaching the 'Law'. To form an idea of what this device is,

¹ Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 26.

reference is invited to the seal of Dēvapāladēva, attached to the copper-plate I excavated at Nālandā in 1921, which has already been published in this *Journal*.¹ That the Pāla kings of Bengal had adopted this symbol as their insignia is evidenced by their grants, a number of which have now been published. These rulers were very liberal patrons of Buddhism and the insignia was quite appropriate for them. But whether they adopted it from the symbol of the monastic order of Nālandā or whether the 'Ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha' of Nālandā took it from their royal patrons I cannot say for certain.

The other group, i.e., the Civic or Secular seals, is historically much more important. A few of the seals or plaques coming under this category have already been noticed by the late Dr. Spooner,² Mr. Dikshit,³ and the late Mr. B. D. Banerji.⁴ I need not recapitulate what has been stated by them in regard to these seals including the seal of King Bhāskara-varman of Prāgyōtisha.⁵ At present I want to make a special notice of the two seals of **Sarvavarman Maukharī** and of **Harsha of Thānēsar** which were recovered in a much better state of preservation than the other specimens of the seals of these potentates. The original of the **Asirgadh** seal is not forthcoming, and the **Sonpat** seal, as represented by the facsimile⁶ given by Fleet, is too worn to give a clear reading. Consequently, these clay plaques are very valuable in that they help us in settling the reading of the legends and vouch for the genuineness of those two documents.

The seals of King Sarvavarman Maukharī.

One of the two seals of Sarvavarman, which I reproduce here, is almost entire, and might well be called, rather, a replica of the **Asirgadh** seal. The other is cut into two parts, almost perpendicularly, but gives the whole of the legend, excepting some of the initial letters of lines 3-6 and, perhaps, of line 7 also. The transversal break about the middle has damaged all the eight lines of it though the damaged letters can be restored easily. It would appear that these two seals are the impressions taken from different moulds or dice. A close inspection of the facsimile published by Fleet would show this. For instance, if we compare the symbols for *ka* in the word **Maukharī**, occurring in the last line of the **Asirgadh** seal, and the seal marked A, we shall see that they are not identical. Similarly, in A1, the symbol for *ka* in line 6 is practically clear but it is not so in the **Asirgadh** specimen. There are other differences also which it is needless to dilate upon here. But it is significant that the defects in the reading of the legend noticed by Fleet in the **Asirgadh** specimen are to be met with in these two plaques also, as I shall show while giving the text below. The device is quite distinct in all these specimens. It shows a bull in the centre, walking to the proper right and decorated with a garland going round his body—though broken in A1. Over him there is, on the other side, an open umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers. In front we see a man leading the bull and carrying a curved double axe in the right hand and a standard with a wheel on the top in the left. Behind the bull we see another male figure having in the left hand a long handled double axe and a *chouric* stick in the right hand, apparently to drive the bull on. The exact significance of the whole symbol is not clear. The bull usually stands for *dharma*: **हयो हि भगवान् धर्मः**.⁷ The two male figures are, perhaps, the *chāṇḍālas*, who want to kill the

¹ Vol. XVII, plate facing p. 321. A. S. R., 1922-23, plate XV(3).

² *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1916-17, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, for 1917-18, pp. 446 ff.

⁴ *Journ. B. O. R. Soc.*, Vol. V (1910), pp. 302 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V (1910), p. 303.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate xxiii B.

⁷ *Cf. Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁸ *Mumukshu* (VIII, 16).

animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *dharma*.

As to the text of the legend, there is hardly any difference from what was given by Fleet. One might say, it rather confirms his reading and is, practically, alike in all the three specimens. It runs as given below; the slight difference which is seen here and there is pointed out in the foot-notes.

TEXT.

- 1 Chatur-samudr-Śikhrānta-kirtitāḥ prastāp-ānuraḡ-āpanat-ānya-rā[ā]ḥ¹ varṇa-śrama-vyavasthā-
- 2 pana-pravṛtta-śakṛat-śakṛadhara (va prajānām-arttiḥara[ā]ḥ²) śri³-Mahāśja-Harivarmma[ā]⁴ Tasya
- 3 putras⁵-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Jayasvāmīnī-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām⁶-utpannaḥ⁷ śri-Mahārāj-Adityava-
- 4 rmmā[ā]⁸ Tasya⁹ putras-tat-p[ā]d-ānuddhyātō Harahaguptā-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannaḥ¹⁰ śri-Mahārāj-
- 5 j-Śavaravarmma¹¹ Tasya¹² putras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Upaguptā-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannaḥ
- 6 Mahāśja¹³-rājādhirāja-śri¹⁴ Iśānavarmma[ā]¹⁵ Tasya putras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Lakṣmīva-¹⁶
- 7 ā-bhaṭṭārikā-Mahādēvyām¹⁷-utpannaḥ-paramamūhāśvarō¹⁸ Ma-
- 8 hārājādhirāja-śri-Śarvvavarmma¹⁹ Maṅkharit[ā]²⁰

The genealogy shown in these seals up to Iśānavarmma is identical with that given in the Haraha inscription which I published in this journal long ago.²¹

The seals of Haraha or Harṣavardhana.

I may publish here only one of the seals of Haraha of Thānṣar. The Sompāt seal which Fleet reproduced²² in 1888 must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The Nālandā specimens so far recovered seem to be the impressions taken from some independent moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when pressed at the time of sealing documents, give the positives. Several specimens of the seal of Haraha

¹ Like the Aśvgaḍh seal both these specimens give 'rāḡ' for 'rāj'.

² The varṇa is left out in these seals also.

³ I think it is 'śri' in all the three documents. Cf. the symbol in line 8.

⁴ The letters putras and the 't' of ma are lost in A1.

⁵ It is clearly āpāna in both these seals.

⁶ Letters raṇā and tupa are missing in A1.

⁷ The length mark is obliterated in both the seals.

⁸ Both these seals give 'Maha'.

⁹ The characters j-Śavarava are missing in A1.

¹⁰ In both these seals, too, the symbol after 'va' is more like ma than pa : cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 220, t. n. 3.

¹¹ The length mark is not to be seen in both the seals. The initial letters malaḥ/pt are lost in A1.

¹² Both these seals give 'śri', cf. the 'śri' symbol in line 8. The letter in 'śri-Iśāna' is intentional, evidently.

¹³ The 'ś' symbol is clear in both these seals and the reading Lakṣmīva is pretty certain. Fleet's conjectural reading of this name is therefore correct.

¹⁴ A dielectric gives 'Maha' though the length mark is not so clear in A1.

¹⁵ 'O' mark is clear in both.

¹⁶ Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff.

¹⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f. and plate XXXII-B.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (I).

A

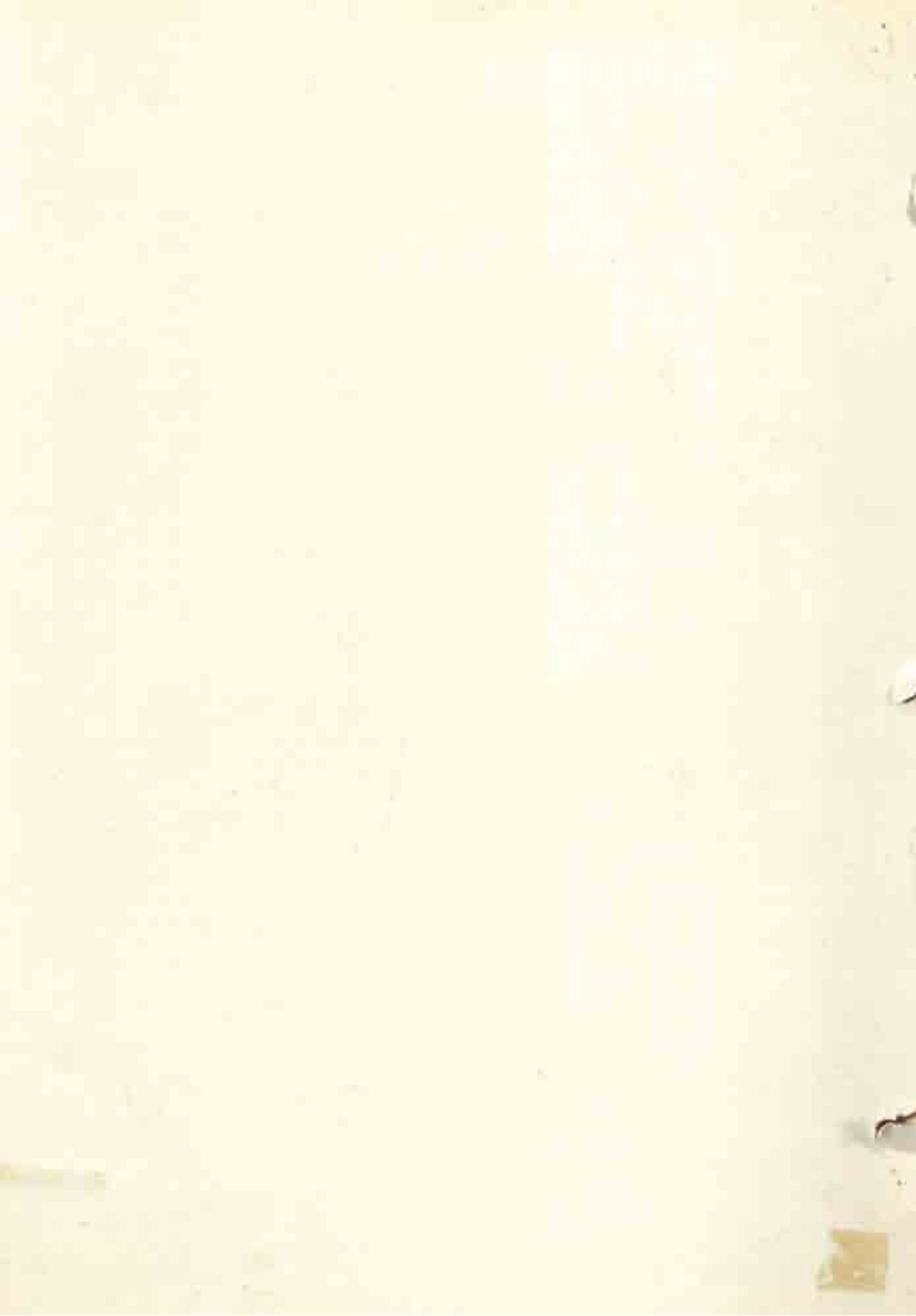
A-1



HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (II)

B



SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA - CALCUTTA.

C



SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA - CALCUTTA.

were excavated at Nālandā and are all broken or fragmentary. The one reproduced here, marked B on the plate, consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field, containing the device together with the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in twain. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", measuring the surface encompassed by the first curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the *aksharas* after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the flowery script of the seals of Śarvavarman. The Sonpat seal is larger and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing, though they are not distinct on the facsimile given in the *Corpus*. According to the transcript given by Fleet they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavardhana, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban¹ and the Banākhera² copper-plates of this potentate.

TEXT.

- 1 Symbol³ [𑀧𑀸] Mahārāja-śrī-Nara[varddhanas-ta]ḥ[aya] putras-tat-pād-ānudhyāta[ḥ]⁴
Śrī-Vajrīn-
- 2 dēvyām-utpannaḥ paramādityabhā[ktā] Mahārāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhanah[𑀧𑀸] Tasya
putras-tat-pā-
- 3 d-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Apsarōdēvyām⁵-utpanna[ḥ] para[m]ādityabhaktā Mahārāja-śrīmad-
Aditya-
- 4 varddhanah[𑀧𑀸] Tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ⁶ śrī[Ma]ḥ[hā]sēnaguptādēvyām-
u[tpa]⁷-nnah chaturdśa-
- 5 dr-ātikkrānta-kir[tiḥ] prajāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya]⁸-rājō varypārama⁹-vyavasthāpana-
pravṛtta-
- 6 cakṛa śkacchakkratāḥ iva prajānām-artiḥa[rah]¹⁰ paramādityabhakta[ḥ] parama-
bhāṭṭāraka-
- 7 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Prabhākaravarddhanah[𑀧𑀸] Tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ¹¹
atīlavita-
- 8 pūrvvarāja-charitō dēvyām-annala-yasōmatyām [śrī]-Yasōmatyām-utpanna[ḥ] parama-
saugataḥ Suga-

¹ See above, Vol. I, pp. 72 f.² See above, Vol. IV, pp. 216-21.³ Or *oriddhi*.⁴ Such letters are taken from the Madhuban and the Banākhera copper-plate inscriptions.⁵ Fleet gives *Ma(?)rāj(?)dēvyām* instead, but the question marks would show that he was not sure of his reading. The name is clearly *Apsarōdevī*.⁶ Possibly the length mark was shown in two ways: by a stroke above the top line, and by projecting the top line onwards and giving a small bend to its end.⁷ Fleet gives *str[ī]-[śrī]-[sugata]* in his reading of the Sonpat seal.⁸ The Madhuban and the Banākhera records show *sundhā* here—"sonu".

9. [ta i]va parahit-ānūrataḥ paramabhaṭṭā[raka]-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Rājyavarddhana-
[ḥ][*] ta-
10. ay-ānujaś-tat-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramabhaṭṭā[ṭikā]-Mahādēvi-Śrī-Yasōma[tyāra] dē-
11. vyām-[ēv'-ō]tpannāḥ paramamā[ḥ]śvaraḥ Mahāśvara iva sarva-sa
12. tv-ānukampaka[ḥ]* paramabhāttāraka-[Mahā]rājādhirāja-Śrī-Harshaḥ[ḥ]*

The text of this seal is not entirely identical with that of the Sonpat seal as deciphered by Fleet, nor with the genealogical portion of the above-mentioned copper-plate grants. The difference, however, is not material and the pedigree is practically the same. The name of the king as given in this and other specimens recovered from Nālandā is not Harshavardhana but only Harsha. The latter name is found not only in the two copper-plate inscriptions, but also in the Sign-Manual or autograph on the Banakhara plate. The facsimile of the Sonpat seal is very indistinct. A genius like Bhagwanlal Indraji or an epigraphist of the type of Fleet alone could make so much out of it. While giving the name Harshavardhana Fleet could not help remarking that the three *akṣaras vardhanaḥ* are rather small and cramped in the centre of the bottom of the seal. Other differences need not be pointed out here.

Out of the official seals the beautiful specimen bearing the legend—

1. Nagara-bhuktan kumār-ānāty-ādhi-
2. karasasya. [ḥ]*

which is written in the Gupta script of about the 6th century A.D. under the standing figure of Lakṣmi, flanked by an elephant, is reproduced as C in the accompanying plate.

Among the seals belonging to dignitaries or private individuals the one of Śrī-Paśu-patisinḥha, marked D on the accompanying facsimile, looks noteworthy. On palaeographic grounds it may be relegated to about the 7th century A.D. The legend on it reads as follows:—

1. Vijit-ārati-gaṇasaya nyāyavatō rāja-
2. vṛtti-nipuṇasaya aya-guṇ-ābharaṇasaya
3. Śrī-Paśupatisinḥhasaya la[kalpa-edaṁ] [ḥ]*

This may be rendered as —

'The token of the illustrious Paśupatisinḥha, whose excellences are his ornaments, who was just and expert in (performing) royal service and who has completely conquered the group of (his) foes.' The use of the word *lakṣma*, meaning 'token', is significant, for it clearly proves that such seals were used as tokens sent in support of the genuineness or authenticity of documents despatched along with them.

Of the remaining two seals reproduced here one, marked E on the accompanying plate, is specially interesting in that it enables us to comprehend the import of the word 'janapada'. The device we see on this seal consists of a seated male figure, nimbate, with left hand holding, probably, a *ghaṭa* or *mangalakalāśa*, the right, a rosary or *akṣamālā* (?) and flanked by a tree in a railing or enclosure and on a platform. Below this device there is a short legend of two lines reading:—

1. Purikā-grāma-jā-
2. napadasaya. [ḥ]*

* *Jan* is used for the sake of emphasis—both were *śrīras*, brothers.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (III).

D



E



F





and means '(The seal) of the *Jānapada* or Community of the *Purikā*-village.' Obviously, the word *jānapada* is not used here in the sense of '*dēśa*', which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of **community or unit or corporate body**. In the collection at Nālandā I have now found several other '*jānapada*' seals which are being described in the Memoir.

The other seal, marked F on the accompanying plate, belongs to the village of **Pādapāk** (or 'g') and the legend which it bears reads:—

Pādapāk-grāmasya [1*]

In several cases these seals, whether they belong to royalties, offices, communities or villages, either show long, flat or rectangular grooves, or have holes drilled right through from top to bottom. Evidently, they were meant for being tied to documents by means of strings, cloth, or palm-leaves. Some of these seals appear to be sun-dried and were probably fastened when they were still fresh or wet and then dried in the sun. Others were probably burnt in some kiln and kept ready for future use. No document has yet been found at Nālandā with any of these seals and it cannot be determined how they were fastened. That such seals or tokens were tied to letters by means of a thick and strong *sūtra* or string may be inferred, however, from the following description of the *lekha-hāra* or courier from Kṛishṇa, the brother of Śrīharsha, which Bāṇa gives in the *Harshacharitam*:—

यद्य तेनानीयमानम्, अतिमिविडसुखवन्धनिक्षितान्तरालगत-
व्यवच्छेदया लिखमालिकया परिकलितमूर्धानम्, प्रविशन्तं लिखहारक-
मद्राजोत्.

'Then he beheld the messenger entering as he was brought before him,—his legs tired and heavy with the long journey, with his tunic girt up rightly by a mud-stained strip of cloth, the knot hanging loose and fastened up by a rugged clout, winging behind him, and having his head wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it:'. Such seals as were found in their entirety, like the one of *Paśupatiśaṃha*, were probably fastened to strings whose ends were secured on the documents themselves either by being sealed with the same seal or by another seal or token. The string might have been of hemp or of cotton. In the hole of one seal I have recently seen a piece of white '*khādi*' cloth. In the absence of any specimen it cannot be determined whether these documents or books, etc., were written on wood, leather, palm-leaves, paper or any other material. But an idea as to how these seals must have been tied to them can be formed from the description of the remarkable documents which Sir Aurel Stein discovered at Niya and has described with good illustrations in his *Ancient Khotan* and *Serindia*. These seals were usually broken when a document was read after its receipt to avoid forgery. That is the reason why they are found more or less damaged. This is done even now in India. In ancient India it was rather the potter's mud or clay which was generally used instead of the shellac or sealing wax, and the *lekha-hāraka* was like the *harkārah* of to-day.

POSTSCRIPT.

My recent examination of the whole collection has led me to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings **Narasimhagupta**, his son **Kumārāgupta**, **Budhagupta** and **Vainyagupta**, and also the kings [Bha]gavachandra, Supratishṭhita-varman, and others. The Gupta seals would show among other points of historical interest that the name of **Kumārāgupta's** mother has to be read as **Mītrādēvī** and not **Śrīmatīdēvī** or **Lakṣmīdēvī**, and that of **Puragupta's** mother, as **Vainyadēvī** not **Vatsadēvī**. All these seals are being fully treated in my forthcoming monograph on Nālandā.

No. 13.—BAIGRAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE [GUPTA]-YEAR 128

By RADHAGOVINDA BASAK, M.A., DACCA.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1930 near a wooden structure which surrounded an old well opened by some tenants of Rai Sahib Kumudnath Das, Zamindar of Hilli, while excavating a tank at Baigram (P. O. Hilli) in the District of Bogra, Rajshahi Division, Bengal. One more copper-plate, which was found along with it, was taken away by the coolies and has not yet been secured. The document under publication was kept with one Purnan Akundar till it was brought to Hilli early this year by Babu Krishna Chandra Saha, Manager of the Rai Sahib's estate. Afterwards Babu Jyotirindranath Das, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, presented it to the Gauda Research Society, Howrah, and it is now in the possession of that Society. Babu Niradabaran Mishra Chakravarti, Secretary of the Society, brought it to my notice and gave me a set of its estampages on which my reading of the inscription is based. It is very gratifying, indeed, that within the last few years we have recovered such valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal itself (i.e., ancient *Pundravardhana-bhukti*). Out of these eight documents, seven have already been published, viz., the Dhanadaha copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I.; the year 118,¹ the Five Damodarpur copper-plate inscriptions² and the Pāhārpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159.³ The eighth forms the subject of the present paper.

Like the seven charters already published, this inscription is also a deed of sale and registers the purchase by private persons of *khilla* (fallow) and *vasta* (homestead) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. The Faridpur copper-plate grants⁴, marked A, B and C by Patgister, are also of the same type. The general procedure followed in ancient Bengal for purchasing State lands by private persons as laid down in this grant is identical with that given in the Damodarpur grants or in the Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription. The intending purchaser of a State land had to submit an application to the administrative authority concerned and the Government had to refer the matter to the record-keepers before giving the required sanction.

The plate measures 9" x 5", approximately, and bears writing on both the sides of it; the obverse side has fifteen lines and the reverse only ten. The left side of it is somewhat protruberant in the middle and this part was circular at its end with a portion cut off and bent. The hole here would show that a seal was probably attached to the plate, though it is not now forthcoming. The writing is well executed and the document is fairly well preserved.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and are almost similar to those used in the Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2, which also belong to the same period. As in the Damodarpur, the Dhanadaha and the Pāhārpur copper-plates, here, too, the medial *ḍ* is at times indicated by means of a hook-stroke attached to the lower right side of an *akṣara* as, for example, in *grāṃika* (l. 2). The form of *rā* in *rāpāḍa* (ll. 9 and 14) is also noteworthy. As one would ordinarily expect in the inscriptions of this period, the letter *b* is distinguished from *v* in this document also (see, for example, *Brāhmaṇa* l. 2 or *śākhyaṇi* l. 3). The sign for the conjunct letters *ha* and *ky* appears to be almost identical. The form of the four-lettered conjunct *śekṣṣy* occurring in the word *upśekṣṣyāṇa* (l. 19) may be noted. The form of the medial *ḥ* and *ḥ* in the letters *ma*, *ra* and *ra* requires attention (see, e.g., *māka* in l. 9).

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 342 ff.² *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 69 ff.³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 112 ff.⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 192 ff.

māhāt in l. 23 and *paśyāt* in l. 23). This form of *ś* is to be found with the letter *ś* also, as, for example, in *śaśit* (l. 23). The sign for the lingual *ṣ* is used in *śaṣṭhyān* (ll. 18-19). The form of the final *t* and *w*, often found joined with the preceding letters slightly below the top line, as, for example, in *śaśit* (l. 23), *śaśwadhārām* (l. 22), is also noteworthy. The numerical symbols for 100, 20, 8, 10 and 9 are found used in line 25 and those for 3 and 2 in line 18.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose excepting in the three imprecatory verses found in lines 21 to 25. As in some of the Damodarpur plates (Nos. 1 to 4) and the Fazilpur plates (Nos. A, B and C) the superfluous *k* is found in this inscription also, as in *śaṣṭhyān* and *śaśit* (l. 4). *Sandhi* has been neglected in some places; as in *śaśit* *śaśwadhārām* (l. 10) and *śaśwadhārām* in line 17.

As regards orthography the following peculiarities require attention: (1) Consonants are usually doubled before *g*, as in *śaśwadhārām* (l. 5) (but in the same word in line 13 *k* seems to be single) and *śaśwadhārām* (l. 11). (2) The consonants *k* and *t* are doubled before the subscript *r*: e.g., *śaśwadhārām* (ll. 5 and 12) and *śaśwadhārām* (ll. 5 and 11). (3) The consonants *k*, *g*, *t*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *y* and *v* are doubled after the super-script *r*: e.g., *śaśwadhārām* (ll. 5 and 11), *śaśwadhārām* (l. 23), *śaśwadhārām* (l. 20), *śaśwadhārām* (l. 12), *śaśwadhārām* (l. 19), *śaśwadhārām* (l. 20) and *śaśwadhārām* (l. 23) respectively.

The inscription is dated in *Saṃvat* 128 on the nineteenth of *Māgha*. This *saṃvat* evidently refers to the Gupta era and the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I whose dates, known from coins and inscriptions, range from 115 to 136 G.E. Consequently the year given in the inscription must correspond to the year 447-48 of the Christian era. It may be noted here that one of the Damodarpur plates of Kumāragupta I is also dated in this very year, viz., 128 of the Gupta era. The use of the Gupta *saṃvat* was current in North Bengal during this period. The name of the reigning king is omitted in this inscription as well as in the Pāṇḍurpur plate. Evidently the words *Śaśwadhārām* in lines 1 and 13 refer to the reigning sovereign, viz., Kumāragupta I.

The object of the inscription under publication is to record the purchase of three *śaśwadhārām* of revenue-free *śaśwadhārām* (fallow) fields and two *śaśwadhārām* of *śaśwadhārām* (homestead) land belonging to the State and lying in two localities connected with *Vāyagrāma*, viz., *Trivṛtā* and *Śrīgohāṇī*, by two persons named *Śaśwadhārām* and *Śaśwadhārām* for the purpose of making a donation, to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, etc., required for daily worship and occasional repairs to the temple of *Gōvindaśāmin* which was founded by their father *Śivanandīn*. The name of the place whence the charter was issued was *Pañchanagarī*, possibly the district (*vishaya*) headquarters. The administrative officer, who was in charge of the district court (*vishaya-ādhipati*) and approached by the two intending purchasers of the State land, was named *Kulavṛddhi* and had the title of *Kumārāditya*. The application was granted and the land was sold to them in accordance with the decision of the Government record-keepers (*paṭyapāṭas*) arrived after the land was properly surveyed and measured by means of the *śaśwadhārām* in use there. The members of the *vishaya-ādhipati*, the other Government officers, as well as the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the *vishaya* regarding this sale of the land by the Government after having received its price at the fixed rate of 3 *śaśwadhārām* per *śaśwadhārām* which was in vogue in that *vishaya*. These persons were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment according to the principles of *śaśwadhārām*-*śaśwadhārām*.

It is not unlikely that like the *Kōtivanḍa* of the Damodarpur grants and the *Śaśwadhārām* of the *Dharmadāsa* plate, the *Pañchanagarī* of the inscription under publication was one of the *vishayas* of the old *Puṇḍravardhana-śaśwadhārām*; but I am unable to identify it, nor am I able to locate *Trivṛtā* and *Śrīgohāṇī*. I cannot say for certain if the village named here as *Vāyagrāma*

is the village of the same name that is mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If they are identical, the village must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between Kōpi-varsha and Pañchanagarī. That Baigram, where this plate was unearthed, is the ancient Vāyigrāma mentioned in this plate (l. 2) cannot be doubted. Consequently it may reasonably be assumed that the localities mentioned in the inscription were situated somewhere near Hill in Bogra. The name Śrigōhālī, however, reminds us of the names Vāṭa-Gōhālī and Nīṭva-Gōhālī of the Pāhārpur inscription.

A note on the relation in value between a *dināra* and a *rūpaka* coin as met with in this inscription may well be added here. The name *dināra* is of foreign origin and is derived from the Latin *denarius*, as we all know. The word *rūpaka* occurring in this inscription, I think, requires an explanation. As two *drōṇaśūpa*s of land are priced at 8 *rūpakas* in lines 6 and 14 of the inscription it appears certain that 8 *rūpakas* are equivalent in value to $\frac{1}{2}$ *dināra* because 1 *kulyaśūpa* (=8 *drōṇas*) is explicitly priced at the rate of 2 *dināras* according to the prevailing custom of sale described in the inscription. Hence 1 full *dināra* will be equal to 16 *rūpakas*. We may, therefore, surmise that the term *rūpaka*, which may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety, refers to silver coins in this charter. In Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* the word *rūpa* seems to mean a coin which may be of silver or copper, i.e., *rūpya-rūpa* (silver coin, e.g., *pausa*) and *tāman-rūpa* (copper coin, e.g., *nāśa*). The officer who examines coins or controls currency is called *Rūpa-darśaka* in that work.¹

As regards the different rate of price of *khila* and *vāta* land we find that in some of the Damodarpur plates the rate was three *dināras* for a *kulyaśūpa* (*tridīnārika-kulyaśūpa*), but in our inscription as well as in the Pāhārpur one, we have the rate of two *dināras* for a *kulyaśūpa* (*dvīdīnārika-kulyaśūpa*); whereas in almost all the Farīdpur plates the rate is that of four *dināras* for a *kulyaśūpa* (*chaturdīnārika-kulyaśūpa*). This difference may have been due to the difference of localities and also, probably, to the character of the land sold.

From the Pāhārpur inscription it has become clear that one *kulyaśūpa* of land is equal to 8 *drōṇaśūpas*, for there 12 *drōṇas* are totalised as one and a half *kulyaśūpas* and the same result is also obtained even by reference to the money value proposed in the grant in accordance with the prevalent rate. The formula found in some Sanskrit lexicons for one *kulyaśūpa* being equal to 8 *drōṇas* is, therefore, established.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in our inscription also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in force during the age, viz., that the *viskhayapati*s, who enjoyed the use of the usual title of *Kumārāmātya*, were appointed to be in charge of the *viskhay-ādikāntas* by the Gupta emperors, undoubtedly on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the *bhukti*, or the *uparika-mahārāja*. The prevalence of such a procedure of administrative relation between the different Government authorities is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the present one, as *Kulaviddhi*, the *viskhayapati*, is here described as directly meditating on the feet of His Majesty (*Bhaktāraka-pāda*). But this probably alludes to the fact that the appointment of such an administrative head of a *viskhaya* by the *bhukti* governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of *Kumārāmātya* *Kulaviddhi* here must be exactly the same as that of *Kumārāmātya* *Vētravarman* of Kōpi-varsha appointed to his responsible post by *uparika* *Chirīṭadatta*, who himself enjoyed the favour of the imperial ruler, *paramadavanta*, *paramakṣitāraka* *Mahārājā-dhīrāja* *Kumāragupta* I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G.E., respectively. *Kulaviddhi* and *Vētravarman* must, therefore, have been contemporary officers under the same sovereign in the two separate *viskhas* in North Bengal.

¹ Dr. Shamasastri's Translation, p. 95. Cf. Mr. K. P. Jaysawal's remarks above, Vol. XX, p. 81.—Ed.

Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in the Damodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the *vishayapati* of Kōtivarsha in the administrative work of the *vishay-ādhiśvara*, the four members forming that Board being (1) the *mayam-śatādhikā* (the President of the town-guild), (2) the *prathamā-sārthavāha* (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *prathamā-kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *prathamā-lōgastha* (probably, the chief scribe,—the head of the Government officials). The absence of such a reference in a document of the year 128 G.E. (Damodarpur grant No. 2 of Kumāra-gupta I's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Kōtivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No. 2) was perhaps a more important *vishaya* where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the *vishay-ādhiśvara* than in Pañchanagari of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the *bhukti* Governor known from two of the Damodarpur grants (i.e., Nos. 1 and 2).

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Svasti [||*] Pañchanagaryyā Bhāṭṭāraka-pād-ānandīyātāḥ Kumārāmitya-Kula-
vṛiddhir-ītat-vishay-ādhiśvara-sāvecha
- 2 Vāyigrāmika-Trivṛita(tā)-Śrīgōhālyōḥ Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān-samivavahāri-pramukhān-
grāma-kupumbināḥ kuśalan-am-
- 3 varūya bōdhayanti(tī) [||*] Vijñāpavatōra(tō)-ti-siva-vāstavya-kuṣumbi-Bhōyila-
Bhāskarāv-āyayōḥ pitrē Śivanandi-
- 4 nā kārj[ta]ka-Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāmināḥ dēvakulaa(atō)-tad-asāt-alpa(tad-
adō-lpa)-vṛittikah(am) [||*] Iha vishayē samudaya-
- 5 bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrāgām-akinchit-pratikarāgām śaśvad-ūchandr-ārkkā-
tāraka-bhōjyānām(nām)-akahaya-nivya
- 6 divi-dinārikhya-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō-nuvṛittas-tad-arthat-āyayō-sakāśāt-shaś-dinārān-
ashta-cha rūpakān-āy-
- 7 [krj]tya Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāminō dēvakulō [kha]pda-phuṭṭa-pratisamśka(skā)ra-
karapāya gandha-dhūpa-dipa-
- 8 ammanasā[m*] pravarttanāya cha Trivṛitāyām Bhōg(yi)lasya khila-kshētra-
kulyavāpa-trayasth Śrīgōhālyāa(n)-ch-āpi
- 9 tala-vāpak-ārtha[m*] sthala-vāstunō drōṇavāpam-ēkoti Bhāskarasy-āpi sthala-
vāstunō drōṇavāpān-cha dātu-
- 10 m-āti [||*] Yatō yushmān-bōdhayāma[h*] Postapāla-Durgādatt-Ārkkādāsayā-
avadhāraṇayā¹ avadhṛita-
- 11 m-asat-Iha vishayē samudaya-bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrāgā[n*] śaśvad-
ūchandr-ārkkā-tāraka-bhōjyānām divi-di-
- 12 nāriky-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō-nuvṛittat [||*] Evamvidh-āpratikara-khila-kshētra-
vikkrayō cha na kaśchid-rāj-ārththa-
- 13 virōdha upanaya śva Bhāṭṭāraka-pādānām dharmma-phala-shaś-bhāg-āvāptis-
cha tad-diyatām-iti ślayōḥ

¹ Read *spāṣṭita*. *Phuṭṭa* is evidently a Prākṛit form.² Read "sup-ānandīyān".

- 14 Bhōyila-Bhāskarasya-sakā[śa]¹ n-cha[ś]-dinācāy-achya cha rūpakān-āyikṛitya Bhagavato Gōvindaśrāmīnā
 15 dēvakūlas-āritha Bhōyilasya Trivṛtāyām kila-kabōtra-kulavāpa-trayāni tāla-vātak-ādī-artham.

Second Side.

- 16 Śrīgōhālā[m]² sthala-vāstunō drōṇavāpa Bhāskarasy-āpy-ātr-āivā sthala[ś]a-va(vā)stunō drōṇavāpa-
 17 in-āya[n]³ kulavāpa-trayāni sthala-drōṇavāpa-āyān-cha⁴ akahaya-nivā[śa](vā) tāmr-pannā dattān ninnā⁵
 18 ku 3 sthala-drō 2 [ś]⁶ yāyān sva-karṣaṇ-āvirōdhi-ethānā⁷ Darvīkaruṇya-hastān-ābhata-nayaka-na[ś]ābhya-
 19 m-apaviñchchya chira-kūla-ethāyī-tuak-āgār-ādi(dīnā[ś]a[n]⁸) chhānā-āchātarddīnā⁹ niyamiya dēyath-ākahaya-
 20 nivi-dharmamēna(na) cha śakvat-kālam-annpālayishyatha varttamāna-bhaviṣyāś-cha saṅgyavahāryy-ādibhin-āta-
 21 d-dharm-āpekshay-ānupālayitavyam-iti [ś]¹⁰ Uktān-cha Bhagava(d)-Vādaryāna mahātmanā [ś]¹¹ Sva-dattān pata-dattān
 22 vā(vā) yā karāta vasundharām [ś]¹² sa vidhāyān kamin-bhātva pitṛibhā-saha paryatā [ś]¹³ Shashṭim varsha-saha-
 23 arāṇi svarggō mōdati bhūmida[ś]a [ś]¹⁴ ākshēptā ch-ānunnatā cha tāya sva narakā vaset [ś]¹⁵ Pārva-
 24 dattān dvijātibhyā yātūnā-rakṣa Yuddhaktāna [ś]¹⁶ mahā[m]¹⁷ mahātātā
 25 namitā[m] || iti sarā 100 20 8 Māgha di 10 9

TRANSLATION.

[LL. 1-3] Bliss¹ From Pañchanagari² Kumārānāga Kulavṛddhi, who meditates on the feet of the Bhāṭṭāraka (i.e., the king), informs, after enquiring about their health, the *adhibhāra* (court) of the *viśaya* and the village-householders, along with the Brāhmanas and others and the Chief-officers (*Samayasubhāra*) of (the neo-localities named) Trivṛtā and Śrīgōhālā connected with the village named Vāyigrāma.

[LL. 3-6] Bhōyila and Bhāskara, two family headmen residing in this locality, thus apply.—The (building) of the temple of Lord Gōvindaśrāmīn founded by Śivanandin, father of us both, is poorly endowed. In this *viśaya* prevails (the *preritvā*) of sale at the rate of two *dīnā* for each *kulavāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which do not yield any revenue (to the State), (the lands being purchased) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment, to be

¹ Read *ch-āśaka*.

² This word put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable. { *Phaps* (= *Act. epistolar*) in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for *Act. viam nunnā* (= land.—Ed.)

³ The Pāliyat plate gives *ad*. (L. 10) which is a much better reading.—Ed.

⁴ { This must be the reading in the Pāliyat plate also, where in the place of *akahaya* (L. 10) it would be better to read *akahaya* as in this plate.

⁵ This word seems to be the name of the village in charge of Kulavṛddhi. It may also be suggested that it may have been the name of the district headquarters where the court (*adhibhāra*) of the *viśaya* was situated.

enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, and free from (the liability of payment of) any kind of taxes.

[Ll. 6—10] So design to make a grant to (me), **Bhōyila**, of three *kalyanāpas* of *khila* (i.e., waste) land in **Trivṛṭṭā** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāta* (i.e., homestead) land, for (dwelling) site (*śala*) and paths (*vāṭaka*) in **Śrīgōhālī**, and to (me), **Bhāskara**, one *drōṇavāpa* of homestead land for the purpose of repairs to the temple of Lord (Gōvindasvāmin) when damaged or dilapidated and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers, by getting from us an income of six *dināras* and eight (silver) coins.

[Ll. 10—13] Since we inform you that it has been determined by the record-keepers, Durgādatta and Arkkadāsa (these),—there exists in this *cishuga* (the procedure of) sale at the rate of two *dināras* for each *kalyanāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which are beyond the possibility of yielding revenue (to the king), to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. Moreover, there can be no objection (out of fear of any loss) on the king's behalf in the matter of such sale of *khila* fields, free from taxes: (rather) there is (possibility of) some income for the *Rakṣāṅka-pāda* (or the king) and also of the acquisition of one-sixth of the religious merit (accruing from such an act). Hence the (land) should be given (by sale).

[Ll. 13—18] Thus on making an income of six *dināras* and eight (silver) coins (*rūpakas*) from **Bhōyila** and **Bhāskara** for the sake of the temple of Lord (Gōvindasvāmin), three *kalyanāpas* of *khila* fields in **Trivṛṭṭā** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāta* land in **Śrīgōhālī** were granted (by sale) to **Bhōyila** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāta* land in the very same place (i.e., **Śrīgōhālī**) to **Bhāskara**, by the execution of a copper-plate (charter) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (*akṣayapūrti*), thus the total measurement of land (sold) being three *kalyanāpas* and two *khila-drōṇavāpas* (stated in figures as *ku* 3 and *sthaladṛo* 2 respectively).

[Ll. 18—21] (So) you shall make over (to the two applicants the portion of land) by fixing their boundaries on four sides with marks of chaff and charcoal which will be permanent, after having divided (the area) by the measurement of 8 × 9 reeds by the hands of *Darekarmama*, in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, and shall preserve it for all time to come by the principle of perpetual endowment. The present and the future administrative agents and others also should preserve it out of regard for religious merit.

[Ll. 21—25] (Here follow three imprecatory stanzas.)

[L. 25] (Here the charter ends. The year (sam) 128, the 19th day of Māgha.

NO. 14.—MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR.

This interesting inscription in Mauryan Brāhmī was discovered at Mahāsthān on the 30th of November 1931, by one Baru Fajir of the Mahāsthāngāṇ village in the Bogra District of Bengal. Mr. G. C. Chandra, who was then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, acquired it for the Department, and it was for some time lying in his office at Calcutta. Under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology, it has now been deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

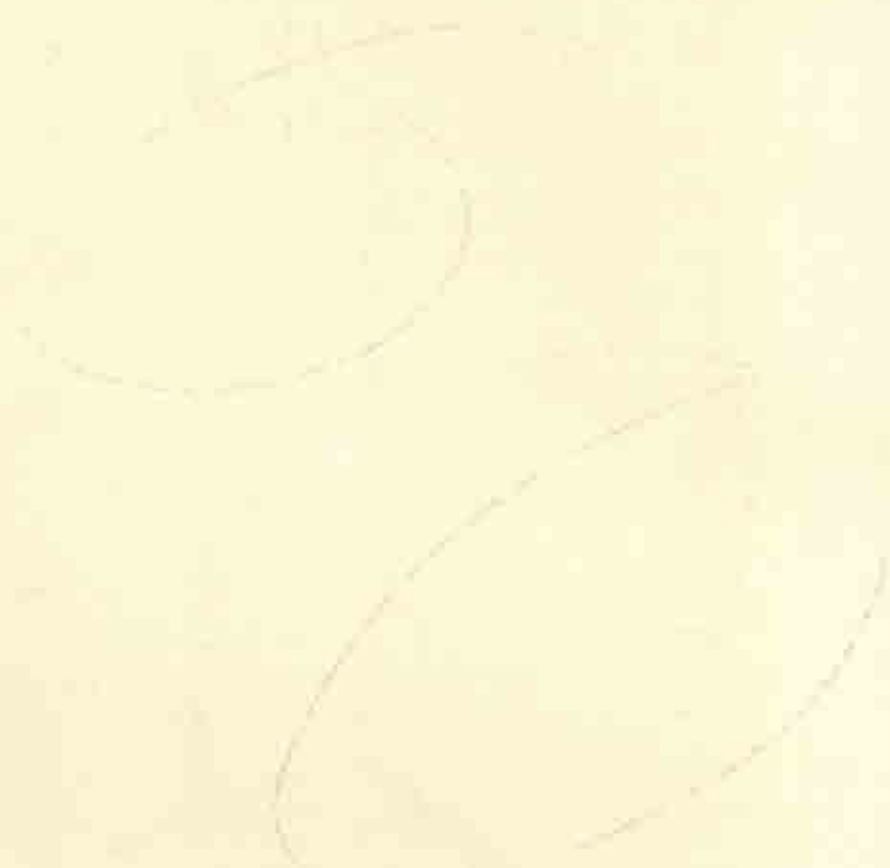
Soon after the discovery of this plaque, a very brief account of its contents, I am told, was printed in the columns of a Bengali daily of Calcutta, the *Baṅga-Dīpī*; though I have not seen it as all. The account which has appeared in the *Liberty*, dated Friday, 22nd April, 1932, p. 4, I was able to see, but it does not touch any important detail of this epigraph. My transcript

and account of it are based upon an impression sent to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, and a photograph forwarded later by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archaeology in India. Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum, I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I know long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript.

The inscription is incised on a piece of hard limestone which measures $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$. Though it is in a fragmentary condition, yet it is possible to determine, more or less approximately, what was its original extent. That no complete line was engraved after the last line of this fragment can reasonably be inferred from the space remaining blank at the end, which is not less than what we find between any two actual lines of this epigraph. Again a careful examination of the stone shows that the original surface of its sides is still traceable here and there and that many letters, consequently, cannot have been destroyed from the sides. Thus while *śamā* is the last word of l. 2, *dhāniyam* is the first word of l. 4. It is thus clear that the sides of the inscription have not been much damaged. One or two letters at the most may have been obliterated from each line whether at the beginning or at the end. Line 1 of our fragment cannot however be really the first line of the original inscription. But even here we may be pretty sure that more than one line could not have been so effaced.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in Brāhmī character of the Mauryan period. The alphabet remarkably resembles that of the Aśokan records. The only difference that is perhaps worthy of note is that the vertical part of the letters *t*, *p*, *k*, *ṇ* and *ṣ* is a bit more prolonged than is generally seen in Aśokan inscriptions. Our record again has one peculiarity which it shares in common with the Kāśī recension of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka. It is in regard to the letter *s* which occurs also in a form resembling *ś*. That these two forms do not mean two different letters in our inscription, namely, *s* and *ś*, is quite certain. The word *śaṃsāyānāṃ* occurs twice, once in l. 1 and once in l. 3; and whereas the first letter in the first case is a clear *s*, it has the form of *ś* in the second. There can however be no doubt as to *śaṃsāyānāṃ* being the word intended. The *ś*-looking letter must therefore be regarded as a cursive form of *s* and has consequently to be read as *s*, and not *ś*. Similarly in regard to *śalakkita* (l. 2) and *śa-śiṣṭyāṇāṃ* (l. 5), the first letter in each one of these words is evidently *ś*, but whereas the former character is distinctly *s*, the latter looks like *ś*. This *ś*-like form is noticeable, as remarked above, in the Kāśī copy of Aśokan Rock Edicts. Up till and including Rock Edict IX, the regular form of *s* is alone noticeable. In Rock Edict X the *ś*-like form occurs side by side with the regular one, but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Hultzsch is not right in reading it invariably as *ś*, as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular *s*.

As regards the language of our inscription, it is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka. It was the language of the Madhyadśīa influenced by Māgadhī or rather the court language of Magadha. Here we have to notice the change of *s* to *ṣ* and of the ending *ṣ* to *ṣ*. These are the peculiarities of Māgadhī. We have, on the other hand, the dental *s* only as in the Pillar Edicts, and not the palatal *ś* which is the third characteristic of Māgadhī according to the Prakrit grammarians. The locative singular ends in *ai*, and never in *e*. As regards Orthography, we have to note first that the doubling of consonants caused by assimilation is not graphically shown. We have also to note the constant use of the perpendicular stroke as a *virāma* or stop to mark the words and the clauses of the record. Instances of such upright *virāmas* may be found in the Kāśī and Sarnāth Edicts of Aśoka though there they are sometimes inserted meaninglessly. To give one instance, Kāśī Rock Edict XIII has the following: *Attha- [ṣa] śāśa- [ṣa]*



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MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHAJHATH.

From an estampage.



ACTUAL SIZE.

From a photograph.



SLIGHTLY LARGER THAN ACTUAL SIZE.

dhishita + *cha* [De] *vanapigasha* *Piyadashina* [lāyine] (Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 45). In our inscription, however, it seems to have been properly employed to punctuate divisions or sentences.

The transcript of our record is as follows:—

1. *nena* *Sa*[m*]*va*[m*]*giy*[ā]*naṁ* [*Galadanasa*] | *Dumadina*-[*mahā**]
2. *māte* | *su**lakṣite* *Puḍanagale* | *e*[tā]*m*.
3. [nī*]*va**hipayisati* | *Sa**hva*[m*]*giyānaṁ* [*cha* dī*]*ne* [*bathā**]
4. [*dhā**]*niyaṁ* | *nivahisati* | *da*[m*]*g*[ā*]*tiyāy*[i*]*k*[e] d[*evā**].
5. [*tiyā**]*iyikani* | *su*-*atiyāyika*[si] *pi* | *gatha*[*kohi**]
6. [*dhāni**]*iyikani* *esa* *kothāgāle* *kosam* [*bhara**].
7. [*piye*]

We have seen that the inscription is a fragmentary one. We cannot therefore entirely do without some amount of conjecture while interpreting it. The record, however, can be treated best by considering it line by line and word by word. The fragment begins with the two letters *ena*. The word originally must have been either *sānana* or *vachanana*, more probably the former. If we carefully examine l. 1, as the most one letter could have preceded *ena* with which our fragment opens. Thus whether this word was *sānana* or *vachanana*, the first letter of it could not have been engraved in the present l. 1 of the fragment but rather in the line preceding it which has now been lost. Similarly, the words [*sāna**]*ena* *Sa*[m*]*va*[m*]*giy*[ā]*naṁ* [*Galadanasa*], punctuated by the *virāma* of l. 1, make no complete sense as they stand. They surely must have been preceded by some words in the line previous which is now broken and which told us what was the exact nature of the *sāna* and who the ruler was that issued it.

The next word is *Savagiyānaṁ*, as it stands. The same word occurs in l. 3 as *Saṁvagiyānaṁ*, where the *anuvāda* after *sa* is distinct. The word may be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Saṁvagiyānaṁ*, which, however, yields no good sense. It may stand for *vagiyānaṁ*, 'of the class-fellows, or the clansmen', with *anuvāda* prefixed to it. But this prefix *anuvāda* remains meaningless and inappropriate. Besides, what is meant by saying that something was given by *sāna* to 'Galadana of the clansmen'? Who were these clansmen? Why is their name not specified? It will be better to insert another *anuvāda* this time after *sa*, and read the whole word as *Saṁvagiyānaṁ*, 'of the *Saṁvagiyāna* (tribe)'. The insertion of an *anuvāda* after *sa* cannot be unjustifiable in view also of the fact that in l. 2 we have *Puḍanagale*, which obviously stands for *Puḍanagale*. That *Vaḍḍiya* is, like the *Vajjī*, the name of a tribe can scarcely be doubted. And just as the confederation of the different *Vajjī* clans is sometimes called *Saṁvājī*, it is not impossible that the various *Vaḍḍiya* clans were similarly summed up under the name *Saṁvagiyāna*. We shall dilate upon this point later, but what we have here to note is that the second word in l. 1 is in all likelihood intended for *Saṁvagiyānaṁ* which yields good sense and which can also be read as such, having regard to the fact that in old inscriptions an *anuvāda* is not unfrequently omitted.

The third word in l. 1 cannot be read with certainty as the upper part of its letters is damaged. It reads like *Galadanasa*—(Sk.) *Galādānarya*. It seems that *Galadana* was a leader or chief of the *Saṁvagiyāna*, to whom something was granted by *sāna*. The next word, though a little damaged, is pretty certain and reads *Dumadina*. Then followed two letters, the first of which is partially preserved and the second completely lost. Thus first is either *s* or *m*. These two letters together with the first two, namely, *māte*, of the second line formed one word, which is marked by a *virāma*. Thus the letters intervening between this and the preceding *virāma* may be read either as *Dumadina*[*va*] (*o*)*māte* or *Dumadina*-*mahāmāte*. The former alternative is less preferable, because the force of *sa* after *Dumadina* is undetermined. Is it a genitive termination, or a part of an individual's name, whatever that may mean? If the former is the case, it makes no

sense. If the latter is the case, according to the language of the record we should have expected *Dumadinata* = *Dumadinata* = *Dumadinatā*. Thirdly, *maṭṭa* cannot here be equivalent to *maṭṭi* which in this inscription would run into *maṭṭiye*. All things considered, it is safer to accept the second alternative, and read the two words together as *Dumadina-mahādita* "the Mahādita (called) Dumadina".

The next letters of the second line placed between two *vīraṃas* can be read without doubt as *salakhiṭa Pu[ṣṇ]dānagataḥ*. There can similarly be no doubt as to *Pu[ṣṇ]dānagataḥ* standing for the Sanskrit *Puṣṇanagara*, "from Puṣṇanagara". The change of the Sanskrit *ṭṣ* (= *ṭṣ*) into *te* need not puzzle us. It may be compared to *Ujēte* and *Takkasūte* of Dīpāli Separate Rock Edict I (Sections AA and BB in II. 23-4 of Hultzsch's *Asoka Inscriptions*). But what does *salakhiṭa* mean? Here too the ending *te* must be equal to *ṭṣ* (= *ṭṣ*). But what about *salakhi*? Does it stand for *salakhiṭa*, or for *salakhiṭa*? Either will suit excellently. The next clause indicated by the *vīraṃas* contains the two words *etāḥ* (*vipulaprayatnānāṃ nir-vāṇāyāṇāṃ*), "will cause it to be accomplished". The word *etāḥ* here in all likelihood refers to the *dhāna* or grant which must have been specified in the first original line, which has now been obliterated. What the exact nature of this grant was we do not know. But we will hazard a conjecture about it when we come to treat of the ending portion of our epigraph.

The next clause is rather difficult to handle. The first word, however, can be read with certainty. It is *Saṃva[ṣṇ]yāṇam*. The letter following is either *r* or *ā*. The next letter is lost, but the third is most probably *se*. This last seems to have been followed by two letters which are now lost. The last word of this clause is *dhānyāḥ*, which occurs in I, 4. No letter seems to have preceded it in this line at least, as remarked above. *Dhānyāḥ* may thus be taken as one word and as equivalent to *dhānyāḥ* = "paddy". The whole clause may perhaps be restored to *Saṃva[ṣṇ]yāṇam [cha] [dā]ne [pakaḥ] dhānyāḥ*, "and likewise paddy has been granted to the Saṃvaṣṇyāḥ".

The letters intervening between the next two *vīraṃas* read *avahanti*, which does not form a phrase but is one word, so that we have to take it along with what is placed in the next pair of *vīraṃas*. This last comprises letters, some of which have been destroyed and baffle well-nigh all ingenuity at restoration. It consists of two words, the first of which is pretty certain, namely, *daṇḍāyāṇāṃ*. The other word also ends with *āyāṇāṃ* of which *yāṇā* is to be found in the next line, i.e., I, 5. *Yāṇā* must have been preceded by *ā* in the same line, though it is now effaced. The remaining *ā* must have been engraved in the preceding line and formed the ending letter of that line. Before this *ā* there must have been two letters, of which one only has been partially preserved. This last looks like *ā* and comes immediately after the word *daṇḍāyāṇāṃ*, noted above. But in the case of this letter, the joining bar between the two uprights of *ā* is very narrow and not as broad as that of *ā* in *Pu[ṣṇ]dānagataḥ* in I, 2, or in *gāṇāḥ* (= *gāṇāḥ*) in I, 5. Possibly, what looks like *ā* is the preserved portion of *ā*, and this word may perhaps be restored to *daṇḍāyāṇāṃ*. The whole may thus read *nirvāṇāni dā[ṇā]ni [dā]nyāṇāṃ [dā]nyāṇāṃ* (*nirvāṇāni dā[ṇā]ni dā[ṇā]nyāṇāṃ*), and may be translated as follows: "the *daṇḍāyāṇāṃ* (of adversity) to the town (*dāṇā*) during the excess (caused) by the superhuman agency (grievous or adversity caused by the gods or superhuman agency). Further, it seems that this *daṇḍāyāṇāṃ* had overtaken the *dāṇā* of the Saṃvaṣṇyāḥ. This *dāṇā* may be Puṣṇanagara itself or some place not far removed from it where the Saṃvaṣṇyāḥ were settled. Thirdly, it seems that one measure that was devised to combat this adversity was the doling out of *dhānyā* or paddy. This shows that the *daṇḍāyāṇāṃ* that had befallen the Saṃvaṣṇyāḥ must have been no other than a famine.

The next batch of interpunctuated letters is *su-atiṅṅyikāsi ji*. But these two words by themselves do not form a śloka, and have therefore to be taken along with those that follow. Of these only *gudaka* has been preserved in l. 5. At least two more were originally incised in this line, but they have now been destroyed. The next line, which is the last preserved one, has lost at least two letters at the beginning and three at the end, but those that have been preserved can be clearly read as *[y]ikēhi su koṭhāgile kasaṁ*. The lacunae may be tentatively filled up as follows: *gudaka[kehi*] [dhān*]yikēhi su koṭhāgile kasaṁ [dhānāgile*]*. The whole may thus be rendered into English: "when there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury may be replenished with paddy and the *gudaka* coins". Here two things are mentioned, (1) *koṭhāgile*=*koṭhāgileśvare*=granary, and (2) *kasaṁ*=*kasa*=treasury. Corresponding to *kasa* we have the mention of *gudaka*, which means "a coin of the value of four carities". The *yikēhi*, with which the last line begins, can thus be easily restored to *[dhān*]yikēhi*=*dhānāgile*, as it corresponds to *koṭhāgile* and as we know it has already been mentioned as being distributed among the *Sauvāṅgiyas*. What we have thus to understand here is that as soon as the time of superabundance returned, they were to remit *gudaka* coins into the royal treasury and paddy into the royal granary.

ll. 3-4 refer to the doling out of paddy to these people. It is thus perfectly intelligible why at the end of the record they have been asked to return the corn. But why should there be any mention of *gudaka* coins at all at this place, as they have not been referred to above? Were the *gudaka* coins anywhere mentioned as being distributed among the *Sauvāṅgiyas*, which they were expected to put back into the treasury with the return of prosperity? We have said above that the first original line of this inscription has been lost, which told us about the nature of the *śikṣa* granted to Galadana (Galādāna) of the *Sauvāṅgiyas*, who is mentioned in l. 1 of the preserved portion. And it is not at all unreasonable to surmise that this *śikṣa* referred to the *gudaka* coins which were handed over to Galadana for disbursement among the *Sauvāṅgiyas* and which they were asked to refund as soon as the day of plenty dawned upon them.

The inscription may thus be briefly summed up as follows: It appears that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Puṣṭanagara, with a view to relieve the distress caused, apparently, by famine to the people called *Sauvāṅgiyas*, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures appear to have been adopted to meet this contingency. The exact nature of the first is not clear as the first original line of our record has not been preserved. But it may be surmised that this measure consisted of the advance of a loan in *gudaka* coins to Galadana who, presumably, was a leader of the *Sauvāṅgiyas*. The Mahāmātra of Puṣṭanagara was entrusted with the execution of this order. The second measure consisted of the distribution of *dhānya* or paddy from the granary. A wish is then expressed that as soon as these measures are carried out, the *Sauvāṅgiyas* will be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of profusion and affluence they have been asked to return the coins to the treasury and the corn to the granary, in other words, to pay the State back in kind and cash.

We may therefore translate the text as follows:—

"To Galadana (Galādāna) of the *Sauvāṅgiyas* (was granted) by order. The Mahāmātra from the highly auspicious Puṣṭanagara will cause it to be carried out. (And likewise) paddy has been granted to the *Sauvāṅgiyas*. The outbreak (of distress) in the town during (this) outbreak of superhuman agency shall be tided over. When there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury (may be replenished) with paddy and the *gudaka* coins."

We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr. Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed

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from a high mound, where excavations were being conducted and which is presumed to contain the remains of a *stūpa*. Whether any characteristic parts of a *stūpa* were recovered in this work of exploration is not known. I am informed that no such definite results have been achieved. On the other hand, we have to note that the words *eva kothāgāle* occur in the last line. The word *eva* shows that the stone plaque was originally stuck into the granary itself from which paddy was doled out. And if our inscription shows, when it was discovered, was lying not far from its original place, the monument which is being cleared of debris at present may after all turn out to be, not a *stūpa*, but the royal granary into which the plaque was originally fixed.

Our historical gain from a critical study of this record is by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, it places beyond all doubt the identification of Puṇḍravardhana with Mahāsthān, which was proposed by Cunningham half a century ago. In his account of Bhāru Bihār, four miles to the west of Mahāsthān, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at that place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Yuan Chwang at the *Pe-shih-p'o* monastery, which was situated just twenty li, or four miles to the west of the capital of the country of *Pun-na-fo-tan-na* which transcribed itself into Puṇḍravardhana but is intended for Puṇḍravardhana.¹ "This city" says Cunningham "the pilgrim places at 600 li, or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rajmahal. Now, this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rajmahal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former".² The suggestion of Cunningham was shortly thereafter confirmed by the *Karotāgā-māhātmya*, which was first published forty years ago. The *Māhātmya* mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān. But the *Māhātmya*, though it calls itself *Karotāgā-māhātmya*, purports to describe the sacred sites of Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana-kṣātra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Puṇḍravardhana. Now, Mr. Prabhas Chandra Sen, who has edited the *Māhātmya* for the second time and for the Varanasi Research Society, rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvaṇanda (1159 A.D.) in his *Tilā-sarvasva* on the *Amarakāśha* and two in the *Saṁskṛtichandriṭā* by Dēvanabhāṭṭa who is himself quoted by Hēmadri (12th century).³ This shows that the *Karotāgā-māhātmya* is a composition which could not have been later than 1100 A.D. We may thus take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Puṇḍravardhana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by what our inscription tells us. It tells us that two remedial measures to alleviate the distress of a famine were contemplated and that the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara was charged with the execution of them. One of these measures consisted in the distribution of paddy from the royal granary, which, as shown above, must have been situated in Mahāsthān itself as the inscription speaks of it as *eva kothāgāle*. As the *kothāgāle* was thus in Mahāsthān and as the Officer who was to dole out paddy from it to the Śaṁvāṅgīya was the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara, it is quite clear that Mahāsthān is identical with Puṇḍranagara. And this identity between the two is now established by evidence not of the twelfth century A.D. to which the *Māhātmya* belongs, but of the fourth B.C. to which our record has to be assigned.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in Ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. In this connection one is reminded of what Kaṭilya says in his *Arthśāstra*: "durbhikṣe rājā bīja-bhakti-śaṅgrahāṇ kṛyāt. Durya-situ-karma vā bhakti-śaṅgrahāṇ, bhakti-śaṅgrahāṇ vā, "During a famine, the king may show favour by giving *gratis* seeds (*bīja*) and food (*bhakti*). Either he (may carry out) work in forts and on dams with the distribution of food, or he may distribute food *gratis* (without exacting work)". It will be seen from this passage that the state in ancient times

¹ Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 184-5.

² *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XV, p. 110.

³ *Varanasi Res. Soc.'s Monograph*, No. 2, p. 23.

encountered the contingency of famine either by starting works of public utility or by a free distribution of food. Neither of these, however, seems to be adverted to in our inscription. There is absolutely no mention of any public work being started in the interest of the famine-stricken people in Pundranagara. Mention is no doubt made of the distribution of paddy, but this paddy seems to have been given neither *gratia* nor in lieu of any work in the fort or on an embankment, but on the distinct understanding that it shall be returned to the State District Granary as soon as the days of plenty and prosperity were restored. Here again what was given to the Samvāṅgyas was not *amasi* or boiled rice, but rather *dhāngas* which is unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations and, also, when broken, must have served the purpose of food. It may now be asked: Why money was at all distributed among the Samvāṅgyas? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal where nature is so plentiful a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahāsthān or Pundranagara is situated on a river, namely, the Karatōvā. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastations not simply to the crops in the fields but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its borders. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of *gaṇḍaka* coins among the Samvāṅgyas. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, there would have been some reference to it in our record. Or it may be that they were tacitly understood to return the money at the usual rate of interest.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a fortification against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is a copper-plate found at Sohgaṛa "about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur". This was first edited by Bühler in the *Vicenna Ori. Jour.*, Vol. X, pp. 138 ff and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 261 ff, afterwards by Fleet in *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 510 ff, and lastly by Prof. B. M. Barua in *Ann. Bhadr. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XI, pp. 32 ff. A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but two granaries. But the inscription, in spite of the fact that it has been revised thrice, has not yet been properly punctuated, read and interpreted. The last line should have been read *atigḍyika na gaḍitaya* "nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty)". Our record speaks of two *atigḍyikas*, one of which is *atigḍyika*. It is this *atigḍyika* which is probably understood at the end of the Sohgaṛa copper-plate. Similarly, this last epigraph speaks of the granaries being stored with various provisions. In fact, if any fourth scholar makes an attempt to again revise the Sohgaṛa inscription in the light of our record, he may be able to show that the former also is an order to some Mahāmātra, probably of Śrīvasti, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of countervailing the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāsthān inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the state to combat the devastations caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is unfortunate that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Aśokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyadēśa influenced by the Māgadhi.⁴ It was really the language of the Mauryan Court

⁴ For a more detailed consideration of this point, see D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka* (2nd Ed.), p. 200-1.

in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadēśa but also over parts conterminous to it. Places like Kāśī in the Dehra Dun District, Dhāuli in the Puri, and Jangadā in the Ganjam District, where also the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been found, were never included in Madhyadēśa, and yet we notice that these recessions are couched in the Madhyadēśa-Māgadhī dialect which had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the third century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves it. It is true that Brahmanism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. In fact, there is no evidence to show that Brahmanism had any firm hold over this province earlier than the Gupta period. The *Āitarēya-Brahmaṇa*, no doubt, speaks of the sage Viśvāmitra as having adopted Sunahśēpa as his son and caused much chagrin to the first fifty of his hundred sons, who were therefore cursed by him "to live on the borders of the Aryan country".¹ The descendants of these exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, we are further informed, formed the greater bulk of the Daśyus, and one of these Daśyu tribes specified in the *Brahmaṇa* was the Puṣṭras, who at that time must have been settled round about Mahāsthān and can be still recognised in the Pūros, an aboriginal caste in Bengal.² The utmost that this tradition mentioned in the *Āitarēya-Brahmaṇa* indicates is that some scions of the Viśvāmitra family carved tiny kingdoms in the countries of the alien tribes. This does not, however, show that Aryan culture had spread to the Puṣṭra or any other country, far less imbibed by the people there. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in Ancient Bengal by the Jains. This is clear from the fact that the *Kalpasiṭra*, an ancient scripture of the Jains, mentions, not one, but three *śākhās*, of the Godāra Gāṇa of Jain monks, named after the three places in Ancient Bengal, namely, Tāmralipti, Kōṭivarsha and Puṣṭravardhana. Of these Tāmralipti is the same as Tamruk in the Midnapur, Kōṭivarsha, the same as Rāggur in the Dinājpur, and Puṣṭravardhana, the same as Mahāsthān in the Bogrā District of Bengal. It is curious to note that while Bihār and Kosala were taken up by the Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jains being numerous in Puṣṭravardhana. Very recently a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavation at Pālāpur in Bengal, which is dated G.E. 159—477 A.D. and registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a Vihāra situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor Gulianandin.³ No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism, especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the 7th century A.D. And it is these Jains settled in Tāmralipti, Kōṭivarsha and Puṣṭravardhana, who for the first time and in the pre-Mauryan period appear to have carried Aryan culture to ancient Bengal. This, however, at the most, may explain the employment of the Brāhmī alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pāṭaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is: Who were the *Saṅghagiyas*, supposing that was the name really intended? *Saṅghagiyas* in the first place reminds us of *Saṅghajjīs*. We know that to the account of *Fu-li-chih* (= *Vrijji*) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "*Fu-li-chi* was in 'North India', and the north people called it the *Saṅgha-chih* (or *Saṅghajjī*) country".⁴ On this point Beal makes the following per-

¹ For a full discussion of this subject, see *Ann. Bhadr. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XII, pp. 104 ff.

² It is curious that the Puṣṭras of even so late a period as that of the Purāṇas are placed in Chhota Nagpur in *Cambridge Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 317 and Map 5.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

⁴ *Watter's On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 51.

minent comment: "The country of the Vrijjis or Satiivrijjis, i.e., united Vrijja, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijja or Vajja, one of which, viz., that of the Lichhavis, dwelt at Vaisali."¹ Just as the eight confederate clans of whom the Vajjis were once the most important were called collectively the Satiivajjis or the United Vajja, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were some confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Satiivajjigiyas. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vajjigiyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Satiivajjigiyas or the United Vajjigiyas. The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vangas, and it may be asked where was the necessity of coming a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vajjigiyas. If we now turn to the *Vāṅga* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-viṅḍa*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravaṅgas and Vajjigiyas. But let it be noted that there is none which has been called Vajja. Secondly, the second of these names, namely, Vajjigiyas comes so close to the Vajjigiyas of our inscription, that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purāṇas* and being a genuine record of its time, Vajjigiyas must doubtless be considered to be the original name, and the reading Vajjigiyas of the *Purāṇas* thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravaṅgas are coupled with Vajjigiyas (wrongly called Vajjigiyas) in these early *Purāṇas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Satiivajjigiyas. And further the reference to the Satiivajjigiyas in connection with Puṇḍranagara goes to indicate that the Puṇḍras also belonged to the Satiivajjigiyas confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Satiivajji confederacy was Vesālī which was the headquarters not of the Vajjis but of the Lichhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Satiivajjigiyas was Puṇḍranagara, which was the headquarters, not of the Vajjigiyas but of the Puṇḍras after whom it was undoubtedly called Puṇḍranagara.

No. 15.—JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA.
KALACHURI YEAR 918.

BY RAI RAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., KATNI.

While digging for the foundations of a new Kotwali building at Jubbulpore two copper-plates were found in a stone box and were, in the ordinary course, sent over to the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. A. G. Scott, who gave them to me for decipherment. The letters were so thickly covered with accretions of ages that they were not visible except a few here and there. The crust had become exceedingly hard and could not be removed locally. I, therefore, sought the aid of the Archaeological Chemist through the Director General of Archaeology in India with the result that Mr. Mohammad Sana Ullah, M.Sc., F.C.S., thoroughly cleaned the plates without injuring any letters, but he could not help where the copper had corroded. Thus many letters, especially in the first plate, have been damaged, as would appear from the accompanying plate. The original plates are now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The first plate gives the genealogy of the donor in verses many of which are common to other records of the family. The second records the grant and also gives the usual imprecatory and benedictive stanzas.

The plates measure $14\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, each weighing 6 lbs. There are altogether 40 lines in the record, 20 on each plate, both of which are written on one side. It appears that the writer did not care

¹ *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, n. 100.

to mention the name of the engraver who in order to immortalize himself engraved 3 more lines on the back of the second plate in much bigger characters than those of the grant, the letters averaging $\frac{1}{2}$ " against $\frac{1}{4}$ " of the record. In fact, the engraver commenced the record with that size, but after writing 11 letters in the first line he, probably, made a calculation and came to the conclusion that the whole would not go within the two sides of the two plates, so he reduced the size. Had he not made the initial mistake his name also would have come within that space but as it did not, he apparently induced the head of the Department of religion to compose a eulogistic verse about the latter to serve as an excuse for engraving on the reverse of the second plate before he could insert his name.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography there is nothing special to add to what has been noted in respect of other Kalachuri records previously found. *Ṭ* has invariably been used for *ṭ* in single letters but where the latter forms part of a compound letter its older form has been used, see, e.g., *abṭa* (l. 4), *abṭhi* (l. 2), etc. The old form of *ṣ* with two dots and a comma-like figure below them is conspicuous in the record.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village *Agarā* near *Akharanda* at the time of a lunar eclipse on **Saturday, the full-moon day of Āśvina in the (Kalachuri) year 918, i.e., the 30th September 1167 A.D.** The donor, the *P. M. P. Jayasimhadēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahādeva and the lord of the three Kāṇṇigas, after bathing in the *Rōrū* (Normadā) at Tripurī, the well-known Kalachuri capital, made the grant to *Paṇḍita Bōṭhana Śarmā*, son of *Paṇḍita Dāmādhara* of the *Agastya-gṛha*, with 3 *prastava*, in the presence of Self, the Queen Consort *Kōṭhapachī*, the Heri-apparent, the Prime-minister, the Royal Preceptor *Vimaladīpa*, the Royal Priest, the Head of the Department of religion *Paṇḍita Rādhava*, the Chief Scribe *Thakṣura Vatsarāja*, the *Sāmdhivigrahika* (Minister for Peace and War) *Thakṣura Puruṣōttama*, the *Pradhāna* (Chief Warden) *Kamatasimha*, the *Dakṣasādhyas* (Mentor of criminals) *Paṇḍitasimha*, the *Mahāsāmanta* (Generalissimo), the *Alakapatalika* (Record Keeper), the *Judex*, the *Aśvasādhanika* (Equerry), the Treasurer and the inhabitants and political bodies of the gift-village for augmenting the religious merits of self and his parents. It appears that all the village rights, including a variety of taxes, were transferred to the donee. The village is given to the extent of its limits with boundaries marked on its four sides, with pasture for cows, with lands and water, with mango and *śakul* trees, with salt-pits, with mines and quarries, with the right of ingress and egress, with forest and river-bank lands, with trees, groves, creeper and plant gardens and grass, etc. with the river and mountain, with revenue and taxes levied at the resting place or camping ground, with pasture dues, toddy dues and lands not available to tenants, with *Gāṇḍa* (river-crossing) dues, village headman's dues and tax for mending the incorrigibles and the District rates.

These details give a glimpse of the revenue administration during the 12th century A.D. This record mentions some peculiar offices and taxes, which are usually not found in other records. The office of *Dakṣasādhyas* which I have translated as Mentor of Criminals may be identical with that of *Dakṣasādhanasādhanika* usually found in the inscriptions of the Pālas. *Paṇḍitadhya* seems to be a mistake for or a corruption of *Pradhāni*. The transfer of the river and the mountain

* The name suggests that he probably belonged to the line of the Śaiva sect of the *Mattamangalī* class—See Banerji, *Huichyas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I.), pp. 116 ff.

* The two officials *Vatsarāja* and *Puruṣōttama* are mentioned also in the *Kumbhī* plates—See Banerji, *Huichyas*, etc. p. 29 and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff. and Vol. XXXI, pp. 116 ff.—*ET*.

* According to R. K. Bagchi, *Śāhū* (See *Aluka* Vol. XIV, p. 196 or 'Head of the Office of Amuntes', according to Dr. Banerji (*Ibid* Vol. XI), p. 146).

* It is very likely that *Dakṣasādhyas* are represented by the present day *Dandīas*, a criminal officer, as suggested by Dr. Himansu Sastri.

and of the district or provincial rates appear to indicate abandonment of sovereign rights in favour of the donor. *Dakṣādhyādāya*, which I take to be a tax for mending the incorrigibles, presents a new feature. So do the *Prasavāraṇa chārī* *rasavāṇi kāmata* *maṇimāḍāya* which are the fore-runners of the modern dues for occupying camping grounds, for grazing cattle, extracting toddy, and crossing rivers. *Kāmata* was a rigid form of home-farm, which is still referred to in law books, but has become practically obsolete.

On the top of the first plate २२ is written in small letters, which apparently means *stya* or gift No. 2 given on the same day.¹ The mark was probably meant for the writer's guidance.

The **genealogy** of the donor as given in the plate starts from the beginning of the creation, that is, from Brahmā born from the Lotus emanating from the navel of Viṣṇu. Brahmā's offspring was Attri, from whose eye was born the moon. From the latter was born Bḍhana, from whom sprang Purūṇavaś, in whose family Bharata was born. In the latter's family was born that highly glorious Kārtavīrya, who allowed the title of King only to the moon. He was the ancestor of the Haihaya Princes, from whom sprang the Kalachuri race. In that race there was a prince named **Yovarājādēva**, who purified the town of Tripurī, so that it became like Indra's city. Then came **Kōkalla** whose son was **Gāṅgēyādēva**, who died at the foot of the holy fig tree at Prayāga with his 100 wives. His son, the victorious **Karṇādēva**, succeeded him. He founded **Karṇāvati** and married a **Hāpa** lady **Āvallādēvi**, from whom was born **Yaśahkarṇādēva**. His son was **Gayākarṇādēva** whose consort was **Alhaṇādēvi**. From these were born **Narasimhadēva** and **Jayasimhadēva**, the latter being the donor of this grant. He occupied the *gaddi* during the waning period of the Kalachuri supremacy, for the line came to an end during his son and successor's rule. **Jayasimhadēva** succeeded his brother **Narasimhadēva**, who, we know from other records, was on the *gaddi* in 1150 A.D. The present record of **Jayasimhadēva**, of whose times three other records have been found, brings him nearer to his brother's reign by at least 8 years.

The **geographical** names occurring in the record are the well-known Tripurī (present Tewar, 6 miles from Jubbulpore), the river **Bēvā** or **Narmadā** near it, **Karṇāvati**, the present Karanbel, a part of Tripurī and the villages **Agarā** and **Akharaudā**, both of which are untraceable at present.

The charter was prepared by an officer called *Dasamūlin* or *Dāsamūlika*, named **Vatsarāja**, son of **Ithama** and grandson of **Abhyuddhata** and engraved by the silversmith **Tāhapa**, son of **Pāhapa** of the **Kōkalla** family.

TEXT.

[Metres.—*Mālinī*, vv. 1, 2, 12; *Āparchakhamarika*, v. 2; *Varantatilaka*, vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16; *Āryā*, v. 6; *Sālinī*, vv. 11, 18; *Indravajrā*, v. 13; *Anushtup*, vv. 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and *Sandhāravajrā*, vv. 17, 30.]

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ [१ ॥] श्री नमो ब्रह्मणे ॥ जयति जनजनाभस्तस्य नामो-
सरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानजसति । अथ जयति स तस्या-
- 2 पल्लवचिस्तदलस्त[द*]त्तु जयति जम्भप्राप्तवानश्वि(व)श्व ॥ [१ ॥] अथ
बो(बो)धनमादि [रा]जपुत्रं पद्मया(का)मातरमजवा(वा)श्ववस्य । अथ
तनयं जनयाव(व)

¹ Reading seems to be *st* 2 which may be an abbreviation of *stya* 2.—Ed.

² See Hiralal's *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (1st edition), Nos. 31, 32, 44.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥ [२ ॥*] पुत्रं पुरुरवममौरसमाप
सुनुईवष्य सप्तजलराशिरसायनस्य । चासीदनन्वसम-
- 4 भागगतोपभोग्या यस्वीर्वाशी च सुक[लव]मिहोर्वरा च । [३ ॥*]
अचा[न्वये] किल [गता]धिकसमिधयूपोपस्तयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । स-
- 5 सावि[स्त्रि]रत्नरसनाभरणाभिरामपिर्वाभरागुभरतो भरतो य[व]भूव ॥ [४ ॥*]
हेला[ष्टहीत]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तगवो गोत्रे जयत्वधिकमस्य
- 6 स कान्तवीर्यः । अचै[व] हेष्टयनृपान्वयपूर्वपुंसि राजेति नाम शशलच्छाणि
चक्षमे या ॥ [५ ॥*] [स] हि[माच]ल इव कलधुरिवंशमसू-
- 7 त जगतीष्ठतां भर्ता । सुक्तामणि[भि]रिवामलउलैः पूतं महीपति-
भिः ॥ [६ ॥*] तचान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो [नरेंद्रः] पौरंद[री]मिव
पुरी च-
- 8 पुरी पुनानः । चासीददाभ्यदृपगन्धजाधिराजनिष्ठाधर्मरियुवा युवराज-
देवः ॥ [७ ॥*] सिंहा[मने] नृपतिमिहममुष्यसूनु-
- 9 [मारु]पवर्चनभर्तृरमात्यमुखाः । कोकलमर्णवच[तुष्टय]वी[चि]मंघसंघट[व]चतु-
[रंग]चसूप्रचारं ॥ [८ ॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टौदव-
- 10 चाः [स्त्रिता]लो नगर[परि]घ[दैर्ध्वं] लंवयन्दोर्ध्वेन[। शिरसि] कुलिश-
पातो वैरि[णां] वी[र]लक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्नं यस्य गाढेयदेवः ॥ [९ ॥*]-
- 11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टसूल[नि]वेश[व]भ्यो सार्धे शतेन यद्वि[जोभि] रसुच मुक्तिं ।
पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीद्रकुंभमुक्ताफलेः [अ] ककुभोर्चति
- 12 [कर्ण]देवः ॥ [१० ॥*] अष्ट्यं [घा]म अ[यसो] वे[दवि]द्याव-
[जो]क[न्दः] स्व[स्रवंत्वाः] किरीटं । [व्र[ज]अस्तभ्यो] येन [कर्ण]-
वतीति प्रत्यष्टा[पि] अमात[ल]व्र[ज]अलो-
- 13 कः ॥ [११ ॥*] अ [जनि] क[लधुरो]णां स्वामिना तेन ज्ञा-
न्वयजलनिधि[लक्ष्म्यां] श्रीमदा[वज्रदेव्यां] । श[शभृदुदय]शङ्खाध्व[स्त्र]-
दुग्धावि[स्त्रि]वीचीम
- 14 ह च[रित]रशःश्री[श्री] य[शःकर्ण]देवः ॥ [१२ ॥*] [नृपावजो]-
भूद[तुल्यप्रतापः] श्रीमद्वराकर्ण इति प्रतीतः । यस्याहवेयूहनवैरि-
कंठ[कण्ठ]च्छेदा-

First Plate.

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42

- 15 स[पुण्ये] व ध[र]ानुरागा ॥ [१३ ॥*] असावल्लभदेव्या श्रीनरसिंहनर-
श्वर । संवदन[मि]वेच्छायां प्रयत्नं सुषुवे सुतं ॥ [१४ ॥*]
उच्चैर्हिरण्यकशि-
- 16 पं प्रतिपादनेन प्रीतिं परां विवु(वु)धसं[ह]तिषु प्रकुर्वन् । सौंदर्यसार-
विनिवारितसारगर्वच्चित्रं तदाप्ययमहो नरसिंहदेवः ॥ [१५ ॥*]
- 17 तस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिंहदेवः शौर्योज्ज्वलैरपि नृपैः क्रियमाणसेवः ।
यहामनुमयग्रमेव सुरदुर्मेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(व)लिना प्रलीनं ॥ [१६ ॥*] नष्टं गुर्जरभूभुजा भुजव(व)लं सुतं
तुरुष्केण च त्यक्तः कुतलशासकेन सहसा कंदर्पकेलिक्रमः । श्रुत्वा
- 19 श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेराज्याभिषेकं नृपाः संचामादपरं पृथपास्त्य जगतीं पारं ययु-
व्वारिधेः ॥ [१७ ॥*] परमभट्टारक-
- 20 महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वर परममाडे-

Second Plate, first side.

- 21 श्वर चिकलिङ्गाधिपति निजभुजोपाज्जिताश्वपति गजपति नरपति राजचयाधि-
पति श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव एते विजयि-
- 2 नः ॥ महाराजो श्री केल्लणदेवो । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्री-
मद्राजगुरु विमलशिव । महापुरोहित । धर्मप्रधान
- 23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानाथलेखि ठकुर^१ श्रीदशमूलिक । साधि-
विप्रहिक ठकुर श्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्रतीहार श्रीकमलसिंह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्व श्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तधार ।
चक्रसार्धनिक । भांडागारिक । इत्येतानन्वाद्य प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 न घामनिवासि जनपदांचाह्वय यथार्हं मानयन्ति वो(वो)धयति समाम्नापयति च ।
विदितमस्तु भवताम् । संवत् ८१८ चार्श्व-
- 26 न सुदि पौर्णमास्यां त्रिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्या श्रीमघवणे रेवत्यां
विधिवत्त्वात्वा श्रीमहादेवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापितृ-
- 27 रामनय पुण्ययोगिभूवदेयं अखरौदसमीपं अग्रा घामः स्वसीमापथ्यंतचतुरा-
घाटविशुद्धः सगोप्रचारः ।
- 28 सजलस्थलः साम्बमधुकः सलवलाकरः सगर्तोपरः सनिर्मासप्रवेशः सजाह्न-
लानूपो वृक्षारामोद्भिदोद्या-
- 29 नखलादिसजितः सनदीपर्वतः भागकरः प्रवणिवाड चरो रसवती कामत
विसेणिमादाय पडकिनादाय दुःसाध्यादा-

^१ The name of Vatsaraja seems to have been omitted here through oversight or modesty, Vatsaraja being himself the writer of the charter as mentioned below, l. 40 of the text.

- 30 य विविक्कादाद्यादिकृत कश्चिन्माणादायोः सह चरस्त्रगोत्राय विप्रवराय
पंडित श्रीदामोदरपुत्राय पंडित श्रीदेवदत्त-
31 शर्मणं वा ब्राह्मणाद्योदकपूर्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ॥ अथ चाभ्यर्चना
दातुं भवति यथा ॥ सर्वानेतान्माविनः पाद्विधे-
32 न्दान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं धर्मोऽस्तु नृपाणां
काले काले पालनीयो भवति ॥ [१८ ॥^१] यच्च भूमिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
राज-
33 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य स तस्य तदा फलं ॥ १९ ॥^१
सुवर्णमेकं नामिकां भूमिरप्येकमङ्गलं । हरचरकमाप्नोति याव-
34 दामृतसंज्ञं ॥ [२० ॥^१] तदागानां सङ्गोऽथ श्रमेऽप्यतेन च । गतां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥ [२१ ॥^१] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यो हरत व-
35 सुन्दरा । स विष्ठायां कृमिभृत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२२ ॥^१]
पठि पर्वमहात्मनि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः । चाच्छेता चातुमत्ता च
तान्ये-
36 च नरके वसेत् ॥ [२३ ॥^१] वारिहीतेष्वरक्षेणु शुष्काकोटरवासिनः ।
कृष्णसर्पास्तु जायन्ते देवव्रजप्रसङ्गहारिणः ॥ [२४ ॥^१] अन्धायिन
37 हता भूमिरन्ध्यायेन तु हारिता ॥ हरतो हारयतश्च दहत्यासतमं
कुलं ॥ [२५ ॥^१] भूमिं यः प्रतिव्यङ्गाति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-
38 ति । उभो तौ पुण्यकर्माणो निवर्तं स्वर्गमाप्नुयौ ॥ [२६ ॥^१]
शंखो महासनं [च] वं वराखा वरवारणा ।^१ भूमिदानस्य विष्ठा-
39 नि फलमितत्पुर्न्दर ॥ [२७ ॥^१] अस्मिन्वंशे परिलीणि यः कश्चिदुपति-
भवत् । तस्मात् हस्तसन्मोक्ष शासनं न व्यतिक्रमत् ॥ [२८ ॥^१]
40 अभ्युदयस्य पौत्रेण श्रीमद्व्योमस्य सन्तना । लिखितं वरराजिन चेदोग-
दशमूनिना ॥ [२९ ॥^१] मङ्गलं ॥ महावीः ॥

Second Plate, second side.

- 41 सिद्धम् ॥^१ अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेवदत्तपतेः येयोऽर्चं प्रीणयन्पूयः शीत-
मरीचिरचिततमैरभ्यर्चितः सङ्गुणैः । विद्याः
42 कंदल्यस्तर्भासि दलयन्निव पतिर्यज्जनां भूयादुतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां दाघोयसे
राघवः ॥ [३० ॥^१]
43 श्रीकोकासर्वशपालशसुतरूपकारताकशेनोत्कीर्णं ॥

^१ Expressed by symbol as in L. 1 above.

No. 16.—NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF VIPULASRIMITRA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The stone bearing this inscription, which is now in the Museum at Nālandā in the Patna District, was recovered in two fragments from the latest stratum of Monastery No. VII at Nālandā in the course of excavations carried on there in 1928-29 and 1929-30. I edit the inscription from the original stone and from a set of excellent estampages kindly furnished by Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, B.A., Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund.

The writing, which is very neatly executed, covers a space of about 19½" by 8½" and consists of 15 lines. The average size of letters is ½". The characters are a form of Nāgarī that was current in North-eastern India towards the end of the Pāla period. The only point that calls for notice is the way in which the superscript *r* is indicated, namely by a short slanting stroke attached below the *mātrā*, which, in many cases, is difficult to recognize. Paleographically the inscription should be placed between the Gayā inscriptions of the time of Nayapāla (cir. 1030 A.D.)¹ and the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayachandra (cir. 1183 A.D.).² The record to which it bears the greatest resemblance is the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gaṅgādharma in the Indian Museum, dated in Śaka year 1059, i.e., 1137 A.D.³ The inscription, although not dated, may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the phrase *Om namō Buddhāya* at the beginning, the text is in verse throughout. There are thirteen stanzas in all, composed in a variety of metres.

The inscription calls itself a *prasaṅgi* (l. 15), recording the benefactions of a Buddhist ascetic named Vipulaśrimitra. It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha which is followed by a hymn (V. 1) addressed to the divine Dharmachakra and Tārā. Then it tells us of an ascetic named Karuṇāśrimitra of Sōmapura, who went to heaven when his house was set on fire by an army of Vaṅgala (V. 2). His disciple was Maitrīśrimitra (V. 3) whose disciple again was Aśokaśrimitra (V. 4) and Aśokaśrimitra's (disciple) was Vipulaśrimitra (V. 5). Vipulaśrimitra made an offering of a casket (*maṅgūṣhā*) at a temple of the god Khasarppaṇa, for the *Prajāpāramitā* manuscript and four images at its alms-houses on the occasion of a festival (V. 6), carried out repairs to the monastery of *Pitāmaha* (i.e. Buddha) at Chōyapaṇḍaka, and installed an image of Jina Dīpaṅkara (i.e. Dīpaṅkara Buddha) at Harshapura (V. 7). At Sōmapura, he built a temple of Tārā, with an attached court and a tank, effected the reconstruction of cells (V. 8), and, evidently at the same place again, presented a gold ornament for the embellishment of a Buddha image (V. 9). Lastly, he erected a monastery which he made over to the Mitrās (V. 10), that is the line of ascetics to which he himself belonged. Where this monastery was erected is not stated; but there is no doubt that it was at Nālandā and identical with the building in whose debris the inscription has been discovered. In Verse 13 the eulogy is stated to have been manifested by Kanakaśrī and Vasiṣṭha, the former being apparently the composer and the latter the writer or engraver.

Of the geographical terms mentioned in the record, Chōyapaṇḍaka and Harshapura are not known from any other sources and for the present remain unidentified. Sōmapura is identical

¹ *Memo. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, Pls. XXV and XXVI.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V (1929), p. 13.

³ *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 330.

with the place of that name occurring in the inscription *Śrī-Sōmapurē Śrī-Dharmapāla-dharmahārī*, etc., on certain terracotta sealings¹ discovered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in his excavations at Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal. According to the evidence of these sealings, there was a monastery named after the Pāla king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura which has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Pāhārpur. This place must have gained considerable repute as an important seat of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period. A Bodhi-Gayā inscription² mentions the *mahā-vihāra* or 'the Great Monastery' of Sōmapura. In Taranātha's *History of Buddhism*³ it is stated that king Dhāvapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, built a Buddhist temple at 'Sōmapura'; and, according to the *Pag-sun-jon-sang*,⁴ the same king built the Great Monastery of 'Sōmapuri' after his conquest of Varāṇsī or North Bengal. It however appears probable from the information supplied by the Pāhārpur sealings that the monastery owed its foundation to Dharmapāla, and not to his son.⁵ Further references to the monastery at Sōmapura are found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e.g. the *Dharmakīrtipravṛtti* and the *Mahāyānabodhisattvasaṃgraha*.⁶ The latter was translated by the great scholar Dipankara Śrījñāna (11th century A.D.) with the help of Virasiddha and Jayasilla at the Sōmapuri-vihāra. The cells renovated by Vipaśīmitra at Sōmapura must have belonged to the great monastery consisting of some 177 cells, which have now been laid bare at Pāhārpur. Vaṅgāla, which is probably East Bengal, is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendrachōla I⁷ and in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Dakṣiṇa*.⁸

TEXT.

[Metres:—vv. 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; v. 3, Mandākrāntā; v. 4, Sūkharinī; v. 5, Mālinī; vv. 6, 11, Vasantatilakā; v. 7, Indrayajrā; v. 9, Ūpajātī; v. 13, Anuśṭupak.]

- 1 Ōm* namō Buddhāya | Astu svastyayanāya vaḥ sa bhagavān Śrī-Dharmachakrah kṛyād-yan-nāma hrutavān-Bharō-¹athra-vapur-mṛjivam-uttamayati | tatra Śrīghana-sāsan-āmrīta-rasulā samibhya
- 2 Bauddhā padē tam dhēyād-apunarbhavam bhagavat | Tāra jayā-tārini || [1*] Śrīmat-Sōmapurē vabhūjya Karuṇāśrīmitra-nāma yatib ānanyād-guṇa-sampadō hita-sukhādhānān-api prāpi-
- 3 nām yō Vaṅgāla-kalāp-upētya dahana-kahēpā]-jvalaty-ālayē satāṅganā-charaṇ-āravinda-yugalē Buddhāya yātō divanā || [2*] Tasy-śubhādrā-vratā-parichitasy-śubhā-smāra-kīrttē śishyō-dharmahyaḥ
- 4 sūkṛta-ghaṭitō buddhimān buddhimatō Matrīārī-ity-uparī viditō mītra-vat¹⁰ Mītra-nāmā [sa]jivasy-ārthē svam-udayam-upādīsur-mahāvan yab || [3*] Prāśāhyō-py-ānvishy-ātraya-

¹ A. R., A. S. L., 1927-28, pp. 105-6.

² Bloch, A. R., A. S. L., 1908-9, p. 158; and Majumdar, *Sākyo-Parishat-Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1923 B. S., p. 71.

³ *Jal. As.*, Vol. IV, p. 205.

⁴ Ed. Sarat Ch. Das, pp. 111 and 116.

⁵ (It is possible that Dhāvapāla built the monastery and named it after his father.—Ed.)

⁶ Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Part II, p. 466 and Part III, p. 236.

⁷ *Asi.*, Vol. IX, p. 233.

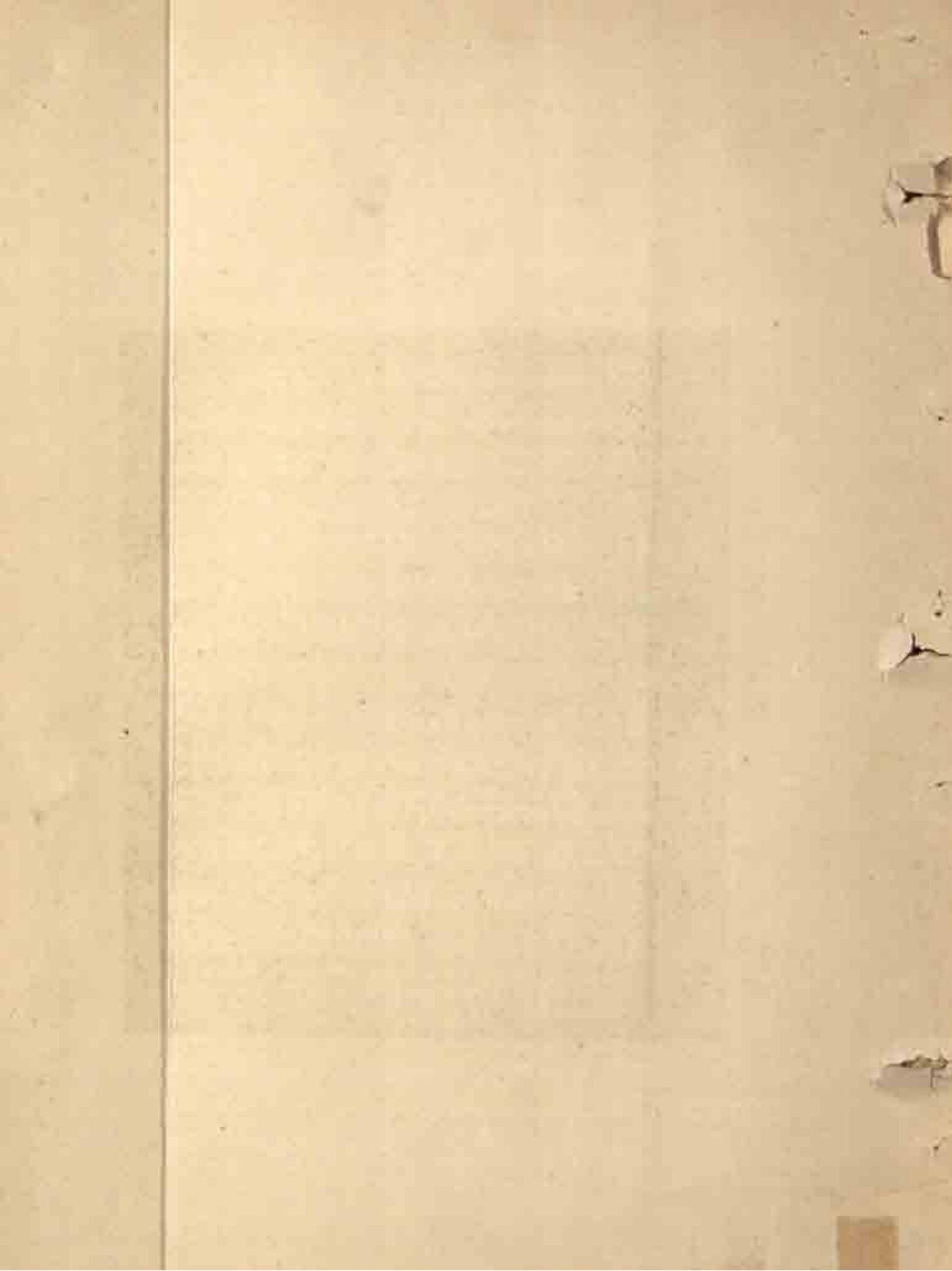
⁸ H. P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 22.

* Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Bond-mu-Mitra-

[illegible]

CSA



- 5 m-*alghhamānair-iva* *gūṇair-adhītaḥ* *samāśīkṣitḥ* *yatir-amala-śīlaḥ* *samabhavat* |
Asōkaśrimitrō *gūṇa-samudayō* *yaśa* *hrīdayō* *sahasrair-aśtābhūḥ* *pratīvasati* |
Sambuddha-jana-
- 6 -*ai* || [4*] *Tad-ansu* *cha* **Vipulāśrimitra** *ity-āvirāsīd-vipula-vimala-kīrttiḥ* |
saḥ-jan-āmanā-kandah | *amṛitamaya-kalābhūḥ* *kṣānti-āśeṣa-dōṣah* *satatam-upa-*
chita-śrīḥ *śukla-pa-*
- 7 *kahē* *śaś-iva* || [5*] *Śrīmat-Khasarppaṇa-mah-āyatanē* *prayatnāt* *maḥjūshayā* |
vihitayā *jananī* *Jinānām* | *yēna* *bhṛumaty-aviratam* *pratīnās=chataśraḥ* |
sattreṣu *parvvaḥ* *samarppayati sma*
- 8 *yaś=cha* || [6*] **Chōyandakē** *yaś=cha* *Pitāmahasya* *vihārikāyām* *nava-*
karmma *chūtram* | **Harṣ-ābhīdhānē** *cha* **purē** *Jinasya* *Dipaṅkarasya* |
pratīnāḥ *vyadhata* || [7*] *Ashtau* *yaś=cha* *mahā-bhūyāni* *jaga-*
- 9 *tāḥ* *nirmūlam=unmūlitam* *Tāriyā* *bhavanam* *vyadhata* *aukṛti* *śīla-hrad-*
āśaḥkṛtiḥ | *śrīmat-Sōmapurē* *chaturṣu* *layanēshv-antar-vahūḥ* *khaṇḍayō=yaś-*
ch=śūhata *nava-karmma* *jagatām*
- 10 *nētra-ika-viārāma-bhūḥ* || [8*] *Adatta* *hām-ābharaṇam* *vikītram* *Buddhāya* |
bōdhau *janatām* *vidhātum* | *ity-ādī-puṇya-kriyayā* *sa* *kālān* *yaś=iva* *dir-*
gham *nayati sma* *tatra* || [9*] *Kṛtvā* *tē-*
- 11 *na* *vihārikā* *kṛtāvataś=śānkāra-bhūṭā* *bhūyō* **Mitrōbhyō=** *dhūta-Vaijayanta-*
jayini *datt-ōyama-unmūlāt* | *yaśyām* *viṃpitavān=niṣāsa-rasikah* *Śīlāt* *tri-*
lōk-patib
- 12 *Buddhāvāse* *nivāsam-ārthi-janatā-duḥsaṃchāra-prāntatam* || [10*] *Harṇam* *Harōḥ* |
padam-iv-ājani *tatra* *tatra* *kīrtti=yaśā* *vasumatī* *kṛta-bhōṣaṇā* *bhōḥ* |
tāvach-chitasth *jayati nō*
- 13 *tra-eudhā* *stāvanti* *yāvat=sampīdhyati* *na* *Mathjurava-pratīnā* || [11*] *Tat-*
tat-kīrtti-vīdhau *śubhā-midhir-iv-āmbhōdhau* *samonmilitam* *puṇyam* *yad-*
bhuvan-āntarāla-tulanā-pātram *pavitrām* *ma-*
- 14 *ma* | *astu* *prastuta-yaśnavat* *kam-talē* *paśyanti* *viśvam* *Jinā* *yatr-āśma-*
padē *sthītās=tri-jagatām* *tat-prāptayē* *tach-chiram* || [12*] *Tarkha-śilpa-prasaṅgē* |
yau *dhūvatō* *jagatām* *hṛdi* | **Kanaka-**
- 15 **ārīr-Vaśiṣṭhō** *vā* *prastatē-vyakti-kāraṇau* || [13*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Adoration to the Buddha !

(Verse 1). May the divine and illustrious Dharma-chakra bring you prosperity hearing whose name, even to some extent, Bhava (i.e., worldly existence), restless in body, gets exhausted and lifeless : thereafter besprinkling him with the nectar juice of the Law of Śeighana (i.e., Buddha),* may the goddess Tārā, the Deliveress of the world, place him, free from re-birth, at the foot of the Buddha.

(Verse 2). In the illustrious Sōmapura there was the ascetic Karuṇāśrimitra, so called on account of his compassionate disposition¹, abundance of merits, and his efforts towards

* Read *prastuta=saṃśṛīṣṭayā*.

¹ For this name of Buddha see H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in A. S. B.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 55.

² The three qualities indicated in the three components of the name, i.e., *Karuṇā* (compassion), *śrī* (splendour) and *mitra* (benevolence) are here referred to.

the welfare and happiness of living beings; who, when his house was burning, (being) set on fire by the approaching armies of **Vaṣṭāla**, attached (himself) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (and) went to heaven.

(Verse 3). The disciple of him, who was celebrated for his uninterrupted religious observances and possessed bright and appropriate fame, was known as **Maitrīśrimitra**. He was invincible (in argument), endowed with merit and the talented amongst talented men, and possessed of energy and desirous of his own prosperity for the sake of living beings,¹ like the Sun himself.

(Verse 4). The disciple's disciple (of **Karuṇārimitra**) was the ascetic **Aśokaśrimitra** of blemishless character. Good qualities, not finding, as it were, an abode which they sought for, had (at last) taken refuge in him and remained inseparably attached. There in his heart full of good qualities dwells 'the mother of the Buddhas' in eight thousand² (verses).

(Verse 5). After him there came **Vipulārimitra** of extensive and bright fame, the very source of the delight of righteous men. He was of ever increasing beauty like the moon in the bright half (of the month), washing away (i.e., brightening) the entire night by nectarine digits [or who wiped away all blemishes by (his knowledge of) the elegant arts].

(Verse 6). With the casket, executed by him with skill, at the great temple of the illustrious **Khasarppa** (i.e., **Avalokiteśvara**), the mother of the Jinas (i.e., **Prajñāpāramitā**) incessantly moves about.³ He also presented in the alms-houses⁴ four images on the occasion of a festival.

(Verse 7). He also carried out varied repairs to the monastery of **Pitāmaka**⁵ (i.e., Buddha) at **Chōyapṛaka**, and (installed) an image of the Jina **Dipaṅkara** at **Harshapura**.

(Verse 8). In the illustrious **Sōmapura**, with a view to dispel entirely the Eight Great Fears⁶ of the people, that meritorious person built a temple of **Tārī** (i.e., **Tārā**) adorned with

¹ There seems to be a pun on the words *mītra* and *śāya*. The former would mean 'the sun' and 'friend' and the latter 'rise' and 'prosperity'.

² The allusion is evidently to the fact that he was thoroughly conversant with the text of the *Aśokaśrimitā*. The goddess *Prajñāpāramitā* is 'the mother of all the Buddhas', e.g., in *Aśokaśrimitā* (Bib. Ind.), p. 529. She is often identified with *Tārā*, e.g., in verse 2 of the inscription of Chālukya *Vikramāditya VI* (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 185). That is why *Tārā* is also called 'the mother of the Buddhas'.

³ The casket offered by *Vipulārimitra* at the temple of the god *Khasarppa* (who is the husband of *Tārā* or *Prajñāpāramitā*) must have been so nice that it never left the deity (i.e., the manuscript); in other words the holy manuscript was thereafter invariably exhibited in the casket. It is not clear where the temple of *Khasarppa* stood.

⁴ For the use of *śāstra* in a Buddhist inscription see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. V, p. 29, l. 15. For other references see P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 815 ff. The alms-houses must have been those adjoining the temple.

⁵ The term *Pitāmaka*, which is usually applied to *Brahmā*, here stands for the Buddha and is used in this sense in an inscription of the time of Kanishka on the pedestal of a Buddha image from Mathurā (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97) and in another Kushān inscription also engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image noticed by Cunningham at Bāltā near Allahabad (*J. S. B.*, Vol. III, p. 48, Pl. XVIII, C; Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 94; Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 910). The appellation *Pitāmaka* is suggestive of the idea of *Adi-Buddha* who in the Buddhist pantheon occupies a position almost analogous to that of *Brahmā*.

⁶ The goddess *Tārā* is supposed to have the power to save humanity from eight kinds of fears (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 67; *Mem. A. S. L.*, No. 20, p. 18). In *Sarvajñamitra's Śraddhā-śloka* eight terrors are devoted to the description of these eight 'fears' which are shipwreck, lightning, elephant, robber, lion, serpent, famine and demons. These are also enumerated, but with some difference, in two hymns to *Tārā* in an inscription of the Chālukya king *Vikramāditya VI* (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, pp. 185, 187) and illustrated in a bas-relief in the Dabār Cave at Kanheri (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 368, and Pl. LV, fig. 1).

"having given to be taken". This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word *aṅgam* (ll. 35, 58, etc.) is seldom met with in inscriptions; but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is *ṛi* used in place of *ṛya*, "in all: together". In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression *ṛi-kurattai*, "adding together or subtracting". *Nīru* of *nīru-amida* occurring in line 64 along with the items betel leaves (*verṇṇai*) and areca-nuts (*ṇṇaikkāy*) is another unusual word. It may be considered a *diachol* ("a dialectal word") in Tamil taken from Malayalam where it is still used in the sense of "slaked lime". A variant of this word is *nīru* which means "powder, ash" (cf. *nīru-pāṭṭa-neruppu*, "fire covered over with ash"). *Nārāyam* is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of "a grain measure," generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil *nārāṣum* denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf. Sanskrit *Nārāṣa*—an arrow). Another similar word is *nārāṅgi*, generally spelt as *nārāṅgi*—"the iron bolt". The restriction of the terms *nārāṣa* and *nārāṅgi* in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of *nārāṣum* in the sense of "molten lead or iron" indicate that all these words must have a common old Tamil stem *nār* meaning "iron" or "metal". The commentary on *nārāṣa* in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amara* explains it as "*lhamayāḥ bhūṣāḥ* (=an iron arrow)". Childers explains *nārāṣa* as "an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light iron arrow". Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words *nigadi* and *nigadi* used in this inscription are analogous to the forms *nigadam*, *nigadam* and *nigadam* in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *nigam*. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambāsamudram epigraph of Varaguna-Mahārāja, is *tuvu* of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil *Saṅgam* works. In line 266 of *Perumbāṣarpuppalai* occurs the phrase *pūṇṇai tumittu*, which has been rendered by the commentator as "cutting the branch of the *pūṇṇai* (tree)". It also occurs in l. 72 of *Mullaippāṭṭu* in the same sense. As such, the phrase *ṇṇi tumikkavum porikkavum* (l. 26) may be taken to mean "vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried".

The object of the inscription is thus stated: in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanya-Bhaṭṭāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (*Tirumālattiṭṭam*) at Tiruchchendūr, Varaguna-Mahārāja made a grant of 1,400 *kāṇu* and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, viz. Iruppaikkudi-kilavaṇ, Śāttamperumāṇ and Aṭṭāṇṇāṭṭukkōṇ, with the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

The items of expenditure included rice for offerings to the god and for *bali*; plantains, sugar, vegetables (the last according to this inscription were sold by weight), *kāyam* for seasoning articles; green gram required for the special kind of preparation called *kumṇāyam* and for *pori*; betel leaves and areca-nuts (which were priced), and lime (not priced); ghee required for perpetual lamps, chain of lights, for seasoning curries and for the anointment of the god; milk, curd and the water of the tender coconut including tender kernel which were necessary for the bathing of the god; honey, unguent and barks of certain trees and crude camphor used as incense; turmeric, *paṇṇai-kappāṇṇam* and sandal required for the anointing of the deity; cloth required for covering images and for use in the kitchen (as towels); and flowers, etc. The preparation called *kumṇāyam*, for which the chief requirement is stated to be green pulse, is not in present use. On the other hand, the word is now used to denote a mixture of slaked lime and sand.

* In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote "a channel" or "lane". Cf. *Subrahmanya-nārāṣaṇṇi vādikkam* (No. 105 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 220).

Even in literature it occurs but rarely. The early Tamil commentator Nachchinārkiṇṇiyār annotating text-line 195 of *Perumbāṣāruppaḍai* states that the preparation called *puḷukku* is "what is boiled well" and notes "that it may also mean *kummāyam*". From this statement of the commentator as well as from the requirement of *kummāyam* detailed in this and other inscriptions, it may be inferred that the preparation consisted of well-boiled green pulse, perhaps with the addition of a little sugar. At present it is called *puḷukku* in Malabar.

On special occasions, which are said to be three, viz. ¹*Mārgolī-Tiruvōḍirai*, *Māli-Makham* and *Vaiyāṇi-Viśākhā*, some of the items of expenditure have to be doubled.

The inscription is highly important for determining the relative values of money, weights and measures prevalent in South India and furnishes excellent data for reconstructing the economic conditions of the period. The amount of 1,400 *kāṣu* given by the king to the temple at Tiruchchendūr was divided into 16 unequal portions and invested with different bodies. The attached table at the end of this paper shows how the capital was to be distributed, what amount of interest had to be paid in paddy accrued annually from each investment at the rate of 2 *kalam* per year and what expenses were to be met from the interest thus realised. The recipients of the amounts were (1) the *śrār* of Alambattam included in Guḍamaṅgalam and the *nagarattār* of Mēgavīrapattinam, both situated in Vajudi-vaṇaṇḍu; (2) the *sabhā* of Kaṭṭāraṁmaṅgalam in Srivallabha-vaṇaṇḍu; (3) the *sabhās* of Tippi included in Paraṣumaṅgalam, Māyamaṅgalam and Tetrakku...llur, all situated in Parūntaka-vaṇaṇḍu; (4) as well as the *sabhās* of Avanipaśākhamaṅgalam, in Amitagupa-vaṇaṇḍu and Puḷiyidai, Kīraṅgūr, Saṅgaṅavikurichchi and Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam, all situated in Kuḍaṇḍu. These bodies were required to pay annually interest in grain calculated at 2 *kalam* for one *kāṣu* per year to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. Further, it will be observed that among the bodies of men with whom the amounts were invested there were the *nagarattār*, the *śrār* and the *sabhaiyār*. "Nagarattār" is used only in the case of a single place, whose name ended with the termination *pattinam*; it is not unlikely that it represents a commercial guild in a town, as distinguished from "śrār" and "sabhā" which must be taken to be non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical assemblies in villages entrusted with certain powers in the administration of the country. In cases of default it was enjoined that a fine, which varied according to the amounts lent out, together with double the quantity as default should be realised (apparently by the bodies) and paid to the temple. The prohibitive rates of fine amounting in some cases to nearly 20 per cent of the capital plus the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon to be given must have been intended to safeguard the regular performance of the various functions in the temple. It is expressly stated that the interest in grain should be paid in heaped measures according to a standard metal measure specially used for this purpose. This is the sense that can be given to the phrase *poli nīrai-maḍi-nūṇam*. Apparently the ordinary measures differed widely from these special measures; thus while a *kuṇṇu* of interest paddy contained 6 *nāli* and a *kalam* 15 *kuṇṇu*, the ordinary *kuṇṇu* measure had the capacity of 8 *nāli* and a *kalam* of 12 *kuṇṇu*. A *kalam* of interest paddy fell short of the ordinary *kalam* by 6 *nāli*. That the measure (*kāl*) used for measuring interest paddy had the capacity of 8 *nāli* is made clear by another inscription which has the phrase *palikai kuḍuppadāna oṇu-nāli-kkālū*.²

Throughout the inscription, the rate of interest is stated to be two *kalam* of paddy per year per *kāṣu*. Since it is also stated that the purchasing power of a *kāṣu* was 10 *kalam* of paddy, the annual interest on money lent amounted to as much as 20 per cent which seems to indicate the

¹ [These festivities occur on or about the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśīrṣa, Māgha and Vaiśākhā respectively, when the moon would be in conjunction with the constellations of Ārdra, Maghā and Viśākhā respectively.—Ed.]

² No. 185 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

scarcity of gold bullion or coin at the time of the record. It is worth noting that our inscription states that 3 measures of paddy yielded one measure of rice, while in other inscriptions it is stated that 5 measures of paddy gave 2 measures of rice. As the actual yield of rice from paddy is nearly a half, it must be considered that ample provision had been made in these epigraphs for meeting incidental charges such as wages for the different operations like husking, pounding, etc. The prices of some of the commodities are worthy of note. One *kāṣu* could fetch the following quantities of the various articles, viz. 10 *kalam* of paddy, 1,000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 65 *palam* of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāli* of *kāyam*, 1,220 *parru* of betel leaves, 10,100 areca-nuts, 150 *nāli* of flowers, 15 *kaḷaṅḡu* of *karppūram* or 112 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of turmeric.¹

Ancient Tamil works of the *Saṅgama* period mention *kāṣu*, *kāṇam* and *pon* among the coins current in South India; but it has nowhere been stated what fraction of a *kāṣu* was represented by a *pon* or *kāṇam*. Nachohinārkkinīyār in his commentary on *Jivakachintāmaṇi* states, however, that *kāṇam* means a *pon-kāṣu*. The latter word might mean either the coin called *pon* or a gold *kāṣu*. As such, it is of interest to observe from this inscription that both *kāṇam* and *pon* were gold coins equal in value, each being one-tenth of a *kāṣu*. This ratio between a *pon* and a *kāṣu* is obtained from item 8, where we find that 94 *kāṣu* and 5 *pon* yielded an interest of 189 *kalam* at the rate of two *kalam* per *kāṣu*. Now applying this value of a *pon* in item 1, we find that a *kalam* consisted of 15 *kuṟuṇi*; and from item 2 we obtain that a *kuṟuṇi* contained 6 *nāli*, and that a *nāli* was equal to 2 *uri*. Item 7 states that for meeting the daily requirements of ten *nāli* of flowers, which were sold at 150 *nāli* of flowers for one *kāṣu*, or its equivalent 10 *kalam* of paddy, 240 *kalam* of paddy were required annually, from which we gather that a year was treated as consisting of 360 days for purposes of calculation. From the expenditure detailed in items 4 and 8, it is clear that 1 *uri* was equal to 2 *uḷakku* and that 1 *uḷakku* was made up of 2 *āḷakku*. Item 9 makes a provision of 50 *kalam* of paddy for meeting the annual expenses of (1) rice required for *bali*-offerings at 2 *nāli* per day, (2) 4 *anai* of cloth at 3½ *anai* per *kāṣu* and (3) 8 *anai* of cloth at 2 *anai* per *kāṣu*. For (1), 24 *kalam* of paddy were required, and for (2) and (3), 26 *kāṇam* were necessary and this was met from the balance of 26 *kalam* of paddy the money equivalent of which was 26/10 *kāṣu* (10 *kalam* being the value of 1 *kāṣu*). Since 26/10 *kāṣu* = 26 *kāṇam*, 1 *kāṣu* was equal to 10 *kāṇam*. From items 14 and 15 we learn that 1 *tulām* was equivalent to 100 *palam* and that 1 *kaḷaṅḡu* equalled 10 *kāṇam* by weight. From this inscription we thus obtain the following tables of money, weights, measures, etc. :-

Money.

10 *pon* or 10 *kāṇam* = 1 *kāṣu*.

Weight.

10 *kāṇam* = 1 *kaḷaṅḡu*.
100 *palam* = 1 *tulām*.

Measure.

10 *śeviṇḡu* or 2 *āḷakku* = 1 *uḷakku*.
2 *uḷakku* = 1 *uri*.
2 *uri* = 1 *nāli*.
6 *nāli* = 1 *kuṟuṇi*.
15 *kuṟuṇi* = 1 *kalam*.

Number.

4 *āḷakku* = 1 *parru*.

¹ See lines 39 ff., 50 ff., 110 ff., 122 and 197 of the Text given below.

15

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna-Mahārāja (II). The date portion occurring in the second line of the record is lost, but so much of it is seen that the year opposite is found to be thirteen. In the seventh line, the day of the regnal year of the king is given as 5001 in words which yields 13 years of 365 days and 256 days. We may take the days as referring to "the year opposite" and not to the entire regnal year. Examples of similar dating are found in a few inscriptions. No. 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 is dated in the 13th year and 3090th day as well as in the 8th year opposite to the 13th. Similarly also No. 534 of the same collection is dated in the 4th year and 1745th day as well as in the 4th year opposite to the 4th. Again in No. 509, the year given at the commencement of the record is "13th year and 1445th day" while in the body the same is indicated by "3rd year opposite to the 13th". These instances are sufficient to make it clear that the days given refer only to the number of years and days passed after the first-mentioned year and not to the entire regnal year.

The inscription is silent regarding the ancestry of the king, as stone records in the Tamil country generally are. There is nothing in the name of the king to enable us to say to which of the two Pāṇḍya sovereigns, who bore the name Varaguna, this record must be ascribed. The Vatteluttu script employed in the record shows that it must belong to the ninth century A.D. and since both the Varagunas lived in this century and were separated only by a single reign, palaeographical indications are not of much value. There are, however, internal indications to prove that the record belongs to Varaguna II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Valudi-vaṇaṇḍu, Kaṇḍuḡomaṇḍalam, Māṇḍalam, Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, Varaguna-maṇḍalam, and Śrīvallabha-vaṇaṇḍu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāṇḍya kings Paṭyāga-sālai-Mudukudami-Peru-Vajudi, Kaṇḍuḡon, Māṇavarman (of which name there were more kings than one), Parāntaka (also called Neṇḍuḡadaiyan and Śrīvāra), Varaguna-Mahārāja (I) and Śrīvallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāṇḍya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipaśekhramaṇḍalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1929-30 (p. 72), this Avanipaśekhara is identical with Śrīvallabha, the son and successor of Varaguna-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Śrīvallabha-vaṇaṇḍu and Avanipaśekhara-maṇḍalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguna I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguna II. The Aiyermalai rock inscription places this king's accession in A.D. 862. The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874, that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

A word may now be said about Iruppaikkudi-kiṭṭavan, one of the trusted servants of king Varaguna-Mahārāja through whom the gift amount of 1,400 (gold) *ṛāṇu* was sent. His proper name appears to be Eṭṭi Sāttan from a stone epigraph recently secured from Erukkaṇḍuḡi (No. 334 of 1929-30). He is stated to have been honoured with the title of Iruppaikkudi-kiṭṭavan by king Śrīvallabha. The inscription gives a long and interesting account about him, mentioning several acts of charity including the construction, repair and improvement of several palaces, temples, tanks, embankments, water-channels, sluices, etc. It is clear that he must have been a great and energetic administrator and the programme of his charities and public works testify alike to his catholicity and tolerance, as to his solicitude for the rural population in an arid tract.

We know of no other Valudi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra-Peruvajudi.

The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram¹ record of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, viz. two *kalam* of paddy for one *bīṣa*. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a *kalam* of interest paddy consisted of 30 *nāḷi* and a *keṟuṇi* was equivalent to 6 *nāḷi*. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (e.g. vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 350 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

Prices of articles (A—Ambāsamudram. T—Tiruchchendūr).

| | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 2 plantain fruits | A |
| | 1,000 plantains for 10 <i>kalam</i> | T |
| 2. | 30 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of ghee | A |
| | 20 Ditto | T |
| 3. | 3 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd | A |
| | 2 Ditto | T |
| 4. | 1 <i>palam</i> of sugar was obtained for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of paddy | A |
| | 7 <i>tulām</i> and 65 <i>palam</i> for 10 <i>kalam</i> | T |
| 5. | 10 <i>palam</i> of vegetables cost 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy | A |
| | 20 <i>tulām</i> of vegetables cost 10 <i>kalam</i> of paddy | T |
| 6. | 6 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>śakku</i> of <i>kāyann</i> | A |
| | 1 <i>kāṇu</i> (10 <i>kalam</i>) fetched 60 <i>nāḷi</i> of <i>kāyann</i> | T |

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevely District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Srīvaikunṭham on the sea.² Korkai and Māramangalam are in the Srīvaikunṭam taluk and Nallūr and Kattāramangalam are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Korkai was an important place in the Pāṇḍya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the *Periplus*³ and Ptolemy⁴ mention it, the former under the name of Koīchi or Korkoy. Mr. R. Sewall states⁵ that Māramangalam is the

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 30.

² Sewall's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 313.

³ Schöff's edition, pp. 46 and 237-8.

⁴ Majumdar: *McCrindle's Ancient India of Ptolemy*, pp. 57-5, 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312. No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 agrees with this inscription in stating that Korkai was in Koda-nāḍu. From an inscription at Akkūṭāḷ (No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Korkai and had in it Akkūṭāḷ-Īyaramudaiyār. It is further stated that Korkai was summoned Madhurakutanallūr and that it was in Koda-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uta maṇḍa-vaṇakūḍu which was a district of Rājartja-Pōḍināḍu.

site of ancient Korkai and that Akkāsālai is a place not far from it. From the inscriptions of the former place it is seen that it was situated in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu.¹ As such, it must be identical with the place mentioned in our inscription as being located in the same division. The division Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu itself must have been called after Māraṇḍaiyān *alias* Neṇḍuṇḍaiyān Parāntaka (circa A.D. 170). It is a point worthy of note that while Korkai belonged to the sub-division Kuṇḍa-nḍu, Māraṇḍalam, a place quite in the vicinity of it, belonged to a different sub-division. Both Māraṇḍri and Māraṇḍalam in the Tinnevely District were called in ancient times Māraṇḍalam. While the former was situated in Tiruvaṇḍi-vaṇaṇḍu, the latter was in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu.² Since Māraṇḍalam of our record is stated to have been a place in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, we have to identify it with the one near Korkai; and not with Māraṇḍri. Vaḷodai-vaṇaṇḍu in which were situated Varagunamaṇḍalam, Iravāḷimaṇḍalam, Tiyaṃbakamaṇḍalam, Gaṇḍamaṇḍalam and Mānavirapaṭṭinam, was also called Tiruvaṇḍi-vaṇaṇḍu or Vaḷodi-vaṇaṇḍu or Vaḷodi-nḍu and had in it Āṭṭi-vaṇḍu, the birthplace of the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammāṭṭar, and Śrīvaikunṭham.³ Varagunamaṇḍalam is one of the 18 sacred places of the Vaiṣṇavas in the Pāṇḍya country.⁴ It is celebrated in the hymn of Nammāṭṭar⁵ and is known from his days as Varagunamaṇḍai,⁶ that being a shortened form of place must have been called after Varaguna I. Another place mentioned in the inscription is Kirapūr. It was the headquarters of a division in later times.⁷ The sub-division Amudaguna-vaṇaṇḍu occurs in another inscription of Tiruchchendūr⁸ under the name Amudaguna-vaṇaṇḍu.

¹ Nos. 157 to 161 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. These inscriptions state that Māraṇḍalam was called Divendravarāḷabha-chaturvḍimaṇḍalam and that it was a *hukmaṇḍai* in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, a sub-division of Muṭṭiṇḍu-vaṇaṇḍu which was a district of Rājaraṇja-Pāṇḍyaṇḍu.

² See No. 467 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909, and Nos. 483 and 487 of the same collection for 1916.

³ Nos. 174 of 1895 and 490 of 1909.

⁴ The 18 places are:—(1) Tiruvāṭṭiruvāḷai, i.e. Āṭṭiruvāḷai, 12 miles north-east of Madurai; (2) Tiru-
kōṭṭiyār, 27 miles north-east of Māṇḍi-Madurai; (3) Tirumayyan, 45 miles to the south of Tiruchinopoly in the
Pudukkottai State; (4) Tirupullāṇi, 6 miles to the south of Ramanad; (5) Tiruvattakal, 13 miles west of
Sāṭṭar; (6) Tirukūṇḍal, half a mile east of Madurai; (7) Śrīvillipattūr, 22 miles west of Sāṭṭar; (8)
Tirumogur, 7 miles north-east of Madurai; (9) Tirukkurugūr, i.e. Āṭṭi-vaṇḍu, 18 miles east of
Tinnevely; (10) Tulaivḍimaṇḍalam, i.e. Irattaiṭṭiruppet, 25 miles north of Tinnevely; (11) Śrīvara-
maṇḍai, 18 miles south of Tinnevely; (12) Tiruppuṇḍuḍi, 7 miles east of Tinnevely; (13) Tiruppuṇḍi, 24 miles east of Tinnevely; (14) Śrīvaikunṭham, 16 miles east of Tinnevely; (15) Varaguna-
maṇḍai, 18 miles north-east of Tinnevely; (16) Tirukkulandai, i.e. Peruvāḷam, 28 miles north-east of
Tinnevely; (17) Tirukkurugūdai, 26 miles south of Tinnevely; and (18) Tirukkoḷḷi, 28 miles east of
Tinnevely.

⁵ This is the 4th stanza of the second ten of the 9th hundred, commencing with the words *Paṭṭirup-
ḍanda Varagunamaṇḍai-ḍanda Vairupadam aṇḍu*, etc. The date of birth of Nammāṭṭar as calculated by the
late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai is 415 May, A.D. 798, corresponding to Pramāthi, Vaḷḍai, 16, Viṅḍai, Pēḷai.
(See his *Tamil Ephemera*). He must thus have been a contemporary of Varaguna I, after whom the place
was named.

⁶ In the case of Varagunamaṇḍai and Śrīvaramaṇḍai (Nos. 15 and 11 of the above list) it is obviously not of
place to take *maṇḍai* as a feminine suffix like *-aṇḍu* and to derive them from deities bearing the names Varaguna
and Śrīvara. They are undoubtedly named after the Pāṇḍya kings Varaguna and Śrīvara.

⁷ No. 470 of the same collection for the year 1910.

⁸ No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

TEXT.

First slab; First face.

- 1 Śrī Kō Varaguna-Mārāyarku yāṇḍu
 2 daṇ-ēdir paṇḍu-mūṇḍu ivv-āṇḍu Tira-
 3 Suppiramaṇ(u)ya-Batārar-upāsaiyā-
 4 lya Tirumūlattiṇattu-ppat[ā]rarkku mudal-keṭāmai-ppoliṇṇi¹ ā-
 5 ga koṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga uḍaiyār-āḍiyār-āṇḍu² Varaguna-Mārāyar pō-
 6 ttara Iruppaikkūḍi-kilavaṇum Sāttamperumāṇum Alarrū[r*][nā]-
 7 ttu-kkōṇḍu aiyāiratt³-oṇḍu-nā[ā]-koṇḍu-vanda nīrai-kuraiyā-ppa-
 8 laṇ-kāṇu āirattu⁴-nā-oṇḍu [i*] i-kkāṇḍu-Kuḷa-nāṭtu-kKorṇai-ārār kaṇḍ⁵
 9 mudal-keṭāmai-ppoliṇṇi-kkōṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga vaitta nīrai-
 10 kuraiyā-ppalaṇ-kāṇu tonṇūrr-ā[ru] pōṇṇ-ettu [i*] i-kkāṇḍu oru-kā-
 11 ṇukku āṇḍuvarai pōli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga va-
 12 nda nellu nūṇṇu-ttonṇūrru-mukkalagēy oṇḍu kuraṇi [i*] i-n-
 13 nellāl niyadippaḍi ivā[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] nāḷi
 14 ariṇḍikku mu-nnāḷi nell-āga-ttiruv-amidiṇḍukku ariṇḍi⁶ seṇner-rīt-
 15 tal oru-pōḍaikkku nā-gāḷiy-āga nāṇḍu pōḍaikkku ariṇḍi seṇner-rīt-
 16 i paṇḍu-aru-nāḷi [i*] Mārgaḷi-tTiruvādirai⁷-Māsi-Makamum Vaiyyāḷi-
 17 Viyākamum paḍi iratti śeluttuvadu [i*] i-ppariṇḍu śeluttāḍu ku-
 18 ttakkūṇḍu i-ttēvarikkēy irubatt-aiṇḍu kāṇu daṇḍamum pa-
 19 ttu-eheluttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irattiyāḍu-kuṇṇuppaḍu [i*] i-nnāṭtu Na[ḷ]-
 20 lūr-ārār kaṇḍ⁸ mēṇḍaḍi pōliṇṇi-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā-ppala-
 21 ā-kāṇu nūṇḍu-aruḍatt-ettum pō[ṇ]-āṇḍu-kāḷ [i*] i-kkāṇḍu-āṇḍuvarai pō[ḷi]-
 22 nellu nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl mu-nnūṇḍu-muppaṭṭi-ēḷu-kalagēy mu-kku-
 23 ruṇi nā-gāḷi urī [i*] i-nnellāl niyadippaḍi tiruv-amidiṇḍukku ivā[r*]gaḷ-
 24 koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa nāḷi neyy-amidiṇḍukku irupadi-
 25 [gāḷi] nell-āga-ttiruv-amidu nivēḍikka-ppaṇḍuv-aru-neyy oru-
 26 pōḍaikkku uḷakk-āḍavum [i*] kari taṇikkavum porikkavum oru-pōḍaikkku ā-
 27 ḷakk-āḍavum [i*] nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkku neyy-amidu nāḷi urī [i*] nāḷi-ttair⁹ a-
 28 miduṇḍukku iru-nāḷi nell-āga-ttiruv-amidu nivēḍikka-ttair¹⁰-amidu
 29 oru-pōḍaikkku nāḷy-āḍavum kōṭṭukku-ttair¹¹-amidu oru-pōḍaikkku u-
 30 riyy-āḍavum nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkku-ppaṇḍuv-roy-tai¹² aru-nāḷi [i*] oru-kāṇ-
 31 kku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāṇḍu-paḍiṇḍu-kala-nell-aḷḷam-āga [i*] āṇḍu¹³
 32 vāḷai-ppaḷattigukku oru-kāṇ-āḍavum [i*] oḷu-tulatt-aruḍatt-aimba-
 33 la-ehaṇḍakaraikkku oru-kāṇ-āḍavum [i*] irupadiṇḍu-tulāṇ kari-amidiṇḍukku
 34 oru-kāṇ-āḍavum [i*] arupadi-nāḷi kōḷattigukku oru-kāṇ-āḍavum
 35 aḷḷam-āga [i*] -ttiruv-amidu nivēḍikka vāḷai-ppaḷa-amidu o-
 36 ru-pōḍaikkku nāṇḍu-āga nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkku-kṛaru-vāḷai-ppaḷa-amidu pa-
 37 ḍu-aru [i*] aṇḍakara-amidu oru-pōḍaikkku oru-palaṇ-āga nāṇḍu-pōḷai-
 38 kku-ehaṇḍakara-amidu nāḷ-palaṇ [i*] kari-amidu kōy-kkaṇḍi oṇḍu pu-
 39 ḷi-gari oṇḍu paḷukku-kkari oṇḍu porī-kkaṇḍi oṇḍu āṇḍu¹⁴
 40 kkaṇḍi-amidu nāṇḍuṇḍukku oru-pōḍaikkku [p]aḷiṇḍu-[palaṇ-āḷḷa]¹⁵ nāḷ-

¹ Read pōliṇṇi.² Read āṇḍu.³ Read āṇḍu.⁴ Read āṇḍu.⁵ After 771, the letters kka seem to have been engraved and erased.⁶ The phrase pōḷi-palaṇ-āga is a correction from kkaṇḍi-amidu.⁷ Read āṇḍu.⁸ Read āṇḍu.⁹ Read āṇḍu.¹⁰ Read āṇḍu.¹¹ Read āṇḍu.¹² Read āṇḍu.¹³ Read āṇḍu.¹⁴ Read āṇḍu.¹⁵ Read āṇḍu.

- 41 gu-pōlaikkū-kkaci-amidu nārpadi-palam [i*] kāyam mīla[g-amidu]
 42 māñja-amidu śraka-amidu śru-kaṇṇu-amidu kottamba[ri- amidu]
 43 ēppi-kkāyam aindu [i*] ivai oru-pōlaikku mu-chehevitt-āga nā[ngu-pō]-
 44 daikku-kkāyam ulakkē iru-śevittu* [i*] Mā[iga]li-tTiruvādirai* Māi-Maka-
 45 mum Vaiyyāi-Viyākamum pādi iratti seluttuvadu [i*] i-p[pa]-
 46 riu seluttādu kottukkārpa[di] i-ttēvakkēy sinbadu
 47 kīṇu dandamum paṭṭu-cheheluttādu vitta mūdai-irattinō* ku-
 48 ṭuppadu [i*] i-nnāṭṭu-chChālyattu-ārār kāṇṇ* mēppadi
 49 poliṭṭ-āga* valṭa nīrai-kurayā-p[pa]lā-kāṇu iruhattu-nā-
 50 ngu poṭ ainḍey-nukkal [i*] i-kkāl oru-kāṇṇu āṇḍuva-
 51 mai poli nīrai-madi-nāṇyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli

First slab : Second face.

- 52 nāpatt-oppadi-kalaṇṇy iru-kurugi nāli
 53 uri [i*] i-nnellāl niyadippadi [ti]ruv-amidiṇṇu iva[r*]ga-
 54 [ē] kōṇḍu-vandu selutta-kkaḍavāṇa [i*] nāli-pparuppuṇṇu nā-
 55 li-ulakku-ppayar-āgarum nāli-ppayaruṇṇu iru-nāli nell-āga-
 56 yum kumūṇṇuṇṇu-ppayaru-pparuppu oru-pōlaikku u-
 57 riy-āga nāngu-pōlaikku-chehūṇṇu-payattu-pparuppu iru-nāli [i*]
 58 oru-kāṇṇu nīrai-madi-nāṇyattāl-padi-kala-nell-āgam-ā-
 59 ga [i*] āṇṇ* iru-nūṇ-irapadu paṭṭu verṇaṇṇu oru-kāṇṇ-ā-
 60 ṇavum [i*] pa[di]ṇṇaṇṇu* -oru-nūṇ-āḍakkāy-amidiṇṇu oru-kāṇṇ-āgaru-
 61 m āgam-āga [i*] āi-amidu oru-pōlaikku mū-āḍakk-āga nā-
 62 gu-pōlaikku vellāl-amidu māṇṇu paṭṭu āḍakkāy-āṇṇ-
 63 du oru-pōlaikku-ppadiṇṇu-āga nāngu-pōlaikku āḍakkāy-
 64 amidu sinbatt-āga [i*] nūṇ-amidu vēḇḍuvad-iḍuvadu [i*] Mā-
 65 rge(a)li-tTiruvādirai* Māi-Makamum Vaiyyāi-Viyākamu-
 66 m pādi iratti seluttuvadu [i*] i-ppaṇṇu selu-
 67 ttādu kottukkārpa[di] i-ttēva[r*]kkēy aindu kāṇu
 68 dandam[ū]m paṭṭu-cheheluttādu vitta mūdai-iratti-
 69 un*-[kōṇḍu]p[pa]du [i*] Valṭi-valānāṭṭu-ppiramaḍēyam
 70 Varagunamaṇḍalattu-chehaviyāk(r)-baṇṇ* mēppadi po-
 71 liṭṭ-āga* valṭa nīrai-kurayā-ppaṇṇ-kāṇu nūṇ-oru-
 72 padu [i*] i-kkāl oru-kāṇṇu āṇḍuvāṇa poli nīrai-ma-
 73 di-nāṇyattāl [iru-kala] nell-āga vanda nelli iru-nā-
 74 ri-irubadi-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl niyadippadi iva[r*]-
 75 ga kōṇḍu-vandu selutta-kkaḍavāṇa [i*] nāli-neykku iru-
 76 padu-nāli nell-āga-tTiruvāṇḍā-viḷakku oṇṇuṇṇu [ni]-
 77 va[di]ṇṇu nēy uṇṇy-āga-tTiruvāṇḍā-viḷakku amidiṇṇu-ppa-
 78 [ṇu]vū-ṇaṇṇu-ney niyadi iru-nāli uri [i*] andiyāṇṇ[du]
 79 [ti]ruv-amidu ēyṇṇu dipa-mā[ai] katta-[p]paṇṇu-ṇaṇṇu-
 80 r niyadi ulakku [i*] i-ppaṇṇu seluttādu kottukkārpa[di]-
 81 i i-ttēva[r*]kkēy paṇṇirāṇṇ-ārāi-kīṇu dandamum paṭṭu-chehela-
 82 ttā[ai]ṇṇu vitta mūdai-irattinō* kōṭṭupadu [i*] i-nnā[ai]ṇṇu.

* Read śrīṇṇu.

* Read tāyila.

* Read 'yāṇṇu.

* Read 'niyūṇu.

* Read 'pōṭṭuṇṇu-āga.

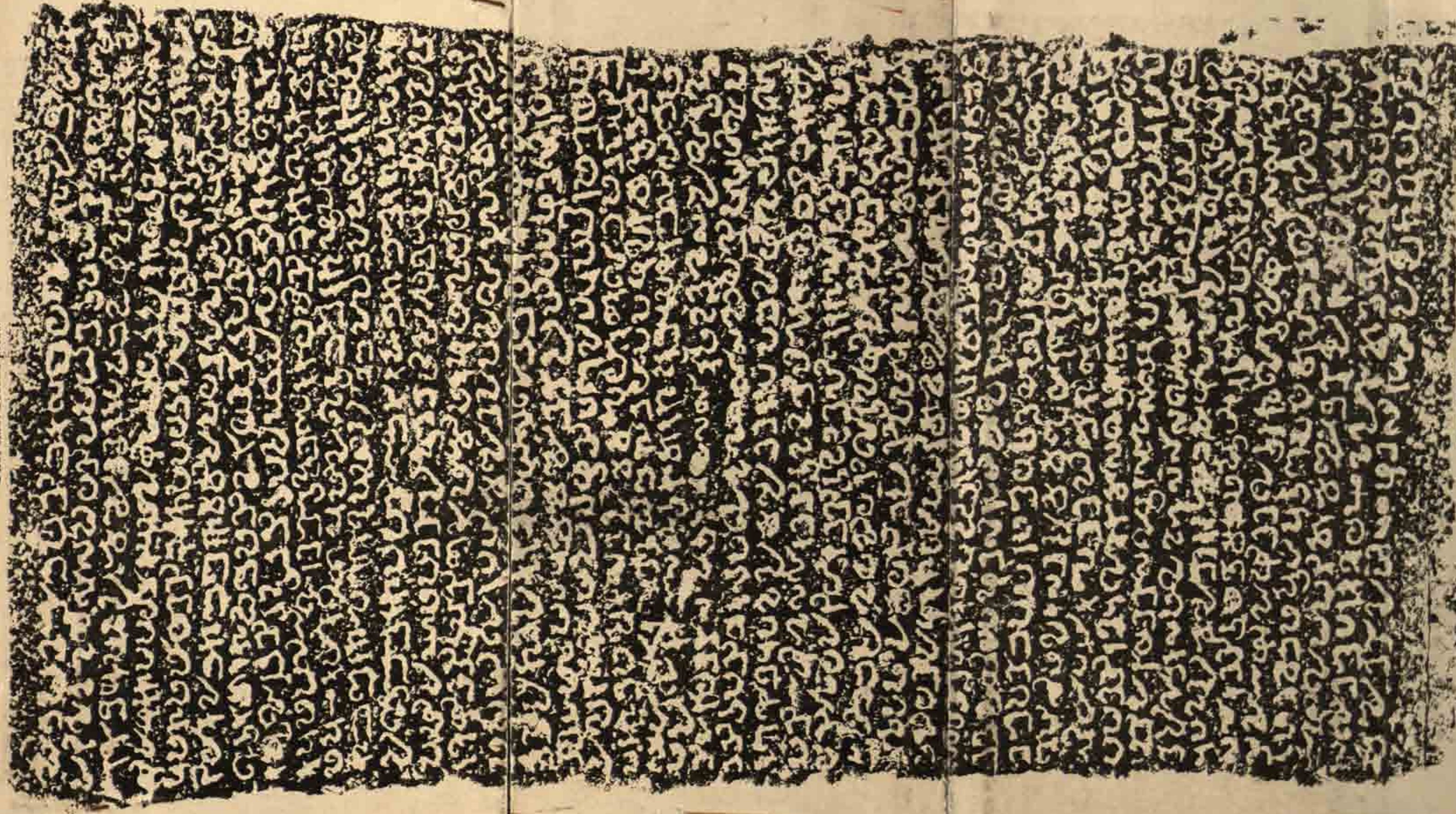
* Read 'niyūṇṇu.

* Read 'yāṇṇu.

* Read 'yāṇṇu.

* Read 'yāṇṇu.

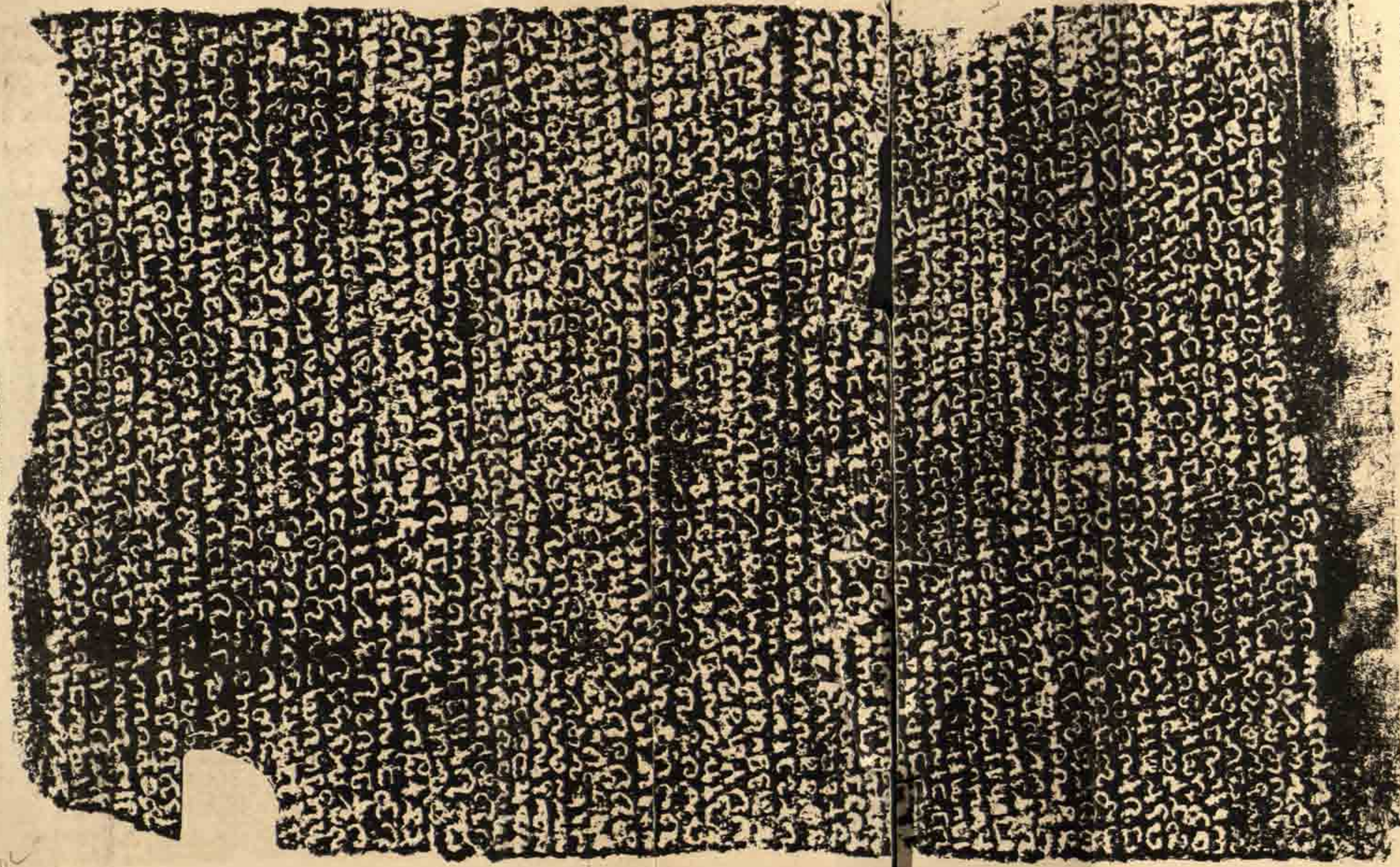
First slab: Second piece.



The image displays a page from the Voynich manuscript, featuring two columns of text written in the characteristic Voynich script. The script is composed of numerous symbols, including circles, lines, and dots, which are arranged in a structured manner. The parchment is aged and shows signs of wear, with some damage visible along the edges and between the columns. The text is written in a dark ink, and the overall appearance is that of a historical document.

TIRUCHCHENDER INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II).

SECOND SLAB: FIRST PIECE.



154
 156
 158
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The text on this slab is written in a cuneiform script, arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The script is dense and consistent across the entire surface. The top edge of the slab is irregular and appears to be a fragment of a larger tablet. The bottom edge is also irregular, with some characters visible below the main body of text. The overall appearance is that of an ancient archaeological find.

83 ttēvalāga-ppiramaḍēyam Tīraṇakamaḍaḥam Ira-
 84 [ṇa]vālimāṇḍalattu-chohaviyār kaiṇ¹ mēṇṇaḍi po-
 85 [li]ṇṇi-āga² vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurayā-ppalaḍ-kāṣu ma-
 86 ppatt-irapḍu i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āḍḍuvarai pol[i] nīrai-
 87 mādi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu arupa-
 88 ttu-āṇ-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]ga³ niyadippaḍi koḍ-
 89 ḍu-vandu selutta-kkaḍavana [i*] nāli⁴-ppūlukkan iru-nāli ne-
 90 ḷ-āga-ttīrumaṇḍaṇam āḍi-arula-ppaṣuvu-pāl niya-
 91 di nā-gāli [i*] nāli-ttairukku⁵ iru-nāli-nell-āga-tti-
 92 rumaṇḍaṇam āḍi-arula-ppaṣuvu-rair⁶ niyadi nā-
 93 pāli i-ppariṣu seluttāḍu kuttukkāṇṇaḍi-
 94 i i-ttēvarkkēy aiṇḍu kāṣu ḍaḍḍamum paṭṭu-ch-
 95 cheḷuttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irattin⁷-kuḍuppaḍu

Second slab : First face.

96 i-nnāṭṭu-kkaḍaimaṇḍalattu-ppaḍum Ālampattattu ā-
 97 rār kaiṇ¹ mēṇṇaḍi poliṭṭi-āga² vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurayā-ppalaḍ-kāṣu pa-
 98 ḍiḍ-āru i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āḍḍuvarai poli nīrai-mādi-nārāyattāl i-
 99 ru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]ga³
 100 [niya]dippaḍi [koḍ]ḍu-vandu selutta-kkaḍavana [i*] ḍi-ṇan[ru]ḷḷu nāli nell-ā-
 101 ga-ttīrumaṇḍaṇam āḍi-arula ṇanir vaḷuvai utpaḍa niyadi iru-nāli u-
 102 ḷakku [i*] nāli-ṇanirukku nāl-ṇanir-āga niyadi iḍum ṇanir eṭṭu [i*] i-
 103 ppariṣu seluttāḍu kuttukkāṇṇaḍi i-ttēvarkkēy aiṇḍu kāṣu ḍa-
 104 ḍamum paṭṭu-chcheḷuttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irattin⁷-kuḍuppaḍu [i*] i-nnā-
 105 [ṭṭu] Mācavirapa[ṭṭi]ṇattu nagarattār kaiṇ¹ (mēṇṇaḍi poliṭṭi-āga² vai-
 106 tta nīrai-kurayā-ppalaḍ-kāṣu nūrr-irupadu i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣuk-
 107 ā[ṇḍ]uvarai poli nīrai-mādi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda ne-
 108 ḷu iru-nūrru nāṇṇaḍi-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]ga³ niyadippa-
 109 ḍi koḍḍu-vandu selutta-kkaḍavana [i*] oru-kāṣukku nīrai-mādi-nārāyattār-
 110 paḍu-kala-nell-āḍam-āga [i*] nūrr-aṇṇaḍi-nāli narum-pūvinukku oru-
 111 kāṣ-āga [i*] āri-paḷṭṭamattinukku niyadi ālakka-kkaḍava narum-pū-ppaḍi-
 112 [nāli] [i*] i-ppariṣu seluttāḍu kuttukkāṇṇaḍi⁸ i-ttēvarkkēy iṇṇat-
 113 t-aiṇḍu-kāṣu ḍa[ṇ]ḷamum paṭṭu-chcheḷuttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irattin⁷-kuḍup-
 114 [pa]ḍu [i*] Śirivallabha-vaḷanāṭṭu-ppiramaḍēyam Kaṭṭāimaṇḍalattu-chohaviyā-
 115 r kaiṇ¹ mēṇṇaḍi poliṭṭi-āga² vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurayā-ppalaḍ-kāṣu too[ṇḍ]ru-
 116 nāḍḍu poṇḍu-aiṇḍu [i*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āḍḍuvarai poli nīrai-mādi-nārāyattā-
 117 i iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūrr-ḍaḍḍu-ḍaḍḍu-kalam [i*] i-n[ne]-
 118 ḷāl iṇa[r*]ga³ koḍḍu-vandu selutta-kkaḍavana [i*] nāli-ohhāru-paṇṇa-ppo-
 119 rikku nāli-ūlakku-ppayar-āḍavum [i*] nāli-ppayarrukku iru-nāli-nell-ā-
 120 ga-ppori iṭa nīḍaḍam āru-paḷvaṇṇu-ppori niyadi u[ri]ḷḷu⁹ ālakka-kkaḍava
 121 āru-paṇṇu uri-ālakku oru-kāṣukku nīrai-mādi-nārāyattār-paḍu-kala-nell-
 122 ā-āḍam-āga [i*] oru-kāṇṇattukku-ppaḍi-ḍu-ḍu-nāli ūlakku māṇḍa-āga-ttīru-
 123 māṇḍi pūṭi-āṇḍa mēṇṇaḍi āṇṇaṭṭa paṇṇu-māṇḍa niyadi mūlakku [i*]
 124 [o]viya[ṭṭu]m pāvāḍaṇum¹⁰ ḍi-āṇḍi oru-kāṣu peṇṇaḍa oru-mṇṇai ma-ttiā-

¹ Read *ṇaiṇ*.² Read *ṇaiṇ*.³ Read *ṇaiṇ*.⁴ Read *ṇaiṇ*.⁵ Read *ṇaiṇ*.⁶ Read *ṇaiṇ*.⁷ The *ā* of *nāli* looks like *ā*.⁸ Read *ṇaiṇ*.⁹ Read *ṇaiṇ*.

- 125 gaḷukku nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāḡu-muraikku veṇ-kūrai paḍiṇ-ār-aṇai [*] i-
 126 ppariṇu śeḷuttādu kuttukkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy irupatt-aindu
 127 kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-cheḷeluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattīu¹-kaḍuppadu [*]
 128 Parāntaka-vaṇaṇṭṭu-ppiramaḍōyam [Pāra]ṭumaṇḍala[ttu-ette]ḷu-kilakku Ti-
 129 [ṇi]-cheḷavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūt-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-ppa-
 130 ā-kāṇu irubatt-aindu [*] i-kkāṭṭāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍuvai poli nīrai-madi-nā-
 131 rāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu aimbadiṇ-kalam i-nnellā-
 132 i iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śeḷutta-kkaḍavaga [*] nāli-ariāḷukku mu-nnāli nel-
 133 i-āga-ttīru-ppalikkū niyadi ariśi ēmmaṇ-ṭiṭṭai oru-pōḍaḷukku nāḷiy-āga i-
 134 raṇḍu pōḍaḷukku ariśi ēmmaṇ-ṭiṭṭai iru-nāli [*] oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ
 135 paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡam-āga śeḷ-maḍappaḷi-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭṭikkū-ppuḍavai iṇai i-
 136 raṇḍ-araḷ-kkāṇam peṭṭaṇa oru-murai aru-tiṇḡaḷukku Ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu irāṇḍu-mu-
 raik-
 137 ku-ppuḍavai nāl-aṇai [*] kal-purāḷukku-ppuḍavai iṇai irāṇḍu-kāṇam peṭṭaṇa oru-
 murai mu-ttiṇ-
 138 gaḷukku Ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nā-gu-murai[k*]ku-ppuḍavai eṭṭ-aṇai [*] i-ppariṇu
 śeḷuttādu ku-
 139 tukkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy aindu-kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-cheḷeluttādu viṭṭa mudi-
 140 l-irattīu¹-kuḷuppadu i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramaḍōya[m*] Māramaṇḍalattu-
 141 cheḷavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūt-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-ppa-
 142 [aṇ-kāṇu nūri-aimbatt-irāṇḍ-araḷ [*] i-kkāṭṭāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍuvai
 143 poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu mu-nnū-
 144 r-aṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāḷ iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śeḷutta-kkaḍavaga [*]
 145 oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡam-āga [*] śrī-tūpam
 146 āḍāriṇḡukku³ vēṇḍum uru[ppu⁴] aḡi-utpāḍa-kkarpūramu-tēnu[m] ni-
 147 yadi araḷ-kkāṇam viḷai peṭṭa iḍuvadu [*] śrī-karpakkāra-agattu-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭ-
 148 ṭikkū veṇ-kūrai iṇai āḷ-araḷ-kkāṇam peṭṭaṇa oru-murai āru-tiṇḡaḷukku
 149 nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu irāṇḍu muraikku veṇ-kūrai eṭṭ-aṇai [*] nāli-ttair⁵-amidiṇḡuk-
 150 ka iru-nāli nell-āga-ttīru-ppalikkū-ppaṇuvip-rōy-tair⁵ niyadi nāli [*]
 151 taṭṭaḷi koṭṭiḡaḷukku-kkoṇṇu nellu-ttiṇḡaḷ [nā]r-kala[ṇe]y paḍiṇ⁶-ku-
 152 ruṇi nāli nriy-āga ōr-āṇḍu panniraṇḍu tiṇḡaḷukku vēṇḍum nellu nīrai-
 153 madi-nārāyattāḷ aimbatt-eḷu-kalam⁷

Second slab ; Second face.

- 154 i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramaḍōyam Teṇrakku.
 155 Ilūr-cheḷavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūt-āga vaiṭṭa ni-
 156 rai-kuraiyā-ppaḷaṇ-kāṇu arupadu [*] i-kkāṭṭāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍu-
 157 varai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu
 158 nūri-irupadiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāḷ iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śeḷutta-
 159 kkaḍavaga [*] oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡam-ā-
 160 ga [*] śrī-uḍaiy-āḷai iṇai mūḡru-kāṇu peṭṭaṇa oru-murai mu-ttiṇḡaḷukku

¹ Read *gūn-.

² Read kaiṇ.

³ Read poliūt-āga.

⁴ Read āḍāriṇḡukku.

⁵ The letters in brackets look like ṭṭu.

⁶ Read taṭṭe.

⁷ To make up the total of 57 kalam in this item the word paḍiṇ ought to be paḍiṇ-oru.

⁸ There is some blank space in this line after eḷu-kalam and space for another line below, in which should have been incised the words i-ppariṇu śeḷuttādu kuttukkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy aindu kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-
 cheḷeluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattīu¹-kaḍuppadu.

- 161 ōr-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku ōri-ṇḍaiy-āḍai nāl-aṇai [1*] i-p-
 162 pariṣu ūluttadu kuttukkārpaiḍi i-ttōvarkkēy panni-
 163 raṇḍ-araī-kkāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattī-
 164 uō¹-kuḍuppadu [1*] Amitaguna-vaṇanāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Avai-
 165 paṭṭekaramaṇḍalattu-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpaiḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa
 166 nīrai-kuraiyā-ppalaṇ-kāṣu arupadu [1*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai
 167 rai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūṛṭ-iru-
 168 paḍiṇ-kalam [1*] i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu ūluttā-kka-
 169 ḍavaṇa [1*] oru-kāṣukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāṭṭ-paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga ōri-
 170 ṇḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṇu-kāṣu perrāṇa oru-murai mu-ttiṇḍaḷukku ōr-aṇaiy-ā-
 171 ga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku ōri-ṇḍaiy-āḍai nāl-aṇai i-ppariṣu ūluttādu kut-
 172 tukkārpaiḍi i-ttōvarkkēy panniṇḍ-araī-kkāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttā-
 173 du viṭṭa mudal-irattīuō⁴-kuḍuppadu [1*] Kuḍa-nāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Puḷu-
 174 ḍai-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpaiḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-ppala-
 175 ṇ-kāṣu nūṛṭ-irupadu [1*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāya-
 176 ttāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nūṛṭu-nārpaiḍiṇ-kalam i-nne-
 177 llāl iṇa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu ūluttā-kkaḍavaṇa [1*] oru-kāṣukku nīrai-madi-nārāya-
 178 ttāl paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga ōri-ṇḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṇu-kāṣu perrāṇa oru-
 179 murai mu-ttiṇḍaḷukku ōr-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku ōri-ṇḍaiy-āḍai [1*]
 180 ṭṭ-aṇai [1*] i-ppariṣu ūluttādu kuttukkārpaiḍi i-ttōvarkkēy irubatt-
 181 t-aṇḍu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattīuō⁴-kuḍuppa-
 182 du [1*] i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Kīraṇur-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpaiḍi *poli-
 183 ṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-ppalaṇ-kāṣu iru-nūṛṭ-ōrubattu-nāngu [1*] i-
 184 kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-ā-
 185 ga vanda nellu nā-nūṛṭ-irubatt-ēṇ-kalam i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]gaḷ niyadī-
 186 ppaḍi koṇḍu-vandu ūluttā-kkaḍavaṇa nāḷi-neykku irupadi-nāḷi-nell-āga
 187 tīromaṇḍaṇam āḍi-aruḷa-ppaṣuvig-ṇaru-ney niyadī nā-ḡāḷi [1*] oru-kāṣukku
 188 nīrai-madi-nārāyattāṭṭ-paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga-ttāl-chchandaṇattu-
 189 kku oru-kāṣ-āga-ttīrumēṇi pūṣum sandaṇa-kkuḷambu-chchandaṇam niyadī
 190 mu-ppalam [1*] i-ppariṣu ūluttādu kuttukkārpaiḍi i-ttōvarkkē-
 191 y aṇḍadu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-i-
 192 rattīuō⁴-kuḍuppadu [1*] i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Śaḍaṇḍavikkurich-
 193 ch-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpaiḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-ppalaṇ-kā-
 194 ṇu toṇṇūru [1*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl
 195 iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūṛṭ-ēṇḍaiṇ-kalam [1*] i-nnellāl niyadī-
 196 paḍi iṇa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu ūluttā-kkaḍavaṇa [1*] oru-kāṣukku nīrai-madi-nā[rā]-
 197 yattāṭṭ-paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga-ppaiṇ-aṇ-kalaṇju karpūṛattukku o[rū]-
 198 kāṣ-āga-ttīromaṇi-pūṣum-tiruchchandaṇattōḍu kūṭṭi araikkum karpū-
 199 ram niyadī oḷ-araī-kkāṇam [1*] i-ppariṣu ūluttādu kuttukkārpaiḍi
 200 i-ttōvarkkēy irubatt-aṇḍu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭ-
 201 ṭa mudal-irattīuō⁴-kuḍuppadu [1*] i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Kaḍuṇḍōmaṇ-
 202 ḍalattu-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpaiḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-
 203 ppaḷaṇ-kāṣu paḍiṇ-āḡu [1*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-ma-
 204 di-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [1*] i-nne-
 205 llāl iṇa[r*]gaḷ niyadippaiḍi koṇḍu-vandu ūluttā-kkaḍavaṇa ōr-ilaṇirukku

¹ Read yna.² Read kaiṇ.³ Read poliṭṭ-āga.⁴ Read irattīyua.⁵ Read Paḷḷu.

| No. | No.
of
Insa. | Division. | Name of village. | The body
of persons
with whom
money was
invested. | AMOUNT
INVESTED. | |
|-----|--------------------|----------------------------|---|---|---------------------|------|
| | | | | | Rain. | Pon. |
| 1 | 8-19 | Kuṇḍa-nāḍu . . . | Korkal . . . | Urūr . . . | 96 | 8 |
| 2 | 19-48 | Do. | Nallūr | Do. | 168 | 6½ |
| 3 | 48-69 | Do. | Śāliyam | Do. | 24 | 5½ |
| 4 | 69-82 | Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu . . . | Varaṅgamangalam . . . | Sabhai . . . | 110 | 0 |
| 5 | 82-95 | Do. | Iraṇavāḷimangalam in-
cluded in Triyambaka-
mangalam. | Do. | 22 | 0 |
| 6 | 95-104 | Do. | Ālambattam included in
Gangaimangalam. | Urūr | 16 | 0 |
| 7 | 104-114 | Do. | Mānavirapattinam . . . | Nagarattar . . . | 120 | 0 |
| 8 | 114-127 | Śrivaḷḷabha-vaḷanāḍu . . . | Kattāraimangalam . . . | Sabhai . . . | 94 | 6 |
| 9 | 128-140 | Parāṇṭaka-vaḷanāḍu . . . | Tinnai included in Parāṇṭa-
mangalam. | Do. | 25 | 0 |
| 10 | 140-153 | Do. | Māṇṇamangalam . . . | Do. | 152½ | .. |
| 11 | 154-164 | Do. | Tonrekku | Do. | 40 | 0 |
| 12 | 164-173 | Amitaguna-vaḷanāḍu . . . | Avanipadikkaramangalam | Do. | 90 | 0 |
| 13 | 173-182 | Kuṇḍa-nāḍu | Puliyāḷai | Do. | 120 | 0 |
| 14 | 182-192 | Do. | Kiraṅḷ | Do. | 214 | 0 |
| 15 | 192-201 | Do. | Śaḍaṅḡavikurickal . . . | Do. | 90 | 0 |
| 16 | 201-210 | Do. | Koḍuṅḡamangalam . . . | Do. | 16 | 0 |

| INTEREST. | | | | | Object for which the interest was utilised. | Fine in case of default. |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|--|---|
| Rate per <i>kāṣa</i> . | AMOUNT. | | | | | |
| | <i>Kāṣam</i> | <i>kurumi</i> | <i>nāḷi</i> | <i>uri</i> . | | |
| 2 <i>kāṣam</i> | 193 | 9 | .. | .. | For supplying daily 16 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice on ordinary days and 96 <i>nāḷi</i> for 3 days in the year. | 25 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 337 | 3 | 4 | 1 | For supplying daily 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee, 6 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd, 16 plantains, 4 <i>palam</i> of sugar, 40 <i>palam</i> of vegetables, 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 2 <i>kurumi</i> of <i>kaṇṇam</i> and double this quantity for 3 days. | 50 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 49 | 2 | 1 | 1 | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of <i>payaru-paru</i> for <i>kaṇṇam</i> , 3 <i>paru</i> of betel leaves and 56 <i>paru</i> , together with double the above quantity for 3 days. | 5 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 220 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> of ghee for 1 chain of lamps. | 12½ <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 64 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of cow's milk and 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd. | 5 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 32 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 8 tender coconuts. | Do. |
| Do. | 240 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 10 <i>nāḷi</i> of flowers. | 25 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 120 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 1 <i>uri</i> of <i>peri</i> and 3 <i>nāḷi</i> of <i>maṇḍal</i> and 16 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> of white cloth for the year. | Do. |
| Do. | 50 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice for <i>baḷi</i> , and for four <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> of <i>paṇḍarai</i> at the rate of 2½ <i>kāṣam</i> for 1 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> and 8 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> of <i>paṇḍarai</i> at the rate of 2 <i>kāṣam</i> for 1 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> to be supplied during the year. | 5 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 305 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily incense at 1½ <i>kāṣam</i> , for 8 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> of white cloth at 7½ <i>kāṣam</i> each <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> for 1 year, for curd at 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy per day and for drummers at 4 <i>kāṣam</i> 10 <i>kurumi</i> 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> per month or 57 <i>kāṣam</i> per year. | Omitted. |
| Do. | 120 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying during the year 4 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> of <i>maṇḍal</i> at 3 <i>kāṣa</i> per <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> . | 12½ <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 120 | .. | .. | .. | Ditto | Do. |
| Do. | 240 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying 8 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> of <i>maṇḍal</i> at 3 <i>kāṣa</i> per <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> . | 25 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 428 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of ghee for anointment, and 3 <i>palam</i> of sandal at 1 <i>ṣaḷṣa</i> of sandal for 1 <i>kāṣa</i> . | 50 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 180 | .. | .. | .. | For supplying daily 7½ <i>kāṣam</i> of <i>kaṇṇam</i> (1 <i>kāṣa</i> fetching 6 <i>kaṇṇam</i>). | 25 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |
| Do. | 32 | .. | .. | .. | To supply daily 8 tender coconuts at 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 coconut. | 5 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default. |

- 206 nāḥi-nell-āga-ttirumai-jagam ādi-arula ilanir vajuvai upada niya-
 207 di iru-nāḥiṇṇukku¹ nāḥi-ilanirukku nāl-ilanir-āga niyadi iṇum ā-
 208 nṛ eṭṭu [*] i-ppariṇu seṇṭṭādu kuttakkāppaḍi i-ttēvark-
 209 kēy aindu-kāsu dandamun paṭṭu-ccheṇṭṭādu viṭṭa mudal-irattin²-ku-
 210 ḍuppadu [**]

No. 18.—THE BHADRENIYAKA GRANT OF ŚILADITYA I: G.E. 292.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

These two copper plates were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

These plates measure 11½" by 8½" and are joined together by means of a thick copper wire which passes through them. Only one side of these plates has been used for writing the record which consists of thirty-two lines, nineteen being engraved on the first and thirteen on the second plate. A copper seal which is oval in shape is affixed to the ends of the copper wire and bears the legend "Śrī-Bhatakkah" which is usually found on the seals of the dynasty to which Śilāditya belonged.

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll. 13-19) is very thin. It is written in Sanskrit and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The alphabet belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A.D. As regards orthography, signs for *i* and *ī* have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer; *anuseṇḍra* and *risurga* have been omitted in several places, e.g., *sa[m]*[akṭa]* (l. 5), *sāmānya[m]** (l. 28), *atīṣayāna[ḥ]** (l. 6), *-kāryya-phala[ḥ]** (l. 7), etc.; *ā* is used for *anuseṇḍra* in *vaṇḍa* (ll. 3, 27) and *a* in *anaḥ* (l. 14) and *anyāna-cha* (l. 18); *ṇ* takes the place of *ṇ* in *pranaḥ* (l. 4). In addition to the usual *dayḍa* a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, cf. l. 29 after *Vyāṣeṇa* and l. 33 after *Vatrabhaṭṭinā*. The *upadhmāniya* occurs thrice, in ll. 10, 19 and 23, and the *jihvāmūliya* only once, in l. 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript *r*, e.g., *māryga-* (l. 5), *-āḥairyya-dhairyga-gāmbhāryga* (l. 6), etc. The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Śilāditya I, who was the son of the illustrious Dharmasena, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasena, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhi this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the *Sēnāpati* Bhātārka in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at *Dēvisaras* on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra in 292³ G.E. (circa 610-11 A.D.), and was written

¹ Read *nāḥi-ṇṇukku*.

² Read *irattigga*.

³ [The late Mr. Banerji read the date as 290 and it has been so included in the *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1537 (above, Vol. XX, App. p. 181). I, however, read it as 292. It thus becomes the last known date of Śilāditya I. In the interval between this and the next Valabhi grant dated 304 G.E. issued by Dharmasena (III), at least one ruler, viz., Kharagraha, Śilāditya's younger brother, must have ruled. Recently a copper-plate issued by this prince has come to light, and apparently he is the *Dātaka* of many of Śilāditya I's grants, including the present one.—Ed.]

by the *Sandhivigrahādhipāka* (minister of peace and war) *Divirapati* Vatrabhatti.¹ The *Dātaka* was Khatagraha, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I.

According to this grant, two hundred *pādāvaritas* of land in the village of Bhadrēniyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in that village. Out of these two hundred *pādāvaritas*, one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmana Prabhādata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmana named) Rudra, to the north of the *daṇḍaka* (chain of hills ?) called Baratikā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Gōppara-vāṭaka. Of the remaining hundred *pādāvaritas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece² of land (*bha*) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (*bhāikshaka*), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (*pūjā*) and its other accessories, viz., bath (*snāpana*), sandal (*gandha*), flowers (*pushpa-mālā*), lamp-oil (*dīpa-taila*), vocal and instrumental music (*vādya-gīta*) and dances (*nṛitya*), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (*bali-charu-sutra*), the maintenance of the servants of the god (*pādamūla*) and the cost of repairing any damages (*khaṇḍa-sphuṭa-pratisamhāra*). I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, viz., *Dēvisaras* (l. 1), *Bhadrēniyaka* (ll. 19-20, 22), *Bāra-Vanasthali*³ (l. 22), *Baratikā-daṇḍaka*⁴ (l. 23) and *Gōpparavāṭaka* (l. 23).

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁶ svasti [*] Vjaya-skandhāvārād-Dē[vi]sarō-vāsakūt prasabha-prapat-
āmitrāpū[ṭh]⁷ Maitrakānām-atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍala-(l-ā)bhōga-sam-
- 2 sakta-prabhū-āta-labdhā-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād-ann-
rakta-maula-bhṛta-śrēṇi-pa(ba)l-āvāpta-
- 3 rājya-śriyaḥ parama-māhēśvara-śrī-Bhaṭa(tā)rkakād-avyavachohhinna-rāja-vaśśān-mātā-
pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-prapatī-pravīḍhaut-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ
- 4 āś(sai)śavāt-prabhṛti khaḍga-dvīṭva-bāhur-ēva samāda-para-gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-
prakāśita-satva-nikāśas-tat-pratāva⁸-prana(pat)-ārāti-chūḍa(jā)-ra-
- 5 tna-prabhū-sa[m]⁹ sakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-samhātis-sakala-smṛitō(ṭi)-praṇīta-mārgga-
samyak-paripālana-prajā-hṛdaya-rañjan-ānva(r*)ttha-rāja-sabdhāḥ
- 6 rūpa-kānti-āthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sashpa(mpa)dbhis-Smara-saśānk-Ādirāj-
ōdadhī-Tridaśaguru-Dhānōśān-atiśayāna(h*) śaraṇ-āśa(gu)t-ābhaya-

¹ [This Vatrabhatti has also been called Vasabhatti (No. 1341 of List) and Vasabhatta (No. 1349). The readings Vatrabhatti (No. 1337, i.e., the present grant), Chandrabhatti (No. 1338) and Chatrabhatti (No. 1345) are misreadings. The members of the family to which Vatrabhatti belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maitraka dynasty for four generations, viz., Skandabhatta (apparently the father of Vatrabhatti), Vatrabhatti, his son Skandabhatta and the latter's son Anahila.—Ed.]

² [If the two dots after *bha* are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of *Bhāikshaka* land together consisted of 100 *pādāvaritas*.—Ed.]

³ [This though not so specified must have been the *moṣṭala*, probably consisting of the Vanasthali twelve (f). Vanthali, an important place in Junagadh State, may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vāmanasthali in the medieval period.—Ed.]

⁴ [The boundary of Baratikā (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrāyaka as also a well belonging to the god Āditya are referred to in the Dhānka grants of G. E. 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I. It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality.—Ed.]

⁵ The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read *prabhū*.

7. pradāna-paratayā tṛiparad-aplāt-śāśha-sva-kāryya-phala(h*) prārtahan-ādhih-
 ārtiha-prādān-ānandita-vidvat-suhrit-prataya(yi)-hṛdayaḥ pāda-
 8. chār-iva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-pramōḍaḥ parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Guha-
 sēnas-tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-viṣi-
 9. ta-Jāhuavi-jal-angha-prakāśāt-āśēsha-kalmanahāḥ prapañi-śata-sahaar-ōpajīvyamāna-sam-
 pad-rūba(pa)-lōbbhād-iv-ārtiḥ sarabbasam-ā-
 10. bhigānikair-ggūpāis-saha-śakti-śikṣā-viśēsha-vismātipit¹-ākṣila-bala-dhanuridharah-
 pratham-sarapatī-samatīśāhī² nā³ m-anupālayitā
 11. dharmma-dāyānām mapākarttā⁴ praj-ōpaghāta-kāripān-apaplavānām darīyānā
 śrī-Sarasvatyōr-āk-adhivāsa-śya(sah)hat-ārati-pakṣa-la-
 12. khaṇḍ-ba(pa)-cilihga-dakṣa-vikramā(mō) vikrama-ōpasaṃprāpta-vimala-pārtihiva-ārīḥ
 parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharaśō(sē)nas-tasya sutas-tat-pād-ānu-
 13. dhyātas-sakala-dīpa)gad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-samudā(ya*)-ethagita-samagra-dig(ā)-
 maṇḍalas-samara-śata-vijaya-lōbbhā-sanātha-maṇḍalāgr-
 14. dyuti-bhāsuratar-ānna(śa)-pīth-ōdōḥha-gura-manōratha-mō(ma)hābhāras-sarvva-vidyā-par-
 āpara-vihhāg-ādhiḡama-vimala-matit-api sarvva-
 15. tas-subhāhita-lavēn-api sukh-ōpupādāniya-paritōśha-samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-
 hṛdayō-pi sacharit-ātīśaya-su-
 16. vyakta-parama-kalya(lyā)ṇa-svabhāvaḥ khūlbbhūta-Kṛta-yuga-nṛpati-patha-viśōdha-
 ādhigat-ōdagra-kīrttir-ddharmma-āmu(n)parōdh-ōjvalata-
 17. rikṣit-ārītha-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-nirōḇha-Dharmmaditya-dvitiya-nāmā parama-
 māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Silāditya-kulā sarvva-ā-
 18. v-ānyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drōḇhika-mahattara-saṅkika-chaurōddharanika-chōṭa-bhaṭa-kumā-
 rāmāty-ōllo-ānyān(ā)-cha yathā-samha-
 19. dhyamānakā-saṃjīpāyaty-astu vas-samviditām yathā mayā mātā-pitā(ō)-pūy-
 āpyānāya Bhadrē-

Second Plate.

20. niyaka-grāmā(ma)-nīpi(vi)śāt-Ādityadēva-pādānām pūjā-snapana-gandha-pushpa-mālya-
 dipa-tail-ādy-upayōgāya vādya-gīta-nṛity-ā-
 21. dy-ārīhē vālī-chara-satr-ōsarppanāya pādāmūla-prajīvā(va)nāyā(ya) dēvakulasya
 cha khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratīśamkārīya
 22. cha Bāra-vanasthalyām Bhadrēniyaka-grāmō pūrvva-dinnī brūhmaṇa-Prabhandata-
 satka-brahma-dēva-kāhōtrāt-pūrvvataḥ Rudra-
 23. satka-brahma-dēva-kāhōtrāt-dalōdīpataḥ Baratikā-daḍḍakād-uttarataḥ Gōppara-
 hā(vā)taka-(grā)ma-simā-sandhēr-āparataḥ-pādāvarita-satam
 24. tath-āsmīn-ōva grāmō bhāikshakam¹ lavam-ētat-pādāvarita-satam bhāikshakam
 cha sōdraṇam sōparikaram savita-bhūta-pratyāyam sadhānyā-
 25. kirany-ādāyam sadāśparādham sōtpadyamāna-viśtis² sarvva-rājākīyānām-ahasta-
 prakāśopānyam pūrvva-pratta-brahma-dēva-
 26. varjītaḥ bhūma(m)-chchhīdra-nyāyē-āchandr-ārīko-ānīpava-kahita(ti)-sarit-parvata-
 samakūlīnāt dharmma-dāyātayā nīpāhītaḥ yataḥ a-
 27. pari-(li*)khita-sthityā bhujyamānasya na kāśchid-vyādhē varttita³ jyaṇ-āgāmī-
 bhādra-nṛpatibhīr-apy-asamad-vāhājair-ānyair-vyā anityā-

¹ Read *śimāpī*.² Read *dharmma-dāyānām* - *apālortā*.³ [The *śimā* is superfluous or it may be the numerical sign for 2.—Ed.]⁴ Read *śimāpī*.

- 28 ny=aiṣvāryyāny=asthiraṁ mānukyaṁ sāmānya(ṁ*) cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=ava-
gacchadbhīr-ayam=asmad-dāy=ānumantavyāṣṭh(vyāṣ) paṇipālayi-
29 tavyaś=ch=ṣṭy=uktam cha bhagavatā Vādayāśāna Vyāśāna : Bahubhīr-vvasandhā
bhuktā rājabhi=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā
30 bhūmi-tā(ṭa)sya tasya tadā phalam : Yān=cha dāridrya-bhayan=anāndraire-
ddhanāni dharm-āyatani(nī)-mṛi(kṛ)tāni (i*) nirbhū(bhū)kta-māya-
31 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta || Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasraṇi svarggē
mōdati bhūmidāḥ [*] Acchhettā ch=ā-
32 numantā cha tāny=śva narakē vasād=iti || Dūtakaś=ch=ātra śrī-Kharagrahaḥ
līhitam sandhivigrahāḥkṛi(kṛ)ta-Divirapati-
33 Vatrabhaṭṭinā : Sam. 200 90 2 Chaitra-śu 10 4 [*] Śva-hastē mama ||

No. 19.—THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA : ŚAKA 1440.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AITAN, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription* is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍapa' in the Maṅgaināthēvara temple at Pirānmalai in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamil prose and the **alphabet** is Tamil with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and the end. A few **orthographical** peculiarities such as the use of *sho* in place of (i) *ka* (1.3) and of (ii) *sha* (1.1) ; of *ja* for *ṣa* (1.9) and non-adherence to *sandhi* rules (11. 5, 10, 12 and 15) are worthy of note.

Some of the revenue terms used in the record require explanation :—

Kaḍamai (1.11). This word is used in Tamil inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession ; cf. the taxes *Śekku-kaḍamai*, *Tōṇik-kaḍamai*, *Tōṇik-kaḍamai*, etc.

Kūṇikkai (1.12). This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering'. *Kānuka* in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term *Paḍai-kūṇikkai* which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms *Kūṇikkai-paṭṭipon* and *Nāṭṭuk-kūṇikkai*.

Vēḍukōḷ (1.12) may be explained as a fee paid along with an application or request.

Viniyōgam occurring in 1.12 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose'; cf. the terms *Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *Sabhā-viniyōgam*, *Olai-eḍuppu-viniyōgam* and *Vākal-viniyōgam*.

The present record is dated in Śaka 1440 in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler **Krishna-dēva-Mahārāya**, 'who conquered all countries'. The astronomical details* of date given in it viz., Mithuna, ba. amāvāsyā, Tuesday, Vṛiddhi-yōga and solar eclipse, point to Tuesday, June 8, 1518 A.D., as its equivalent, when there was a solar eclipse visible in India.

The object of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village **Mēlār** in Śōla-pāṇḍya-vaṇaṇḍu, by **Ponnambalanātha-Topḍaimān**, the chief (*aradu*) of **Arantāṅgi**, for offerings and worship to the god Nallamaṅgaibāgar at **Tirukkoḍuṅkunram**, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

* Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot.

* Read *vast* [*] *iti* ||

* No. 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

* In the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24, p. 69, the cyclic year is wrongly read as Saumya, but it can be read as Vēgnadhāya (or Bahudhāya) which was current in Śaka 1440.

The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Pongambalanātha¹ Tonḍaimān, the foremost of the chiefs of Arantāngi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarter rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 16th century, when there was a general unsettlement in the Pāṇḍya country. The rule of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tirnevelly district, the northern part of the Pāṇḍya territory having been lost originally to the Vāṇakōvaraiyars and latterly to the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāṇḍya kingdom rose the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and the Sōtupatis of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Arantāngi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Arantāngi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Arantāngi have the distinct appellations 'Arantāngi-araiya' and 'Tonḍaimān'. The latter title² which is the earlier of the two, means 'the king of Tonḍai' or 'Tonḍaimaḍalam', i.e., the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kāṣṭhī-puram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title *Tonḍaimān* seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karuṇākara-Tonḍaimān of Vaṇḍuvāṇḍi (i.e., modern Vaṇḍai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. A few other chiefs bearing the title 'Tonḍaimān' are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Puḍukkōṭṭai State not far from the Arantāngi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Arantāngi Tonḍaimān chiefs. A Tonḍaimān chief by name Valattu-vāḷvitta-Perumāḷ³ claiming to belong to Vēṇiṅga-nāḍu, a district to the north-east of the Puḍukkōṭṭai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1201 A.D. A record of the Pāṇḍya king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasekhara⁴ also mentions this chief and another⁵ makes provision for the 'Valattu-vāḷvittāḷ-saṇḍi' (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara. In the Tamil poem *Kapparkōṭai* the hero is a certain Karuṇāṅkkaṇ, a chief of Kappalūr near Puḍukkōṭṭai.⁶ He is there styled a Tonḍaimān and described as a minister and a general of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. A record from Nandalūr⁷ in the Cuddapah district mentions

¹ In *Sey-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318, this title has been explained as "the vassal of an overlord". The earliest reference to the name Tonḍaimān in the Pāṇḍya country is found in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājendra-Chōḷa I, i.e., A.D. 1016 on the Nārttāmalai hill (vide 'A General History of the Puḍukkōṭṭai State' by Radhakrishnan, p. 113). There is also a reference to Tonḍaimān in the *Mahāvamsa* of Ceylon. While chronicling the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, this text says 'that the Pāṇḍyan king Kulasekhara on being defeated by the Singhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Tonḍaimāna, that Kulasekhara then attacked the Singhalese forces at Pōy-Amatirattai (a village in the south-west of the Puḍukkōṭṭai State) and was again defeated, and that with the help of the ruler of Tonḍaimāna and some other chieftains, Kulasekhara once more opposed the forces of Ceylon and was once again defeated'. The hill where Kulasekhara-Pāṇḍya is said to have concealed himself is probably no other than the Nārttāmalai hill in the Puḍukkōṭṭai State.

² Vide *A General History of the Puḍukkōṭṭai State*, p. 115.

³ No. 355 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 485 of 1918 of the same collection.

⁵ *Sey-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318E.

⁶ No. 594 of 1907.

⁷ No. 594 of 1907.

Tondaimānār alias Tirunelvēli-Udaiyār who was a minister of Jatāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya. This inscription is dated in the 17th year and the astronomical details given therein point to A.D. 1293, March 14, Saturday, as its English equivalent. It seems very likely that the Tondaimānār referred to in the Nandalūr record is identical with the minister Karumāṇikkay mentioned in the Tamil poem. Though these records show that the Tondaimān were among the potentates of the territory around Arantāṅgi during the 13th century A.D. none of them assumed the title 'Arantāṅgi-arāṣa' (lord of Arantāṅgi) before the end of the 15th century A.D.

Besides being the Tondaimān or Pallavas, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi appear to have been connected in some manner with the Perumāls of Tinnevely, for we find a lithic record from Eṭṭiyattai¹ in the Arantāṅgi taluk mentioning Tirunelvēli-perumāḷ Tondaimānār as the chief of Arantāṅgi. This record is dated in the cyclic year Virōdhin and mentions the signatory Niramavajagiyan-Kāḷingarāyan who figures in another epigraph² in the same place dated in Saka 1364 (= A.D. 1442) and may therefore, be assigned to A.D. 1469. About this time Jatāvarman Arakēsaridēva alias Parākrama-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1429-1463) and his brother Kulāśekhara-dēva (A.D. 1429-1473) were ruling the Tinnevely and adjoining districts. The Arantāṅgi chiefs subsequently came under the yoke of the Vijayanagara Empire and accepted its suzerainty as is evidenced by the present record.³ Ekapperumāl, the father of Poggambalanātha-Tondaimān, the donor of the present record, seems to have been a very pious ruler, for we find him in inscriptions making gifts to temples and instituting services therein called the 'Tondaimān-āndi' after his name. Among the titles of Poggambalanātha, special attention may be drawn to *Kāñchīpuravarādhidēva* 'the lord of Kāñchi, the best of cities' and *Eḷe-nāḷaiyi Yīlam-tirai-koṇḍa-perumāl* 'the hero who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days'. The title *Kāñchīpuravarādhidēva* assumed by him suggests that the family of Arantāṅgi Chiefs claimed Pallava descent. The other title indicates the important part played by the chief in Ceylon on behalf of his overlord⁴. Poggambalanātha calls himself a devotee at the feet of Perumāḷ Āvudaiya-Tambirāṇār⁵. He was in power for over half a century (circa 1514-1569 A.D.) and acknowledged the overlordship of the Vijayanagara king Krishnarāya at least between Saka 1430⁶ and 1452.⁷ His territory was not confined to the limits of the present Arantāṅgi taluk. Inscriptions mentioning him are found in the Pudukkottai State, in the present Arantāṅgi taluk and at Pirāṅmalai in the Ramnad district.

¹ No. 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 126 of 1916 of the same collection.

³ In an earlier record (No. 298 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvannāṅgam, dated in Saka 1305, Rudhirōdgit, three chiefs of Arantāṅgi, viz., Alagayamānārāḷ-perumāḷ Tondaimān, Sūrya-dēvar Sundarapāṇḍya Tondaimān and Mugilira-perumāḷ Kulāśekhara-Tondaimān are mentioned. The Saka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Saka 1265 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above-mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.

⁴ See also Nos. 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 146 of 1903 from Pirāṅmalai is the only record that refers, to the invasion of Ceylon by Krishnādēvarāya. It is dated in Saka 1440 and also mentions the chief Poggambalanātha-Tondaimān. It is known that the predecessors of Krishnādēvarāya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (i.e., seven days) within which Poggambalanātha is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some arrears of tribute on behalf of his overlord Krishnādēvarāya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No. 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Krishnādēvarāya's reign is not necessarily meant.

⁶ Āvudaiya-Tambirāṇār is the name of the god at Āvudaiyārkōyil, a village in the Arantāṅgi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Māṇikkavāṇṣaka.

⁷ No. 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ No. 249 of 1930 of the same collection.

Ponnambalanātha was succeeded in the Arantāngi principality by Āndiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Tonḍaimān¹ son of Tyāgarasār Narasā-Nāyaka, who had also the titles *achchamarayādāy* and *clawlonjūḍāy* and whose earliest date so far known is Śaka 1499 (=A.D. 1577), not far removed from the latest known date of Ponnambalanātha, viz., A.D. 1569.

The line of Arantāngi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Pālayavanam in the Pudukkottai State.²

The chiefs of Arantāngi so far known from epigraphical sources are :-

1. Kulasekbara-Tonḍaimān³ (1426 and 1443 A.D.).
2. Sāryadēvar Sundarapāṇḍya-Tonḍaimān (1443 A.D.).
3. Malavallapperumā-Tonḍaimān.
4. Alagiya Maṇavāḷapperumā-Tonḍaimān (1443 and 1453 A.D.), his son.
5. Lakkaṇaḍaṇḍāyaka-Tonḍaimān or Lakkappaḍaṇḍāyaka-Tonḍaimān (1453 A.D.).
6. Tīruncivāḷipperumā (1459 A.D.).
7. Ekapperumā-Tonḍaimān (1481 and 1499 A.D.), his three sons.
8. Tīrāvinaṭṭirṭāp-Tonḍaimān (1497 A.D.).
9. Āvṇḍaiya-Nāyāṇ-Tonḍaimān (1499 A.D.) and
10. Ponnambalanātha-Tonḍaimān (1514-1569 A.D.), his son.
11. Varavinōḍa-Tonḍaimān (1536 A.D.).
12. Āndiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Tonḍaimān, son of Tyāgarasār-Narasā-Nāyaka (1577 A.D.) and
13. Aruṇāchala Vāṇaḍgāmudī-Tonḍaimān, son of Raghunātha Vāṇaḍgāmudī-Tonḍaimān⁴ (1713 A.D.).

Of the places mentioned in the record *Mēlār* is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madura. *Tirukkoṇḍukunṇam* (i.e., Pīrāṇmālai) is said to have been in Tīrūmālai-nāḍu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tīrūmālai in the Siva-gaṇḍa taluk. The territorial name *Sōlapāṇḍya-vaṇaṇḍu* is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōḷa viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country, who specially called themselves Sōḷa-Pāṇḍyas.

TEXT.

- 1 [Śvasti] [U*] Śrīmaṇ-ma[ḡā]mandallāsurāṇ [ariyarāya]-vibhāḍāṇ *bāshchaikkut-tappuva-rāyira-paṇḍāṇ kaṇḍa-nāḍu-konḍu konda-nāḍu-kūḷāḷāṇ pārva-
- 2 deṣṭaṇa⁵ paṇchima-uttara-samudhirāḍhīpati eomaḷḍalamum konḍu eḷundaru-
[iya śrī]-[Kriṣṇaḍē(va)-Mahā]rāyar prithivī-rāchchiyam paṇḍi-arūḷāniṇṇa
- 3 *śakābḍam* 1440 idaṇmāḷ Vēḡu[dhā]jaya-[varuṣa*]ṇa uttarāyaṇattu Mithuna-nāyaru
apara-paṇchattu⁶ [a]māvēṣāyayum Maṇḍaivāramum Viruḍdi-
- 4 yōḡamum peṇṇa iṇṇai-nāḷ⁷ Sāriya-girana-paṇṇiya-kāḷattu Tīrūmālai-nāṭṭu- *Tiruk-*
*koṇḍukunṇattu*⁸ Nāyāṇ Nallamaṇḍaibāgaru Ara[n]āṇḍi-araṇu achchamar-

¹No. 511 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. From the records so far available, it is not possible to say whether Varavinōḍa-Tonḍaimān, the son of Ponnambalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Arantāngi.

²*A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 84.

³From Nos. 230 of 1914 and 238 of 1930; Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers.

⁴Known only from a copper-plate record. *Vide See Tamil*, Vol. XII, p. 441 ff.

⁵Read *bāshcha*.

⁶Read *śakābḍam*.

⁷The word *varuṣa* is expressed by a symbol.

⁸Read *apara-paṇchattu*.

⁹The *unbekannt* is not given.

¹⁰Tirukkoṇḍukunṇam is also known as Dakṣiṇa-Kāḷāṇ in Nos. 193 and 213 of 1924.

- 5 [yāda]-perumāḥ¹ 'alaivilāḥjāda-perumāḥ mugilin-kil-ttiriyum-Ila-Vaṅgiyar-aiṣura-gaṇḍa-
 āttukku-āṇai-vaṅṅum-perumāḥ] aḥ-nālaiyil Yīlan-tīraikōṇḍu-perumā-
- 6 [kō paḍa . . . [yāda]-perumāḥ] Kāñchīpuravar-ādhiśura² Āvudaiya-Tambirāṇār-
 āripāda-bhaktay Ekapperumāḥ-Tonḍaimānār puttāṇ
- 7 Poṅṅambalanātha-Tonḍaimānār Navār Nallamāṅgaibāgaru [u]ḷaiyamāga ma-
 ṭina iṇu-kālaśa-chandikkā amudapaḍi [sāttu]ppaḍi uḷittu
- 8 vōḍum nittam-nima[ndan]gaḷukku nam-[pērā]ḥ³ kattiya Poṅṅambalanātha-Tonḍai-
 mānār-saṇḍiāga amudāṇeyvum-paḍikkū ku-
- 9 ḍutta [yī]-pavinār . . . dēvadāna . . . *nāmattukkāṇṇi-āga Sōla-Pāḍiya-vaṅṅuttu
 Mālār peru-nāṅ-ellaikk-uḷ[paṭṭa]-
- 10 dum sa-kiray-ōḍaḥka-dhār-pūvam-āga tīrunāmar-tukkāṇi-āga chandr-ādityavar
 tellak-kuḍuttapaḍiālē idukku uḷpaṭṭa⁴
- 11 nallu-nikāḥpa-jala-pāṣāṇa-kūpa-[ta]tākāḍiyum Tambirānārkē urittāga kaḍavad-
 āgavum ivv-ūṇku varum kaḍamai kē-
- 12 nikkai vōḍukōḷ vinirōgam magruu erpōpattā⁵ vati ubā(pā)dhayum kajituk-ku-
 ḍuttapaḍiālē chandr-ādityava-
- 13 iṣella sarvaṁāṇiyam-āga tīrunāmattukkāṇi-āga⁶ aṇubhavittuk-kōḷlavum kaḷilum
 sembiḷum veṭṭikko-
- 14 oḍu tīrunāmattukkāṇi-āga chandr-ādityavarṣella aṇubhavittuk-kōḷlavum inda
 daṇṇattukku aṇṇam paṇṇi-
- 15 navar Gaṇḍaikkāraiyl kaṇḍaiyura brāhmaṇaṇaiyura mātā-pnāvaiyura guru-
 vaiyura kōṇḍa [ōḍ]hattilē pō-
- 16 gakkadavāṇṇāgavum⁷ inda oḍilē sarvaṁāṇiyam-āgapparri aṇubhavittuk-kōḷlavum
 Aran-
- 17 tāṅgi-kaṇḍaku Adiyār⁸jkunallāṇ Kaṇṇurak-Kāḷṅṅarāya⁹ aḍutta [u]

¹ The title 'alaivilāḥjāda' is not newly borne by this chief. (Fide Nos. 208 of 1924 and 173 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.)

² With the title *Poṅṅambalanātha-gaṇḍa* compare the titles *Vaṅgiyar-āṭṭan-tarittā* and *Sarimāṭṭa Vaṅgiyar* assumed by the Sōṭṭapāl Chieft. (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*; Burgess and Natesa Sastri, pp. 73 and 79 and *Franciscan Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, p. 13, foot-note 7). Local tradition confirmed by one of the MacKenzie Manuscripts says that two feudal chiefs of the Vāṇṇiya caste, who were ruling at Tiruvādānchuram near Chingleput, defied the authority of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevārāya. Since these chiefs were turbulent and wielded considerable power, their humiliation was considered to be a real feat by their conquerors. An inscription of Devārāya II gives him the title 'the lord who took the heads of the 15 Vaṅgiyars' (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* No. 11, p. 150). The Vaṅgiyars who had migrated from India as soldiers accompanying the successive Tamil invaders to Ceylon and settled permanently in the island, gave frequent trouble to the Ceylonese kings as well. The titles of Devārāya, Poṅṅambalanātha-Tonḍaimānār and the Sōṭṭapāl of Ramanad regarding their exploits have reference to the help they rendered to the Ceylonese kings in subjugating the Vaṅgiyars.

³ The title *Kāñchīpuravar-ādhiśura* may be interpreted as 'one hailing from Kāñchīpuram'. The chiefs Pallagāṇḍa-Sūlāraṣār (A. R. 1922, para. 144) and Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpālā-Madhesōḍaṇḍiāra (A. R. 1923, p. 91) also assumed this title. It may be noted here that this title is borne by Krishna-Nāyaka (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 339), indicating that the original home of the Madras Nāyakas was Coimbatore. But in the case of Jaiśvarman Sundara-Pāḍiya (c. 1251 A.D.) (S. I. L., Vol. V, No. 432), this title was assumed to commemorate his conquest of Kāñchīpuram and the subjugation of the original Pallava dominions.

⁴ The gaps in this line may be filled with the letters *śū* and *śā*.

⁵ Read *uḷpaṭṭa*.

⁶ Read *erpōpattā*.

⁷ This phrase is again repeated to emphasise the grant made.

⁸ There is a symbol in the inscription after this word. It appears to be a contraction for some such words as *śāda* *śāḍṛa* or *śāda* *śāḍṛa*.

⁹ Read 'Kāḷṅṅarāya'.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the illustrious *Mahānāyaka* *Kṛṣṇadēva-Mahārāya*, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their words, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the *Saka* year 1440 *Asvini*, corresponding to Bahudhānyā, during Uttarāyana, in the month of Mithuna, on Tuesday, when the amāvāsya of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Vṛiddhi-*ṛga*,—on this day, I, *Poṅṇambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāyār*, the son of *Ekapparumāl-Toṇḍaimāyār*, the chief of *Araṇṭāygi*, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed,.....¹ who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from *Ilam* (Ceylon) within seven days,, who was the lord of *Kāñchi*, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god *Āṇḍaiya-Tambirāyār*—having given the (land) situated within the four great boundaries of *Mēlūr* in *Śōlapāṇḍya-vaṇaṇḍu* as *tiruvāṇṭukkāṇi* with gold and libation of water to fast as long as the Sun and Moon, to (the god) *Nayinār Nallamaṇḍaibāgar* at *Tirukkoṇḍuram* in *Tirumalai-nāḍu* for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the *Poṅṇambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāyār-ṇandi* (service) in the early morning to the god *Nayinār Nallamaṇḍaibāgar*, instituted after my own name—(the rights over) its treasures and hidden deposits (in this land), its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the *Tambirāyār* (god). And as the taxes including *kaḍamai*, *kāṇṭikai*, *chōḍukōl*, *enigōḍum* and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a *tiruvāṇṭukkāṇi* (temple land) and a *varuvāṇḍu* (freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last. The deed shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as *tiruvāṇṭukkāṇi*, as long as the moon and the sun last.

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow, a *Brāhmana*, (his own) parents and teacher on the banks of the Ganges. In the aforesaid manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a *varuvāṇḍu*. This is the writing of *Aḍiyāḷ*jkkumallāy* *Kaṇṇuruk-Kāṭiṅgarāyan*, the accountant of *Araṇṭāygi*.

No. 20.—NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN (G.E. 1198).

By K. N. DIESHT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This fragmentary plate was handed over to me by the Political Agent, Baghelkhand Agency, who could not give me any definite information regarding its findspot, except that it came from some place in Nāgod State. It has therefore been named after the name of the village granted.

The plate measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " to $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth. It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken. The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the *Majhgwān*² copper-plate of the same prince. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They do not present the nail-headed forms of letters as in the *Majhgwān* plates of Hastin. Attention may also be drawn to the form of *a* without the

¹ The term *saṃsthā* *śīl-śrīgama* *śīl-śrīgama* *śīl-śrīgama* is left untranslated. The latter part means 'the proud conqueror of the Vāṇḍiyas of Ceylon'. If 'maṇḍi' could be taken as a proper name like *Maṇḍi*, the phrase may be construed as 'the proud conqueror of the Vāṇḍiyas of Ceylon who were at the beak and call of *Maṇḍi*.'"

² Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.

loop at the end, and *dh* with an acute angle at the lower left limb as in *Dhātādhya*, l. 2 and *Yajñādhyā*, l. 10, which are not found in other records of this king.

As regards orthography, the doubling of the *v* and *dh* following *r* as in *pravarādhva*¹, l. 2, *pārvādhva*, l. 3 and *°bhīrāvā* l. 14 and the use of *b* for *v* in *sambhāsara*, l. 3 are noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose.

The plate records the grant of a village (†) called Navagrāma² in the *vāśya* of the Pulinda chief (apparently a feudatory of the *śrīpati*-*Parivrajakas*), by the Maharaja Hastin in the year ninety-eight (increased by hundred). The donors were several Brāhmanas³ of the *Parāśara-gṛāma* and *Mādhyaśina-śākhā* (of the white Yajurveda).

The year 198 of the present plate must be considered to be the last date of Hastin whose son and successor Saṁkshobha issued the Betul grant⁴ in the year 199. The earliest known date of Hastin being 156, the year of his Khōh copper-plate,⁵ he must have enjoyed a long reign of over 42 years. The known dates of Hastin (155, 163, 191 and 198) and Saṁkshobha (199, 209) are undoubtedly to be referred to the Gupta era, as the expression *gupta-śrīpārājya-bhakti* indicates. The range of dates of the contiguous family ruling from Uchchakalpa, viz., 174 and 177 for Jayanātha and 191, 193, 197, 214 for his son Śarvanātha, is not only parallel, but the latter prince was at one time a contemporary of Hastin as recorded in the Bhumarā pillar inscription.⁶ Now assuming that Jayanātha's rule extended for at least one or two years after 177, the period common to the reigns of Hastin (156 to 198) and Śarvanātha (179 to 214) is 179 to 198. The particular year to which the joint record is to be assigned is fixed by the specification of the year as *Mahā-Māgha sambhāsara* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Now the only *Mahā-Māgha sambhāsara*, which was current during the period (179-198 G.E.), was that which began in the Gupta year 189, in July 508 A.D.⁷ and the date of the Bhumarā pillar must therefore be approximately October 508 A.D. It is thus impossible to refer the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings to the Kalachuri era (which began 72 years earlier than the Gupta era), as this would entail a reign of at least 70 years for Śarvanātha (121 + 247 = 438 A.D. to 508 A.D.). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently upheld this view⁸ originally proposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding an intercalary *Ashādha* in the year 121 of the Sōhawal⁹ plates of Śarvanātha, if referred to the Gupta era. The difficulty is not, however, insurmountable, as it is very probable that the succeeding month of Śrāvṣa that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillai's *Indian Chronology* may have been antedated by a month, according to some *Siddhānta*¹⁰ followed in this locality; or, what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvṣa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul¹¹ plates of Saṁkshobha. It is thus clear that the *dvīr-Ashādha* of the Sōhawal plates must be considered to be the same as the first *Śrāvṣa*, which commenced

¹ Possibly Navagrāma was the division in which the village was situated, but the number of missing letters is too limited to admit of this alternative.

² The number of donors would seem to be seven, i.e., three Brāhmanas and their respective sons, the last named having two sons.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

⁴ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105 of Introduction.

⁷ Above, List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 1190, p. 150, n. 5.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 129 ff.

⁹ According to the mean system of the first Ārya Siddhānta, the intercalary month in the year 510-11 A.D. was *Āyina* (Sewall, *The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, p. 308).

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 288 ff.

on 8th June as a *pūrṇimānta* month, which was apparently followed in this locality. The date of the Sōhwal plates must thus be understood as being equivalent to 17th of June, 510 A. D.

The mention of the Mahāśayuja *saṁvatsara* with the (Gupta) year 198 enables us to fix the date of the present record within a narrow compass. The year 198 G.E. commenced on 9th March, 517 A.D. and the Mahāśayuja *saṁvatsara* ended on or about the 23rd April, 517 A.D. and the present record must be dated within these limits. The missing month may therefore be supplied as *Chaitra* (in which case the fortnight must be the bright fortnight) or *Vaiśākha*. The date of the Betul plates of Śaṁkshōdha, which has been calculated by Kielhorn to be 15th September (or October), 518 A.D. is thus about 18 months later than the date of the present grant, and it is sometime within this period that Hastin was succeeded by his son.

The reference to *Pulinda-rāja-rāshtra* in the present inscription indicates that the dominion of the chief of the Pulindas must be located within the territory of the *aripati*-*Parivrajaka* family, and is probably the region comprised of the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the *Aśvārāja* *Beṭhwarān*, along with the Sabaras, with whom they have been always associated and sometimes confounded.*

The locality Navagrāma is too common to admit of definite identification.

TEXT.

- 1 Namō Mahāśayuja || Svasty-*ashṭanavaty-a* [**starē-bda-śatē* Gupta-*aripa-rāja*-
bhuktau *ari*-]
- 2 matī pravarddhamānē Mah-*āśayuja-samba(va)tsarē* [**... mīsa ... pāksha ...*]
- 3 *maṣyārā* *samba(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyān* [**ripati-parivrajaka-kul-*
ōtpaṁṇa mahārāja-]
- 4 Dēvādhyā-praṇṣṭā mahārāja-*ari-Prabhamjāna* [**naptrā* Mahārāja-*Śri-Dāmōdara-*
autāna gōsa-]
- 5 *haṣṭa-hasty-śva-śirāṅg-śūka-bhūmi-pradē* [na] [**guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-tatparāḡa-*
ātyanta-dēva-]
- 6 brāhmaṇa-bhaktē-*śūka-samara-sata-vija* [**vinā* *śva-vanē-śūka-karṇa* Mahā-
rāja-ari-]
- 7 Hastinā Pulinda-rāja-rāshtrē Navagrāmakū(kō) [**nāma grāmaḥ* pūrvv-
aghāta-parichchōda-maryālayā sōdra-]
- 8 āgah *śparikarō-chāṭa-bhata-prāvēyō* [**mātā-pitrō-ātmanā-cha* paṇy-
ābhivarddhamyō]
- 9 Parāśara-sagōrēbhyō Mādhyandina-Vā [**jaṇnōya-sabrahmachāribhyō-mābhyō*]
- 10 Brāhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭa-Yajñādhyasvāmī-tat-putra-Bha [**ṭṭa ... Brāhmaṇa ...*]
- 11 *naṣvāmī-tat-putra-ōṣṭapajñasvāmī* [**Brāhmaṇa ... ya*]*śasvāmī-tat-putra*-]
- 12 Bhaṭṭa-Sambhuyajñasvāmī-Bhaṭṭa-*Esāna-Ya* [**jñā-svāmibhyō* *putra-paṇi-āṇṇay-*
ōpabhōgyah]
- 13 *tāmra-śāsanē-ōgrā(a)hārō-tisṣṭha* [*] *chaura-varjjan* | *tad-asmad-kul-ōṭthair-*
mat-pāda-piṇḍ-ō-]
- 14 paṭivibhū-*vvā* *kūl-āntarāshv-api* na [**vyūghātah* *karāṇiyah* | *śvama-āṇṇaptē*
yō ...]

* Varāhamihira, IX-29. Majumdar, *McCrindle's Ancient India*, pp. 156-7, 160.

* *Kushān-saṁgraha* (ed. Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. XVII, p. 130).

1214

No. 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

A.—The Amrāpur Stone Inscription of the reign of Siṅghana—Śaka 1133.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is in a temple of Śiva¹ called Ambikāśvara at Amrāpur (ancient Ambadāpura), a village about 28 miles from Buldana in Berar. It is inscribed on a stone built into the wall above the lintel of the door of the *garbhagriha*. The whole record which consists of eight lines covers a space of 11" in breadth and 1' in height. The size of letters varies from 1.7" to .9". The characters are Nāgarī. The initial *a* occurs in *ambadā-pi* in ll. 1-2 and *Am-badāpura* in ll. 5-6, the initial *i* in *Bhūddha* in l. 7 and the initial *u* in *Dēvadgata* in l. 5. The medial *z* is shown in some places by a *prishthanātrī* (cf. *Bhūddha* in l. 7). The language is incorrect Sanskrit. The whole record is in prose. As regards orthography we may note that the letter 't' is doubled in two places after the preceding 'r', viz., *chakravartī* in l. 4 and *kīrtanē* in l. 7.

The inscription states that in Śaka 1133 when the cyclic year was Prajāpati, Dēvāyaka was the governor (of the territory round Ambadāpura) in the victorious reign of Śrīmat-Pratāpa-chakravartī Siṅghanadēva. In that year a person named Marigala, the son of Bhūddēva, built a *tōṇa* (1) in the temple (*kīrtana*) constructed by Padumana (Pradyumana)śēṭhi who was a resident of Ambadāpura.

The date does not admit of verification for want of details: but the cyclic year for Śaka 1133 (expired) [=1211-1212 A.D.] was Prajāpati as stated in the inscription. Siṅghanadēva, who bears the title Pratāpachakravartin in this record, is evidently the Yādava king of that name who ruled at Dēvagiri in the first half of the 13th century A.D.² There are at least three different dates for the accession of this Yādava king, each supported by a number of regular epigraphical dates, viz., 1122, 1129, and 1132 Śaka years. Śaka 1133 (expired) is, however, the earliest certain date of Siṅghana's reign and the present record is also the earliest inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri found in Berar. It is likely that Siṅghana was actually crowned in Śaka 1132 although he may have been associated with government as *Yuvarāja* in the lifetime of his father for some seven years and succeeded him in 1129 Śaka. It is also possible that the last of the 'accession' dates, viz., 1132 Śaka, may have been calculated from some important event in his reign, such as the conquest of the Karnāṭak, which is alluded to in the Dōṇi inscription.³ Anyway he must have won several victories before Śaka 1134, the date of his Mārḍi stone inscription,⁴ and it is reasonable to assume that in one of these early campaigns he annexed the Berāra or the country round Ambadāpura where we find the present inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [H*] Śakā amka-
- 2 15-pi¹ 1133 Prajāpati amāva-
- 3 tārē svasti śrīmat-pratāpa-chakra-
- 4 vartti-āri-Siṅghanadēva-vijaya-rājyē

¹ The inscription is not at the temple of Bhavadi as stated by R. B. Hirahat in his *List of inscriptions in C.P. and Berar* (Second Edn.), p. 153. The latter is on an eminence at a short distance from the temple of Śiva.

² *First Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 522.

³ No. 79 of the Bombay-Karnāṭak collection for 1927-8.

⁴ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 48.

⁵ This expression which means "also in figures" is out of place here, as the date is not expressed in words.

- 5 Dhanāyaka bhōktā[rā] Anhadā-
 6 purā² vāstavyē Padmanasāthi-
 7 kratā² krttanā Bhāidēva-putra-Mahigala-
 8 mpaka (1) [tā]ragam. l(d*)am (1) — — —

B.—The Bārai-Tākli Inscription of the reign of Hēmadridēva—Śaka 1098.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is at the temple of Bhavāni in the village of Bārai Tākli, twelve miles south-east of Akola in Berār. Its existence was noticed by Mr. H. Cousens, who has also described the temple in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1902. "It (i.e. the temple) consists of a shrine and a *mandapa* or hall, both being freely decorated upon the exterior with bands of mouldings and figures. The *mandapa* is curiously arranged with regard to the shrine, being attached as it were sideways to it, the open side of the *mandapa* with its entrance being on one side or at right angles to the doorway of the shrine. The plan of the *mandapa* is rectangular, while that of the shrine is star-shaped. Four decorated pillars support the central ceiling of the hall. The principal figures around the outside of the temple, excepting Gānapati, are the females Mahākālī and Mahishāsurasamhāntinī, occupying important positions. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those of temple No. 1 at Balsane in Khandesh".

The inscription is engraved on the wall of the *mandapa* facing the entrance. As in the case of the Bāmṭēk Lakṣmīnāya Temple inscription, the surface of the wall was first rendered smooth with lime plaster before the inscription was incised in it. When Mr. Cousens saw the temple it had already been much damaged. When I visited the place in December 1931, I found it in a still more deteriorated condition as the lime plaster was gradually scaling off from the wall. The whole record covers a space of about 3' 3" broad by 11" high. The average size of letters is about 1". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and excepting the introductory *Om Svasti* and the particulars of the date the whole record is in verse. Originally it must have consisted at least of twenty lines; but the last six lines of the record are almost completely gone. Of the first fourteen, again, nearly half the portion on the right hand side is destroyed owing to the peeling off of the lime plaster and though a few words and letters here and there can be read, they do not give much coherent sense. The verses are not numbered, but single and double *daṃḍas* are, in some places, used to denote punctuation. The orthography calls for few remarks; *z* is occasionally employed for *ṣ*, e.g., in *Vasūka* in l. 1; the *anusvāra* is incorrectly used in addition to the following nasal in many places, e.g., *Nimlāma* in l. 3, *āpatamāntam* in l. 4; etc. The consonant *z* following *r* is occasionally doubled as in *krttanā* and *varitāntānā* in l. 5. The final dental nasal is changed to an *anusvāra* in *brīmā* in l. 8, *dūvām* (l. 9).

As stated by Mr. Cousens, the temple is at present believed to be dedicated to Bhavāni. I found, however, no image of the deity in the *garbhagrha*. There were, instead, three round stones (the central one being somewhat more elongated than the rest) covered with vermilion on a finely carved pedestal. There was also a stone figure of Nandin (Śiva's bull) in the *mandapa* facing the deity which may easily have been brought from elsewhere. The crude symbols of divinity are in striking contrast to the rich carving on the four central pillars and the ceiling of the

¹ Read *dhānyakā bhōktā*.

² Read *kratā*.

³ Read **pura-vastava*.

⁴ The last line is very indistinct.

mandapa. It may, therefore, be presumed that the original image was destroyed when the place was occupied by Muhammadans and the present stones installed at a later date. It is also doubtful if the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Bhavāni. The benedictory stanza in the beginning of the record is in praise of Hari (Viṣṇu). The building is referred to in l. 10 as the temple of Hari (*Hari-vēma*). It is noteworthy that in addition to the figures of Mahishāsuramardini and Gaṇapati noticed by Mr. Consens, images of Narasimha and other deities of the Viṣṇu cult occur on the door frame of the *garbhagriha* as well as on the exquisitely carved pillars of the *mandapa*, which support the Vaiṣṇava origin of the shrine. It seems, therefore, certain that it came to be dedicated to Bhavāni, when the original image of Viṣṇu had been destroyed and the people had, in course of time, lost sight of the deity in whose honour the temple had been originally erected.

The fragmentary state of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. After the customary benediction, the inscription mentions the name of **Ghatāma** who was born in the family of Danturāja. It then proceeds to describe a battle in which a young king, who is perhaps identical with **Hāmādrīdēva** mentioned later on in l. 6, defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugidēva, who was advancing on the capital, confident of success, on account of his large forces. The king is further stated to have converted his capital **Tēkkali** into the holy city of Benares by his virtuous deeds. The inscription then gives the genealogy of his hereditary **ministers**, who belonged to the **Vālabhya-gotra**, **Bhillama**, his son **Pālama**, his son **Māila**, and his son **Gāmiyāya** or **Gāmarāja**, who was apparently the donor of the present record. He is described in line 10 as having built 'a temple of Viṣṇu in this town (evidently **Tēkkali**), of which the midday sun formed the *chakra* finial, the quarters the fringe and the sky the blue umbrella'. From lines 11 and 12 we know that Gāmarāja excavated, for the use of the people, a deep tank, smiling with lotuses in bloom. In line 13 we are told of the building of a well (*vāpi*). In line 14 two brothers are referred to, but their names have been lost. The inscription seems to have closed with the usual imprecatory verses as appears from a half-verse preserved in the last line.

The date of the inscription is stated with full particulars as **Thursday, the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha in the Durmukha Samvatsara—Śaka 1098**, the **Nakshatra** being **Pushya**, the **Yōga** **Āyushmat** and the **Karāṇa** **Vaṇīja***. According to D. B. Swaminikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the cyclic year for the Chaitrādi Śaka 1098 expired was Durmukha, as stated in the record. The seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, however, fell on Saturday and not on Thursday as stated in the inscription. In Śaka 1099 (expired) that tithi fell on a Thursday and the *nakshatra* was Pushya as mentioned in our record, but the cyclic year was Hēmalatiba and not Durmukha as required. The date would, thus, appear to be irregular, but there are so many instances of only one detail of the date being stated wrongly in epigraphs. According to the view adopted by D. B. S. K. Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, the Śaka date, as used at present, denotes *expired* years, but the name of the cyclic year denotes the *current* year. Accepting the discrepancy of one year in the number of Śaka years and treating the cyclic year mentioned in the record as *expired*, we find that **Vaiśākha Sukla Saptaṁśi** in Śaka 1099 (Durmukha expired), (i.e. Hēmalatiba current), ended at 12 ghaṭikās (4 h. 45 m.) on Thursday after apparent sunrise and the *nakshatra* was Pushya which ended at 51 ghaṭikās (20 h. 25 m.) after apparent sunrise. This combination of a Thursday and the Pushya *Nakshatra* (an *am-ṛta-siddhi-yōga* as it is called) is considered specially auspicious and probably represents the time when the original image of the deity was installed in the temple. The *karāṇa* for the seventh tithi on Thursday was Vaṇīja, but the *yōga* was **Śūla** and not **Āyushmat** as stated in the inscription. This discrepancy may be explained away by taking **Āyushmat**

yōga in the derivative sense of 'a conjunction leading to longevity', but the insertion of the expression between the *sakshata* and *karuga* rather indicates that it was used in its technical sense of a particular yōga. It is also possible that the framer of the record purposely substituted Āyuhmat for Śāla, as the latter is not an auspicious yōga. This discrepancy in respect of yōga is not very important; for, as D. B. S. K. Pillai has observed, 'the investigation of yōgas is a matter of altogether secondary importance in historical and chronological research.' The date may, therefore, be considered as identical with **Thursday, the 7th April 1177 A.D.**

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a new line of princes that ruled at Tēkkali which must be identified with modern Bārsi Takli in Berār. The founder of the family was one Danturāja. The names of this prince and of Ghatāma who was his descendant are not otherwise known. At the time of the inscription Hēmādrīdēva was reigning. Three persons of this name are known to the history of the Yādava period: (1) Hēmādrīdēva of the Nīlambha family, a feudatory of the Yādavas, who was ruling at Patna in the Chāllagean region of Khāndesh sometime after Śaka 1128 (1207 A.D.); (2) Hēmādrī defeated by Khōlśvara, the famous general of Bhīllama, as mentioned in the stone inscription dated Śaka 1150 at Amb²; and (3) Hēmādrī Paṇḍit who was a minister of Rāmadēva Yādava and is mentioned in the Thāpa³ inscription dated Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.). Of these the first and the third are out of the question—for the former was ruling in Khāndesh and not in Berār, while the latter was only a minister and flourished nearly a century later. Again *prima facie* it appears doubtful if our Hēmādrī who was ruling in Śaka 1098 could be identified with the second prince named above, who was defeated by Khōlśvara sometime before Śaka 1150. Even if we suppose that the battle in which he was defeated was fought early in the reign of Singhaga who ruled from Śaka 1132 to 1169, there is a difference of at least 34 years to be accounted for between the two dates. There is, however, one circumstance which renders this identification possible in the present state of our knowledge. Our inscription mentions that Hēmādrīdēva defeated Bājala, the son of Māluginēva, who invaded Tēkkali with a large army. Now two princes of the name Mālugi (or Mallugi) were reigning at the time—(1) Mallugi, the Kalachuri prince who, according to the Mārḍi stone inscription⁴ dated Śaka 1134, succeeded his brother, the Kalachuri prince Sōma or Sōvidēva whose last date is Śaka 1096, and (2) Mallugi, the father and predecessor of the Yādava king Bhīllama (Śaka 1109-1113). As to the first alternative, it is clear that the Kalachuri Mālugi was reigning for a short interval between Śakas 1097 to 1098 as we have a record of the second year of his reign dating from Śaka 1098. From other records, we know that his younger brother Saṅkama also began to rule in Śaka 1097 as his second and eighth years were Śakas 1098 and 1104 respectively. The only hypothesis on which this can be explained is that of joint rule by the two brothers. As the present record mentions that Hēmādrīdēva defeated Bājala, the son of Mālugi, this alternative is not entirely ruled out, but it is improbable that the Kalachuris could at this period engage in offensive warfare so far away from their capital, Kalyāṇi. As to the second alternative, we learn from the *Vṛtakhaṇḍa* of Hēmādrī Paṇḍit that Mallugi, the Yādava king, took a town named Parvakhēta from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.⁵ The early Yādava princes were ruling in

¹ *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 26.

² *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 341.

³ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 198.

⁵ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 50.

⁶ B. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, Third Edition, p. 173.

Saṅgadēśa, corresponding to modern Khāndesh; Pargakhēṭa must, therefore, be situated somewhere to the east of Khāndesh, possibly in Berār.¹ We may note again that Khōlēśvara, a general of the Yādava Singhapa, defeated one Hāmādrī of Pargakhēṭa.² Putting these references together it seems quite plausible that Mallugi defeated the father or some elderly relative of Hāmādrī of the present inscription, while the latter, when he was a mere boy, vanquished Rājāla, the son of Mallugi, who was advancing on Tēkkālī with a large army; finally Khōlēśvara defeated Hāmādrī early in the reign of Singhapa. If Hāmādrī was a young man in Śaka 1098, as the present inscription seems to imply, he may have continued to reign as late as Śaka 1132. The other persons mentioned in this record, viz., Bhīllama, Pālama and Māila, were ministers who served the royal family and must not be confounded with some of their namesakes in the dynasty of the Yādavas.³

TEXT.

- 1 श्री ॥ श्री स्वस्ति श्री शकः १०८८ [दुर्मुख संवत्सरे] वैशाख मासे
शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां गुरौ दिने पुष्यनक्षत्रे आशुष[दि](ति) योगे [वणिजकरणे]
- 2 जयति⁴ तुलसिरत्नः[*] शंकितो राधयाद्वयरणनिहितसू[ई] विवितस्तत्रखेषु ।
शिव इति नखरस्मि⁵ धेतितैकादशाब्दा हरिरविहृत[भूर्त्तो].....
- 3 वा⁶(वा)[हुरु]दयभृष्टदंशो यशोभूभुवि⁷ दंतुराजः । ततस्ततः स्वप्रबलप्रतापज्वर-
ज्वलच्छत्रभुष्टाभः ।[*] ⁸निमीलंशालिनारातिवनितावदनांजुजः ।प्राप्ते
ततः । [धर्मा]...रा वापा (?)....
- 4 च [*] निवारितो⁹ मंत्रिगणेन बालः[*] स्वल्पैर्भटैश्चालुनिदेवपुत्रं । जिगाय
सेनावहुलत्वदर्पाद्गुडावयो राजलभापतन्तं¹⁰ ॥ स्मारं [स्मारं].....याव
श्रीकं पा.....
- 5 धिकवांश्या¹¹ रणविधौ नृत्वत्कबंधव्रजैः¹² व्यालुमञ्जितिपालमं(म)ण्डलकरादाने दया-
भाषणेः ।[*] कीर्त्तौ चामरवर्धनो लघुतया [यो]....स्वयी[ध]रण....भूमिः क-
- 6 [दा ?] च¹³ नवलत्ववल्लरूपैता¹⁴ ।[*] हेमाद्रिदेवनृपतेः कलितापशब्धं
नेचालि¹⁵ शत्रुनिचयेन कदाचनापि ॥ सोपग्रवं¹⁶ चिरकलंकयुतं जया[र्त्तं]
.....मोदितं वि.... मण्डलमस्य राज्ञः (॥) तेह-¹⁷

¹ There is a village called Pātkhēt about 4 miles to the south-west of Bīrī Tākhī, which I would identify with Pargakhēṭa.

² G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64. I read वण्णवटीय in place of वाकवटीय. [The name वण्णवटी also occurs in an unpublished plate from Berār.—Ed.]

³ (H. B. B. Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in G. P. and Berār (Second Edition)*, p. 148.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: Māhāt.

⁶ Read नखरस्मि⁵.

⁷ Read भुवि.

⁸ Metre: Upajit.

⁹ Metre: Sāntābhāṣikā.

¹⁰ Metre: Vāsantābhāṣikā.

¹¹ Read नीचालि.

¹² Read वैशाख.

¹³ Read राधयाद्वय.

¹⁴ Metre: Upajit.

¹⁵ Metre: Anushtubh. Read मोक्षचलिनी¹⁷.

¹⁶ Read गायतनम्.

¹⁷ Read "कदेवाकुन".

¹⁸ Read "रूपेता".

¹⁹ Metre: Anushtubh.

- 7 ली राजधानी स्वा धर्मदुस्ते कली युगे । वाणारसी कृता तेन विमलेः
सुचरितैः । [1^a] पात¹ पुरा विरचितैः सुकृतैः कवंचिदेष्टं विहाय निवृत्ता
..... स्वजने समस्ताः । [1^a] जज्ञे² राज्ञां प्रज्ञां चा-
- 8 झाकृदेवां मंत्री मौली³ लब्धवालभ्यगोत्रः । शूरः⁴ श्रीमा⁵ भीष्मो नाम
तस्माच्चातः पुत्रः पालमः मुख्यकीर्तिः ॥ 'तस्मादभूत्माइलनामनेयस्ततः... श्री ॥
'उत्कृष्टेपि गुणे [यस्य...]कृता(ता)ना-
- 9 [प]नीयते । अतिगार्ह्येण गार्ह्येण ततः समुदपयतः⁶ । [1^a] 'हरिचरणसरोज-
रत्नचित(त)सपितसमुद्रतपातकप्रवारः तत उदयत गामे(मि)यायदास्व(ज्जान्)
वविरिव षड्रसा(सं)सज्जा [मिधाविनी] दरिद्रता⁷ ॥ मा-
- 10 ध्वंदिने⁸ दिनपतौ हरिविष्णुचूडाचक्रोक्तं विततभङ्गरित्पदिके⁹ । विष्णो[स्य] हं
व्यतिनि¹⁰ तेन पुरेय तत्र नीलातपवस्मिन् यत्र नभो विभाति ॥
टारटं(१) यस्यां दिन....
- 11 प्रसृताः¹¹ । [1^a] चक्रे¹² स तस्यां जनजीवनार्थ(धे)मुत्खातपातालतर्क(ल) तडामं ।
साक्षात्सर्वं सचिंतयेधरूपैः¹³ पापैरपि प्राप्यत यत्र सुक्तिः । [1^a] 'प्रसि-
द्धिप्र[...]मंत्र[कोष्ठनिर्वा] ---]हर-
- 12 ति लहरिहस्तैर्पितामा(शा)दगापि¹⁴ । इमति हसितपद्मेकंपदं सागराणां ॥¹⁵
जयति सुकृतमूर्त्तिं गामयाजन्तडामं ॥ 'उत्कीर्णरूपे च सुधासु¹⁶ [विं].....
दिगादिष्ट.....
- 13 ध्यामेष पीयूषधामा । प्रतिकृतिगतरूपः पृष्टये स्वस्व वापी [प्रक्षित-
सुकतराणि निर्मि(मं)मे]
- 14 नामानो¹⁷ तस्य वधू बभूवतुः । गुणखानि.....
- 19 [1^aतस्य दासस्य दासोहं] मम दतः(त्तिः) प्रतिपात्त[^aताम्] लीया

¹ Metre: Vanshodhāśā. Read प्रातः.

² Read मौलीजयम्.

³ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁴ Read समुदपयत.

⁵ Read 'उत्कृष्टेपि.

⁶ Metre: Dvādvayajrā.

⁷ Metre: Māhāt. The amended reading विवितासा दगादि involves a wrong sandhi in विविता: शारा: which should have been विविता शारा.

⁸ Dardas unnecessary.

⁹ Read सुधासु.

¹⁰ Metre: Śūlita.

¹¹ Read लीमान् विष्णो.

¹² Metre: Anuśṭup.

¹³ Metre: Paśyapāgā.

¹⁴ Read जयति.

¹⁵ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁶ Metre: Anuśṭup.

No. 22.—SURAT PLATES OF KARKKARAJA SUVARNAVARSHA OF THE GUJRAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH; DATED SAKA YEAR 743.

PROF. A. S. ALTERAR, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The accompanying plates of Karkka Suvarnavarsha, which are being edited here for the first time, were referred to by the late Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī in his *Early History of Gujrat* which he contributed to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I. At page 125 of the above work he briefly refers to their contents but does not give any information about their findspot or the circumstances in which or the person by whom they were discovered. He refers to them as the Surat plates and, therefore, presumably they were found in or near that city. But nothing definite is known about the findspot of the plates beyond what Dr. Bhagwānlāl has said in the above book. I have, therefore, continued his nomenclature of the present record, though I can adduce no definite evidence to connect them with Surat. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and I am accordingly editing them now.

The plates are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 13·6" by 7·6". The thickness is about 0·1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The plates have been strung together by means of a ring passing through a hole which is at the centre of the proper left side, about 0·7" from the edge. The ring is about 0·4" in thickness and 3·2" in diameter and its edges have been secured by means of a circular seal about 1·11" in diameter. On its counterstruck surface there is an image of Garuḍa, who is in human form with wings on either side. He is sitting with folded hands and crossed legs, the soles of his feet touching each other. The seal does not bear any legend.

The inscription is written on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The last plate, however, has only 7 lines, whereas the fully inscribed sides have, on an average, about 18 lines. After engraving nearly half of the first plate, the engraver, it would appear, anticipated that the space at his disposal would require smaller characters and more compact lines: in subsequent lines of the record we, therefore, find the average number of letters in each line increased from 38 to 55. This economy in space is probably responsible for the third plate having only 7 lines.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation; the surface has been partly damaged in a few places, but the record is perfectly legible except at the beginning of l. 45 where the first two letters are doubtful. The surface of the plates was not dressed very carefully; as a result there are depressions some of which look like *anusvāras* (cf. *śākā* l. 13) and some like medial vowel marks (cf. *eriddhaya* l. 44). In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes: thus he has crossed out the medial *ā* mark of *khā* in *khāḍga* in l. 49 and of *jā* in *jānmūnugam* in l. 55, and in addition to the correction in *kā* in l. 51 he has crossed out the letter *ryyā* so as to change *kāryyā* into *kataḥyā*. In some cases he has also made up his omissions by supplying the omitted letter or letters either immediately below the preceding or succeeding letter (cf. *ka* of *erishāwka* l. 27, *kā* of *mahāśaṅgaya* l. 32, *pha* of *phalāṅgī* l. 33, *ryyā* in *śauryyēga* and *yā* in *śadāḥyā* l. 39) or at the bottom of the plate (cf. *āntānti* at the bottom of the first plate, and *tathā śāsanādātā* and *śastāna* *eva* at that of the third). A *lākapada* is usually, but not invariably, written to draw attention to the corrections. But the plates were not very carefully revised, and as a result, four letters inadvertently omitted in verse 25 remained to be supplied and several wrongly repeated letters, words and groups of words remained to be crossed out. (See notes to ll. 38, 43, 45, 49

52, 55, etc.) The horizontal stroke of *sha* in *sha* in *rayasavariśa* l. 3 has been carelessly omitted, whereas it is wrongly introduced in *pra* of *pratikṣya* in l. 49. Slipshod execution is seen in *parigṛhṣṭe* l. 24, where the short stroke to the left of the vertical stroke of *ra*, instead of being engraved at the centre, is relegated to the bottom and is allowed to merge in the medial *i* mark of the letter: in the next letter *gī* the engraver allowed his instrument to slip to the right of the left lower limb of the letter and this unnecessary line meets the medial *i* mark of *gī*. As a result *°rigī* can be recognised only on the plate. The loop at the head of *śhaik* in *śānūśhaik* l. 25 must again be attributed to carelessness.

The characters belong to the northern class of the alphabets and are similar to the characters of the Paithan, Waṅi Dindori, and Rādhapur plates of Gōvinda III. There is no admixture of the southern forms to any extent whatsoever, except perhaps the *sha* in *Rāshtrakūta* in l. 8, which shows a bend in the left limb, characteristic of the southern alphabets. The general form of the characters is similar to the Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. Attention may be drawn, however, to the medial *ā* sign in the case of *jā* and *jā* which is a semi-circle open upwards, attached in the latter case sometimes to the central horizontal stroke (cf. *bhājā* l. 19) and sometimes to the topmost one (cf. *taṣy-ātmajā* l. 6). Medial *u* is usually denoted by a small stroke to the left as in the case of *ma* and *sha*; in the case of *ra*, *lha* l. 4, *ra* l. 8, *Dhru* l. 22, this stroke is transferred to the right owing to the presence of a stroke to the left in these letters; sometimes, however, a curve is attached at the end of the vertical to the left to denote the medial *u*, as in *ma*. The final forms of *ma*, *na* and *ra* occur in the record; the first two are denoted by a short slanting stroke attached to the right of the vertical (cf. *yogam* l. 42, *dharmaśāstra* l. 62, *śikṣārikā* l. 43), while the last one is denoted by the ordinary form of *ra* without, however, its small vertical and *mātrā*, but with a slanting line placed at a distance to the left (cf. *vaśā* l. 54 and *dadyāt* l. 57).

It may be pointed out that the Rāshtrakūta records of the period to which our record belongs use three different varieties of alphabets. The purely southern variety, the precursor of the modern Kanarese, is used in the extreme south and is illustrated by the Kaṣṭha plates of Gōvinda III¹. In the central and northern portions of the empire two varieties were being used side by side, one the successor of the Valabhi alphabet and the other, the Nāgarī which was gradually displacing the former. The Sāmāṅga plates of Dantidurga,² the Talagaon plates³ of Kṛishṇa I, and the Paithan,⁴ Waṅi-Dindori,⁵ and the Rādhapur⁶ plates of Gōvinda III are all in the Nāgarī script, while the Baroda plates⁷ of the present donor, Tōrīśādī⁸ plates of Gōvinda III, and the Baroda plates⁹ of Dhruva I exhibit the successor of the Valabhi alphabet, showing the traces of both southern and northern influence.

At the end of the record are engraved, nearly at the middle of the last two lines, two *pāda-cāhans* which are apparently intended to symbolise the foot-prints of Mahāvira, the principal object of worship at the establishment to which the grant was made.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. No Prakritisms are to be traced in the document except perhaps in the spelling of the proper name Mallavāṣṭin where, if that reading is correct, we have an example of an original *d* being changed into *ḍ*. On the whole the language is correct, but a few mistakes occur. Thus there is a wrong *sandhi* in *prathamā-sukhīnām* l. 39 and in *malikhat-śaśa śāhīnām* l. 5 we have the accusative for the nominative, due no doubt to the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 340.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 278.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 189.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 105.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 245.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 61.

unconscious influence of the preceding word *khaḍgam*. In ll. 47-49 the object of the grant Dhāshuvāpi is treated sometime as masculine and sometime as feminine.

With respect to **orthography** the following points are to be noted :—(1) *Va* is written throughout for *ba*; (2) in a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second consonant is doubled with very rare exceptions as in *Stambhādibhīr-bhuja-valād* l. 31, *arthishu* and *yathūthātā* in l. 33 and *sātha* and *Prāṭha* in l. 39; (3) a *visarga* before a following *pa* or *pha* is denoted by the sign for *upadhāniya* in 4 cases (see ll. 1, 41, 58 and 59), but in 8 other cases the *upadhāniya* mark has not been used (see ll. 11, 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40 and 47). (4) Whether this record uses the *jihvāmūliya* symbol is a knotty question. Cases of a *visarga* followed by a *ka* occur in ll. 7, 10, 14, 19, 23, 38, 42, 50, 57, etc. The conjunct consonant used in all these cases really looks like a *vik* (cf. *mka* l. 38), but that combination is inexplicable. One is tempted to read it as *sk*, but the normal form of *su* in the present record is different; we have besides two clear cases of *śka* in *skandhānīra* l. 44 and *śaṅskara* l. 58 and this form is entirely different from the one seen in the combination of a *visarga* and a following *k*. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that what looks like the form of *m* in the combination of a *visarga* with a following *k* is a symbol for *jihvāmūliya*. It may be pointed out that in several other records the symbol for *jihvāmūliya* is also very much similar to the contemporary sign for the letter *m*. (cf. *Aṭṭa* Vol. XVII, p. 329, Mattepad plates, l. 7, Vol. VI, p. 7, Aihole Inscription, l. 17, etc.). (5) The *anusvara* before a *śa* is denoted by the guttural nasal, cf. *vaṇṇaśa* l. 51; in other cases it is sometimes converted to the nasal of the class to which following letter belongs and sometimes denoted by a dot. (6) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed except in the portion dealing with the locality and its boundary; see ll. 46-48. The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of the record, excepting the introductory letter *śm*, is in verse. The verses are not numbered, but at the end of each verse there is a punctuation mark usually consisting of two short vertical strokes, except at the end of v. 38 where we have only one stroke, probably by mistake, and at the end of v. 36 where it is altogether dropped, probably owing to the wrong repetition of a number of letters in the last *pāda* of that verse. There are no punctuation marks to denote the end of the half verse, the only exception being v. 35, where we have the punctuation mark usually used at the verse-end.

The present charter contains the grant of a field to a Jain establishment at Nāgasarikā or modern Nausāri. Ll. 42-47 inform us that when **Suvarnavarsha Karkkarāja**, the son of **Indrarāja**, was encamped on the bank of the **Vaṅkikā** he granted on the full moon day of **Vaisākha** of the **Saka year 743 elapsed** (corresponding to **Sunday the 21st of April 821 A.D.**) **Hiranyavogā**, which was apparently the name of a field irrigated by a well belonging to or constructed by a person named Dhāshu, to the Jain teacher **Aparājita**, who was a disciple of the most revered **Sumati** who in turn was a pupil of **Ma(ḥ)lavādin**¹. It is a pity that the value of the fourth letter of the proper name of the last mentioned personage should be doubtful. The letter can be read as *ri*, *di* or *ḍi*. It is quite clear that the engraver has proceeded to modify *ri*, which he had first written; whether he has changed this letter to *di* or *ḍi* is not clear. It is obvious that the proper name in question could not have been **Malavādin**, but **Mallavādin**; the former hardly gives any sense, and it is, therefore, quite possible that one *i* may have been inadvertently omitted. **Mallavādin**, who was apparently the founder of the Jain temple and the attached *Maṭha* at Nausāri, is very probably the same personage who wrote a commentary called *Dharmottara-tippaṇaka* on the *Nyāya-bīda-tikā* of **Dharmottarācārya**. Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa has pointed out² that this **Mallavādin** may have lived either in the first half of the 9th or in the second half of the 10th century A.D. Our charter

¹ The reading is clearly **Maladhāri** and not **Malavādi**, to judge from the facsimile—Ed.

² *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 194-5.

shows that the first alternative is nearer the correct date. Since a disciple of Mallavādin's disciple is the recipient of a grant issued in 821 A.D. it is obvious that Mallavādin could not have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.; he must be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This conclusion will be untenable if we accept Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's view that Dharmottarācārya, on whose work Mallavādin wrote his commentary, flourished in c. 847 A.D. But this view itself is wrong, since it is based upon an unproved assumption that king Vanapāla was ruling in Bengal in c. 847 A.D.

Mallavādin and his disciples belonged to the Śāna-saṅgha, which is described as a branch of the Mūla-saṅgha which constituted the main Digambara Church. According to the *Paṭṭāvalī*, the Mūla-saṅgha branched off into three other sub-sections known as Dēva-saṅgha, Nandī-saṅgha and Śāna-saṅgha sometime in the 1st century A.D.¹ It is with reference to this division into four sections of the main Digambara branch that Mūla-saṅgha is called *Śāna-saṅgha* in our grant. The information of the *Paṭṭāvalī* is thus confirmed by epigraphical evidence. There is at present a Jain temple at Nausāri called the Pārśvanātha temple with two *Mathas* attached to it, one for the male and the other for the female ascetics. The present temple belongs to the Svētāmbara sect and its buildings, which are being renovated at present, are said, according to local tradition, to have been built by Vastupāla in the 13th century A.D. Vastupāla may have quite possibly provided buildings to a Saṅgha that was already flourishing in the locality: in that case the antiquity of the Svētāmbara Jain establishment may antedate the buildings in which it is now located. The Mūla-saṅgha establishment of Nausāri to which Karkka gave the present grant was most probably different from the present Jain temple since it belonged to the Digambara church, which seems to have disappeared in subsequent centuries.

After the syllable *om* the record opens with a homage to the gospel of Jinendra in v. 1. The next 59 verses give the Rāṣṭrakūṭa genealogy of the main branch up to Amoghavaraha I and of the Gujarat branch up to Karkka Suvarṇavaraha. Since most of these verses recur in other published Rāṣṭrakūṭa records it is unnecessary to give an abstract of their contents here. Attention will, therefore, be drawn only to a few salient points. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, the names of his father and grandfather Indra Prishabhakarāja and Dantivatman respectively, which are given in the Konnār inscription², Sanjān copper-plates³ of Amoghavaraha I and the Dāśvatāra cave record⁴ do not figure in this grant. The name of Dantidurga is not passed over in this record; nor is the credit of the overthrow of the Chālukyas given to Kṛṣṇa I in preference to Dantidurga as is done in the Wāgī-Digdōrī⁵ and Rādhapur⁶ plates of Gōvinda III, Baroda plates⁷ of the present donor and Kāpaṭvaṇj plates⁸ of Kṛṣṇa II. The bravery of the next ruler Kṛṣṇa I is described in the next 7 verses (12-18), but the description is all conventional; his wars with the Gāgas and the Eastern Chālukyas are not even referred to, the only historical event mentioned is the overthrow of Rāhappa. The record, however, does not give any clue to the identification of this opponent. The successor of Kṛṣṇa I, Gōvinda II, is not passed over as is done in the Baroda plates of the present donor, Kāpaṭvaṇj plates⁹ of Kṛṣṇa II and the Bagmūrā plates¹⁰ of Indra III, but the circumstances of his overthrow by his younger brother are not mentioned. The next 6 verses (20-25) describe the career of Dhruva. All these verses, with the exception of v. 25, are already known to us and contain only conventional eulogy. V. 25, however, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in any other records so far published, is

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 474.

² *Asiatic*, Vol. XVIII, p. 235.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. & S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

⁶ *Asiatic*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. & S.*, Vol. V, p. 87.

⁸ *Asiatic*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

⁹ *Asiatic*, Vol. I, p. 33.

historically important. The expression '*Gāṅgaugha-santati-nirōdha-vividdha-kīrtiḥ*' used in this verse to describe both Śiva and Dhruva clearly refers to Dhruva's victories over the Western Gāṅgas and possibly also over the Pālas and Gurjara Pratihāras. The expression can mean 'One whose fame is increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or lineage' and would thus be referring to the imprisonment of the contemporary Gāṅga ruler Siyamāra, which is mentioned in several other records of the Rāshtrakūṭas.¹ It is interesting to note that some of the Gāṅga records also admit indirectly the truth of the Rāshtrakūṭa claim. The Matre plates, alleged to be issued by Siyamāra's son in 797² A.D., are no doubt spurious, but the statement made in them that Siyamāra was entangled on all sides in difficulties seems to have been based on a genuine historic tradition. The Gaṭṭavādipur plates inform us that Siyamāra put his younger brother Vijayāditya upon the throne who 'like Bharata, knowing the earth to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her.'³ This statement, especially the Rāmāyaṇa episode recalled in the simile, makes it clear that Siyamāra was absent from the kingdom probably in the Rāshtrakūṭa prison, and that his younger brother was trying to carry on the struggle against the conqueror in the absence of the *de jure* ruler. In the expression '*Gāṅgaugha-santati-nirōdha*' I further see a reference to Dhruva's campaign in the Gangetic Doab, where according to the Sanjān and Baroda plates, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāla and Gurjara armies. To the poet's imagination, the mighty forces of the Rāshtrakūṭa invader, crossing the Ganges, may well have appeared to have repeated Śiva's feat of obstructing the flow of the river.⁴

The next 6 verses (26-31) describe the exploits of the next ruler Gōvinda III, but the description is all conventional. The only historical event referred to is the rebellion of Stambha; Gōvinda's brilliant campaigns against the kings of Southern and Northern India are altogether passed over. A verse in the Rāḥanpur plates of Gōvinda III states that he had opposed his father's plan of abdication in his favour, pointing out that he was quite content with the *Kaṭhikā* or necklace, the insignia of a Yuvarāja. The Kāvi plates,⁵ however, distinctly state that Gōvinda obtained the kingdom from his father at a formal coronation. V. 30 of our record supports the Kāvi plates, inasmuch as it refers to Gōvinda receiving, not his *yuvarājya*, but the imperial title *rājādhirāja-paramāśvaratā*, from his father at the time of his own coronation. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether Dhruva had actually abdicated in the closing years or months of his reign. On the one hand it is possible that the expressions *Rājādhirāja-kalatrāḥ* and *rājādhirāja-paramāśvaratā* may have been used rather loosely by the Kāvi and the present plates to denote *yuvarājādhikā*; on the other hand, grown wiser by the treatment which he himself had given to his elder brother Gōvinda II, Dhruva may have realised that installation as an heir-apparent was no guarantee against a war of succession and may, therefore, have actually abdicated in favour of his favourite son to avoid the chance of his succession being opposed. Under these circumstances it will be difficult to decide in favour of either of the two alternatives until we get more evidence on the point. Vs. 32-40 refer to Amoghavarsha I, his uncle Indra and the latter's son Karkka, the donor of the grant. All these verses are already known to us from other records, but v. 39 of this record combined with its date gives very valuable historical information. The verse in question tells us that Amoghavarsha I was reinstated on the throne by his cousin Karkka, when a number of Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories had rebelled against him. The rebellion in question was already known, but when it started and how long it lasted we

¹ E.g., Wāṇī-Digāori plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 137.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, Nalanda, No. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Nanjund, No. 299.

⁴ [I do not agree that any reference to Dhruva's northern campaigns against the Pālas and Gurjara is also contained in the expression *gāṅgaugha*... *kīrtiḥ*.—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 147.

could not know definitely until now. Its time could be given only vaguely as sometime between February 817 A.D. and October 835 A.D. For, the Nausāri plates¹ of the present donor issued in February 817 A.D., while referring to the succession of Amoghavarsha I, do not refer to the rebellion; while the Baroda plates² of his son Dhruva, issued in October 835 A.D., contain a reference to the signal services rendered to his cousin by Karkka in quelling the rebellion of the proud and wilful Rāshtrakūtas. The date of the present record is 21st of April 821 A.D.; it closely copies the Nausāri grant of the present donor, and the only information it supplies to us about the grantor is his reinstatement of his cousin Amoghavarsha I upon the imperial throne. It is, therefore, clear that the rebellion broke out and was quelled completely between February 817 and April 821 A.D. When Amoghavarsha was restored to the throne he was still a boy of about 12, and the government must have been carried on in his name by some regent, probably by Karkka himself. The present record is thus an almost contemporary document with reference to the rebellion and it gives the credit of quelling it to Karkka; later records of the Gujarāt branch also concur with it in this respect. The recently published Sanjān copper-plates³ of Amoghavarsha I, however, tell us that it was with the help of Pātālamalla that the boy emperor could regain his throne. This discrepancy can be explained in two ways: (1) Pātālamalla may have been another relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who may have co-operated with Karkka in overthrowing the confederacy against the boy emperor. The Gujarāt branch records would naturally ignore him and give the entire credit to Karkka who belonged to it. (2) Or, Pātālamalla may be the same as Karkka, the former being an epithet of the latter. Pātālamalla is obviously a *biruda* rather than a proper name; Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī avers that it was a *biruda* of Karkka, but cites no authority for his statement.⁴ It is not improbable that the late scholar made that statement on the authority of some unpublished Rāshtrakūta record (e.g., the Baroda grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt branch, dated 867 A.D., which is referred to by him but yet remains to see the light of the day); but so far no published Rāshtrakūta record assigns to him that title. I am inclined to hold that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka; had Pātālamalla been a different man, a relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who co-operated with Karkka in restoring him to the throne, it is difficult to understand why the Sanjān plates, which describe in detail the rebellion and the consequent anarchy, should altogether ignore the services of Karkka, while eulogising those of Pātālamalla. It is possible to argue that the omission of Karkka in the Sanjān plates is deliberate; his descendants, who ruled after him in Southern Gujarāt, had rebelled recently against the imperial authority of Amoghavarsha⁵ I and therefore the latter may have naturally ignored the services rendered by Karkka in a grant issued by him, while the memory of the rebellion of the Gujarāt branch was still fresh. This explanation is possible, but I prefer to believe that one day we may find a record showing that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka Suvarnavarsha.

Most of the verses of the present record are already known to us from published records. Vv. 2-21 are identical with vv. 1-20 of the Nausāri grant⁶ of the present donor; vv. 23-24 and 26-28 are identical with vv. 21-25 of the same record. V. 39 occurs in the Baroda plates of Dhruva,⁷ the son of the present grantor, and vv. 22 and 40 occur in the Paithān grant of Gōvinda III⁸

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 135.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 48.

³ The long war lasting for as many as three generations mentioned in the Baroda plates of Dhruva II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197) in which Dhruva I lost his life and his son and grandson were ousted from the throne, was fought with a king named Vallabha, who could have been no other than Amoghavarsha I. I have discussed this question in detail in my forthcoming book, 'The Rāshtrakūtas and their Times.'

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 135.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 102.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 124.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

ll. 38-39 and 41-42. V. 25 alone is a new one and its historical significance has been discussed already.

After recording the grant in prose the charter recites the usual imprecatory verses and concludes with a couple of verses in praise of Jainism. The charter claims to contain an autograph of Karkka, but it should have been in proto-Kanarese characters as is the case with his sign-manuals in his Baroda and Nausāri grants. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the duct of the words '*Svachasthāyam mama tri-Karkkarājasya vīmad-Indrarāja-sūnōh*' really represents that of Karkka's own handwriting. The charter was drafted by Nārāyaṇa, son of *Kulaputraka* ३५-Durgabhaṭṭa, who was the chief foreign minister of Karkka. He is obviously a brother of Nēmaditya, who had drafted the two other known copper-plate grants of the present donor,—the Baroda plates of 811-2 and the Nausāri plates of 817 A. D.; for, the latter two documents describe Nēmaditya as a son of the foreign minister *Kulaputraka* Durgabhaṭṭa. The present charter shows that the career of Nārāyaṇa was more successful than that of his brother Nēmaditya, since he succeeded his father in the important post of the Chief Foreign Minister.

Most of the copper-plate grants of old were drafted by a *sandhivigrahika* or foreign minister. I have not yet seen any attempt to explain the connection of the office of *sandhivigrahika* with the drafting of land grants. The connection is, however, established not only by copper-plates, but is also known to Smṛiti literature. An anonymous verse quoted by Vijnānēśvara on Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, I, 320, says:—

Sandhivigrahakāri tu bhavēd-yas-tasya lēkhakah
Svayam rājā samādishṭah sa lēkhēd-rājāsamarah |

Vijnānēśvara himself says, '*Sandhivigrahakāriṇā (jāsanam kārāṇā) nāṅgēna kēnachit.*' Yājñavalkya lays down in I, 319 that a land grant should contain an account of the genealogy of the donor. A glance at the numerous grants that have been published shows that this dictum of the sage was usually observed in practice. The genealogy had naturally to refer to the exploits of the ancestors of the donor, material for which was expected to be preserved in the archives of the foreign office, and its head was, therefore, expected to draft the charter containing the names and exploits of the donor and his ancestors.

Of the localities mentioned in the plates almost all can be identified with certainty. *Nāgasārīkā* is modern Nausāri, about 20 miles to the south of Surat. The *Pārāvī* is obviously the river Pūrṇā on the banks of which Nausāri is situated. Of the two villages *Ambāpātaka* and *Sambapura*, the latter is untraceable, but the former is obviously the same as Āmadpur, situated on the Pārāvī or Pūrṇā and about 5 miles from Nausāri. Mr. M. K. Nadkarni, the Subha of Nausāri, informs me that this village was some centuries ago called Āmrapura according to the local tradition. The river *Vaṅkikā*, on the banks of which the army of Karkka was encamped when the gift was made, is the Vanki creek about 30 miles to the south of Nausāri. The only place that thus remains to be identified is Sambapura. This village was to the north of Ambāpātaka or modern Āmadpur and, therefore, it cannot be identified with the village of Sampur in Kamrej Taluka, since it is 35 miles from Nausāri. It has now probably gone out of existence.

TEXT.¹

[The following metres have been used:—*Anuṣṭubh*:—vv. 2, 24, 32, 41-45 and 49. *Āryā*:—vv. 12-15, 22, 27-29, 33, 40 and 50. *Indravajrā*:—v. 23. *Upajāti*:—vv. 5 and 20. *Gūḍī*:—v. 8. *Pushpāṭīgrā*:—v. 48. *Paśānashavilā*:—v. 1. *Vasantatilakā*:—vv. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 25, 26, 30, 36-38. *Sāntalavikrīḍita*:—vv. 11, 18 and 31. *Sroṇḍharī*:—vv. 17, 19, 34 and 35.]

¹ From the original plates.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री¹ । श्रिय ✕ पदं नित्यमशेषगोचरं नयप्रमाणं प्रतिषिद्धदुष्य² [1*]
जनस्य भव्यत्वं समाहितात्मनो जयत्यनुधाहि जिनेन्द्रशायनं³ ॥[११*] स वो
- 2 व्याहृष्टसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [1*] हरश्च यस्य कालेन्दुकलया
कमलं कृतं ॥[२०*] आसीद्विपत्तिभिरमुद्यतमण्डलापो धर्मिष्ठय-
- 3 नभिमुखो⁴ रणमर्वरीपु⁵ [1*] भूपञ्चचिर्विधुरिवास्तदिगन्तलोर्निस्तो⁶ मिन्दराज इति
राजसु राजसिंहः⁷ ॥[३१*] दृष्ट्वा चमूमभि-
- 4 मुखो⁸ सुभटाट्टहासामुवाचितं सपदि येन रणेपु नित्यं [1*] दृष्टाधरेण
दधता मुकुटि ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृदय⁹]-
- 5 च निज[ख¹⁰] सत्वं [1४१*] खड्ग¹¹ करापाशुखतश्च गोमां¹² मानो मन-
स्तस्मभमेव यस्य [1*] महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्त्र-
- 6 यं रिपूणां विगलत्वकाण्डे [५१*] तस्याख्यो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिः¹³
रार्त्तात्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी [1*] भूपा-
- 7 स्तु¹⁴ विष्टपमृपानुहति¹⁵ कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्मराज इति गौतमशिल्पे¹⁶ भूव [1६१*] तस्य
प्रभित्तिकरटच्युतदानद-
- 8 न्तिदन्तप्रहारचिरोर्जिखितांसपीठः [1*] आपः क्षितौ क्षपितशङ्खभृत्तनूजस्य द्वाद्-
कूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[७१*] तस्योपा-
- 9 र्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या [1*] भोज्ञा¹⁷ भुवश्चतक¹⁸ तु¹⁹ गृहशशीदन्ति-
दुर्मराजोभूत् ॥[८१*] काञ्चीशकेर-
- 10 लनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीमौ²⁰ यैवच्छटविभेदविधानदत्तं [1*] कर्णाटकं वल²¹ भविष्यम-
जयमन्यैर्भृत्यैश्चिह्निर-
- 11 पि यस्मादसा जिगाय ॥[९१*] अमृविभंगमष्टहीतनिगातशक्तमन्यान्तमप्रतिहताङ्ग-
मपेतयत्र [1*] यो वज्रभं स्वपदि²² दण्ड-
- 12 वलेन²³ जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[१०१*] आसतोर्विपुलोपलावलि-
लसज्जोलोर्मिमालाजलादामालेयकः²⁴

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Read अण्ड्य.³ Read "शासनम्."⁴ Read "द्विपू".⁵ Read "क्षितौ".⁶ Read "धर्मिष्ठो".⁷ The central horizontal stroke of *श्री* is missing.⁸ Read "नील्य".⁹ Read "विष्ट".¹⁰ Read श्रीमा.¹¹ Letters *सारा* which were omitted while engraving this line are written at the bottom of the plate. A *śloka* above *श्री* draws attention to the correction at the bottom.¹² Read *सपदि*.¹³ See introduction for the symbol of *Śāstravāṇa*.¹⁴ Read "कर्मराज".¹⁵ Read श्रीमा.¹⁶ Read "सह्य".¹⁷ [श्री] here is a variant of *श्री* in other Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants.—N. P. C.]¹⁸ Read *सपदि*.¹⁹ Read "वलेन".²⁰ Read *वलेन*.²¹ What looks like an ornament is a natural depression on the surface of the plate.

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- 13 लंकितामनयिताजालानुपाराचलादा¹पूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेयनिर्द²ज-
गती स्वविक्रमवलने³का-
- 14 तपचीकृता ॥[१११*] तस्मिन्निदं प्रयाते वज्रभराजं चतप्रजावा⁴धः [१*] श्री-
क⁵कराजसूनुर्महीपतिङ्गणराजोभूत् ॥[१२१*] यस्य स्वभुजप-
- 15 राक्रमनिष्पद्योकादितारिदिवक्त्रं [१*] कृष्णस्वेवा कृष्ण⁶चरितं श्रीकुण्णराजस्य
[१२२*] यमर्तुगर्तुगतराप्रवृत्तरेणु⁷रुद्धरविविरण⁸[१*] श्रीमेपि नमो निखित⁹
- 16 प्रावृट्कालायते स्यष्टं ॥[१४१*] दीनानायप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीही¹⁰तमजसं [१*]
तत्क्षणमकालवर्षं वर्षति सर्वार्थनिर्व्व¹¹प¹²णं ॥[१५१*] र[१]ह्यमा-
- 17 लभुजजातव¹³लावलेपमा¹⁴ज्जो विजित्य निशितामिलताप्रहारैः [१*] पातिध्वजावलि-
शुभाभचिरण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेस्वरतां
- 18 ततान ॥[१६१*] क्रोधादुत्खातस्त्र¹⁵प्रचतरिपुभ¹⁶यै¹⁷र्भासमानं समन्तादाजा¹⁸दुहृत्तवे-
रिप्रकटमजघटाटोपसंलीभदत्तं [१*] सो¹⁹र्ध्यस्वकारि-

Second Plate: First side.

- 19 वग्नी²⁰ भयचकितवपुङ्गापि दृष्टेव सद्यो²¹दप्योधातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगसद्यस्य दो²²हृष्ट-
रूपं ॥[१७१*] पाता यच्चतु²³रभुराशिरसनार्त्तकारभाजा²⁴भु-
- 20 वस्त्रैव्या²⁵चापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्वाज्यपूजादरो²⁶ [१*] दाता मानभृदघणीर्मुणवतां
योमो त्रियो मे²⁷ज्जमो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा
- 21 स्थानं जगामामारं²⁸ ॥[१८१*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापास्मलीलं जम्भे²⁹
नामोरधूलीधवलितवपुषा वज्रभास्यस्त्रादाजौ [१*] श्रीमहोविन्दराजो जि-
- 22 तजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्त्रास्यासीत्सुरैक र लितारातिस्तेभकुम्भः ॥[१९१*]
तस्थानुजः श्रीधुवराजनामा महानुभावः प्रथितप्रतापः [१*]
- 23 प्रसाधिताशिपनरेन्द्रच³⁰क्रमेण वा³¹लार्त्तवपुर्व्वे³²भूव ॥[२०१*] जाते यत्र च
राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सङ्ग³³तचूडा³⁴म³⁵णौ गुर्वो तुष्टिरथाखिलस्त्रजगतस्तुस्त्रामिनि
प्रत्यहं [१*] [मत्य³⁶] सत्यमिति प्रसा-

¹ The scribe or the composer has joined together the two words in a *samāsa*, without taking notice of the half-verse end, as required by rules of prosody.

² Read "युनेय".

³ The punctuation mark is damaged.

⁴ Read "निखिल".

⁵ Read "कृष्ण".

⁶ Read "भासमान".

⁷ Read "दोह".

⁸ Read "सु".

⁹ Read "दोह".

¹⁰ Read "सु".

¹¹ Read "सु".

¹² Read "सु".

¹³ Read "हलेनका".

¹⁴ Read "ह".

¹⁵ Read "भाजी".

¹⁶ Read "सु".

¹⁷ Read "दोह".

¹⁸ Read "भाजी".

¹⁹ Read "भाजी".

²⁰ Read "भाजी".

²¹ Read "भाजी".

²² Read "भाजी".

²³ Read "भाजी".

²⁴ Read "भाजी".

²⁵ Read "भाजी".

²⁶ Read "भाजी".

²⁷ Read "भाजी".

²⁸ Read "भाजी".

²⁹ Read "भाजी".

³⁰ Read "भाजी".

³¹ Read "भाजी".

³² Read "भाजी".

³³ Read "भाजी".

³⁴ Read "भाजी".

²¹ Read "दोह"; the word being at the half-verse end, no *samāsa* is permitted.

²² Read "भाजी".

²³ Read "भाजी".

²⁴ Read "भाजी".

²⁵ *सु* was the word probably intended by the poet.

- 24 सति सति क्षम्यममुद्रान्तिकासासीद्वर्षे गुणास्तनिधौ सत्वव्रताधिष्ठिते
॥[२१॥*] शशधरकिरणनिकरनिभं यस्य यशश्चरन'वाप्रमानुस्यैः [1*]
परिगो-
- 25 यत्तनुरक्तैर्विद्याधरसुन्दरीनिवहैः ॥ [२२॥*] हृष्टोन्मत्तं योर्विजनाय नित्यं
सर्वस्वमानन्दितव'भुवर्ग्यैः [1] पादाग्रदृष्टो हरति स्य वेनावाणान्धमस्यापि
नितान्त-
- 26 वीर्य्यः ॥[२३॥*] रक्षता येन निशेषं चतुरभ्योविसंयुतं [1*] राज्यं
धर्म्यं लोकानां कृता हृष्टि-परा हृष्टि ॥[२४॥*] योसौ प्रसाधित-
[समुन्नत*] सारदुर्गो गंगो'चसन्ततिनिरोध-
- 27 विहङ्गकीर्त्ति'राखीकृतोन्नतदृष्टां'विभूतिरुचैर्व्यक्तं ततान परमेश्वरतामिहेकाः ॥
[२५॥*] तस्यात्मजो जगति सत्यदितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इ-
- 28 ति गोत्रललामभूतः [1*] त्वागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापकृन्तापिताहितजनो
जनवलभोभूत् ॥[२६॥*] प्रियो'वल्लभ इति च प्रदितं यस्या-
- 29 परं ज[ग*]ति नाम [1*] यच्चतुर्दधिसोमामेको वसुधां वणे चक्रे ॥[२७*]
एकोप्यनेकरूपो यो दृष्ट्यै भेदवादिभिरिवाका [1*] परवल'जलधिमपारं
- 30 तरन्स्वदोर्भा रणे रिपुभिः ॥[२८॥*] एको निर्हन्तिरहं दृष्टोत्तयस्या मे
परे व'हयो [1*] यो नैवविधमकारोक्षितं स्वप्रेपि किमुताजौ ॥[२९॥*]
राज्याभिरिककलयैरभि-
- 31 पिच्य दत्ता राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां स्वपिचा [1*] अत्यैश्वर्यान्वयतिभिर्व'भुभि-
र्व'समेत्य स्तम्भादिभिर्भुजवता'दवलुप्यमानां ॥[३०॥*] एकोनेकानन्ददृष्टन्दमहिता-
- 32 न्यस्तान्धमस्तानां योन्वा ता*]मिलताप्रहारविधुर्वा' कथा' मा'ज्ञानं दुर्गे [1*]
लज्जो[म]य्यवलां चकार विलम्ब'कचामरयाहिणी ॥' संसोदङ्गविप्रसज्जनसुहृ-¹⁶

* Read "नद्वार".

* Read "दनु".

* Four letters are missing: the reading given is conjectural.

* The engraver's instrument has slipped to the left of the first vertical in लो.

* Read कोर्त्ति: [1*] 'आखीकृतो'; *कोर्त्ति: being at the half-verse end a sandhi is not possible.

* The letter क, omitted while engraving, is written below the line under the letter वा; between वा and लो-
padar. A small *shikha* above the letter वा, clear in the plate, draws attention to the omitted letter.

* Read हृष्टो.

* Read परवल.

* Read दृष्टः.

* Read 'व्युत्त'.

* The letter लो is repeated by mistake.

* Read 'द्वार'.

* Read 'द्वार'.

* Read दृष्टः.

* Read मृष्टः. The letter क, omitted while engraving, is written below the line between वा and लो.

* Read 'लज्ज'.

* This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

* Read 'द्वार'.

- 33 मूपभोग्या भुवि ॥[३१॥*] तत्पुत्रो मते नाकमार्काम्यतारि^१प्रजे [१*]
 श्रीमा^२हाराजस^३र्वाण्य^४ : ॥[३२॥*] अर्थिषु यथार्थता^५]
 यक्षमभि^६ष्टता^७फ^८लासिलभ^९तो-
 34 येषु [१*] इतिविनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[*३३॥] राजाभूतत्पितृव्यो
 रिपुभवविभवोद्भवभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीवाक्षि^{१०}न्द्रराजो गुणजनतिकरा^{११}स्तद्वत्का-
 35 रकारी । रागादन्यान्वुदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपं सेवमाना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे
 स^{१२}[कल*]कविजनोद्गी^{१३}यतप्यस्वभावं ॥[३४॥*] निर्वाणावाप्तवानामहितहितजनो-
 36 पार्श्व^{१४}माना सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वान्तराज्ञां चरितमुदयवान्मन्त्रतो हिंसकेभ्यः ॥(१)
 एकाकी दृष्टवैरिस्त्वननकृतिसहप्रातिराज्येशया^{१५}इन्द्राटीयमण्डलं
 37 यस्तपन इव निजस्त्रामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥[३५॥*] यस्यांगमाचजयिनः प्रियसाहसस्य
 आपाणवेपफलमिव व^{१६}भू^{१७}[व*] सैन्य^{१८}मुक्तवो व^{१९} सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदे-

Second Plate: Second side.

- 38 वं नावन्दतान्धममरेष्वपि यो ममरेष्वपि यो^१ मनस्वी ॥[३६॥*] श्रीकर्क^२राज
 इति रत्नरा^३तराज्यभारम्भारकुलस्य तनयो नयशालिसौ^४र्धः [१*] तस्या-
 39 भवद्विभ^५[व*]नन्दितव^६भुसार्थः प्रा^७र्थः सदैव धनुषि प्रथमो^८ग्राचीनां ॥[३७॥*]
 दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया^९ वा सौ^{१०}र्धेण वीर्येण च कोपि भूपः [१*]
 एतेन साम्योस्ति
 40 न वेति कीर्त्तिस्त्रकौतुका भ्याम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[३८॥*] श्रे^{११}(स्वे)च्छाष्टहीत-
 विषया^{१२}[न*] दृढमहभाजः प्रोदृत्तदृष्टतरा^{१३}यौल्लि^{१४}तराद्रकूटानु^{१५}त्स्वातस्व^{१६}इतिज-
 41 वाहुवलेन^{१७} जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे व्यधत्त ॥[३९॥*] तेनदमनिलविदु-
 चंचलमानोक्त जीवितमभारं [१*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य^{१८}प्रवर्त्तितो व-

^१ Read "कविजनप्रजे".

^२ The usual spelling of this king's name is कर्क.

^३ Read "ममरेष्वपि".

^४ This letter स is superfluous.

^५ स was first omitted; it was subsequently written below the line under the preceding letter स between two vertical lines.

^६ Read "कल".

^७ Read "निद्र".

^८ Read "निकरा". A letter first written before नि has been subsequently crossed out.

^९ Read "हीत".

^{१०} Read "पास".

^{११} Read "ग्राही".

^{१२} Read "धनुष".

^{१३} Read "सैन्यम् । मुक्ता".

^{१४} Read "व".

^{१५} Letters ममरेष्वपि यो are repeated by mistake.

^{१६} This letter स is superfluous.

^{१७} Read "वीर्य";

^{१८} Read "वभु".

^{१९} Read "पास";

^{२०} Read "प्रथम".

^{२१} वा is written below the line under स which was originally written after स by mistake but was subsequently crossed out.

^{२२} Read "ग्रीवेषु". The letter व is written below the line between प्रो and व. ^{२३} Read "लेखा".

^{२४} Read "हीनिक".

^{२५} Read "कूटान् । उखात".

^{२६} The enges were first inscribed वा, but the medial वा stroke was subsequently crossed out.

^{२७} Read "बाहुवलेन".

- 42 मंदायोयम् [४०१*] स च समधिगताशेषमज्ञाश्रद्धमहासामन्ताधिपतिस्तुवर्ण-
वर्णशो[क*] इराजदेवकुशली सर्वानिव यशसं वध्यमानादावृपति-
43 विषयायपतिशामपतिशामकूटवृत्तानियुक्तवासावकाधिकारिका रिक्महत्तरादी^१ कान्
समनुदर्शयत्वस्तु वस्तुविदितं यथा मया श्रीवाङ्कातट-
44 स्वावासितविजयस्कन्धावारस्थितेन मातापितोरात्मनश्चैत्रिकामुक्तिकपुण्यशोभिहृदये^२
श्रीनागसारिकास्तलसन्निविष्टाहैल्लान[या*] यतननि[वृ*]
45 सम्ब^३पुराभ्यमण्डितवसतिकायाः खण्डस्फुटितनवकम्पचकवलि^४दानपूजा^५नक्षत्रा तथा^६
तिव^७ध्वमानचातुष्टयमूलसंघोदयान्वयसेन-
46 सेन^८संचमल^९वादि^{१०}गुरोश्चिथश्रीशुमतिपूज्यपादः^{११} तच्छिथश्रीमदपरजितगुरोः^{१२}
श्रीनागसारिकाप्रतिव^{१३}इक्ष्वापाटकशामस्य^{१४} उत्तरदिशि
47 हिरण्ययोगाभिधानां^{१५} द्राघुवापी यस्या^{१६}घाटनानि पूर्वतः श्रीधरवापिका दक्षिणतो
वह्नः^{१७} अपरतः पूरावी मज्जनदी^{१८} उत्तरतस्त्वस्व^{१९}पुर-
48 वापिका^{२०} [१*] एवमिव चतुरावाटोपलक्षिता सधान्वहिरस्त्रादेवा^{२१} अचाटभटप्रवे-
श्य^{२२}सर्वराजजीवानामहस्तप्रलेपणीयः^{२३} आच-
49 म्नाहोर्णवर्जितसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः^{२४} शिथपु^{२५}शिथान्वयक्रमोपमो^{२६}पमोश्च^{२७} शकसृप-
कात्तातीतसंवत्सरगतेशु सप्तसु विचत्वारिंशद-
50 धिकेषु^{२८}तीतेषु वैशाखपोर्णमास्या सात्वोदजातिसम्येण प्रतिष्ठादि^{२९}तोष्यो^{३०}चितया^{३१}
आचार्यस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतर्ह्यतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदि-

* Read "प्रज्ज".

* Read "सम्बन्ध".

* This letter वा is superfluous.

* The letters कारि are wrongly repeated.

* Read "दिक्कम्".

* What looks like a second slanting stroke to the left of ज्ञ is a natural crack on the surface of the plate.

* Letters सुम्प are indistinct in the plate as its surface is corroded at this place, but the proposed reading is certain, since Sambhupura is mentioned below in l. 47 among the boundaries.

* After वा there is a clear *kākapada*, but the omitted letters, if any, are nowhere supplied, neither below the line nor at the bottom of the plate. The text, as it stands, is fairly intelligible; there may have been no real omission, the *kākapada* being a mistake.

* Read "वर्जित".

* Read "पूजाश्रद्ध".

* नक्षत्रा is wrongly repeated.

* Read "निवृत्त".

* The word सेन is wrongly repeated.

* Read "नक्ष".

* The letter दि is slightly doubtful in the impression, but fairly clear in the original.

* Read "पादपूज्यपाद".

* Read "श्रीधर".

* Read "इक्ष्वापा".

* Read "वह्नः".

* Read "पूरावी".

* Read "मज्जनदी".

* Read "उत्तरतः".

* Read "तस्त्वस्व".

* Read "सम्ब".

* Read "वापिका".

* Read "अचाट".

* Read "प्रवेष्टाश्रद्ध". The word श्रद्ध is clearly in the feminine, but while mentioning its adjectives, the scribe hesitates throughout this passage between the masculine and the feminine.

* Read "श्रीवाङ्कातट".

* Read "कात्तातीत".

* Read "सप्तसु".

* The letters मीप are wrongly repeated.

* Read "भोजय".

* Read "कर्षयतः".

* Read "प्रतिदिना". अचा उचित

* वाचाप

- 51 शतो वा न केनचित्परिपन्थना करणीया¹ ॥ तवागामिनृपतिभिरस्म²दशैरस्थै³र्वा
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युत्तोलान्यनित्यान्वैश्व-
52 र्याणि दृशाधलम्बचंचलम्ब⁴विन्दु⁵चंचलं च जीवितमाकलय स्वदायनिर्विषेधोयम-
नुमन्ताव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च [॥*] यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृत-
53 'तमतिराच्छिन्धादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पं⁶च⁷]भिन्नापातकैरुपपातकैश्च
संयुक्तस्यादित्युक्तं च भग⁸व⁹]ता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*] षष्टिं वर्षस-
54 हस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [॥*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् ॥[४१॥*] विव्याटवीथतोयासु शृङ्गकोटरवासिनः [॥*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते
55 भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥[४२॥*] सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकज¹⁰न्मानुसं फलं [॥*]
झाटकचितिगीरीणां नैकजन्मात्मकं फलं ॥[४३॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यज्जाट-

Third Plate: First side.

- 56 च नराधिप [॥*] महीमहिमता¹¹] त्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनृपालनं ॥[४४॥*]
वंहु¹²भि¹³]र्ध्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिन्नाकरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्म-
[तस्म¹⁴] तदा फलं ॥[४५॥*] अम्नेरपत्यं
57 प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्ध्वेषावी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [॥*] लोकचयं तेन भवेदि
दत्तं यज्जाटनं गावश्च मर्द्दा¹⁵ च दद्यात् ॥[४६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा
नरेन्द्रेद्दानानि धर्मा-
58 र्ययश्च(श)स्कराणि [॥*] निर्धन्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि की नाम साधु¹⁶पु-
नराददोत ॥[४७॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दु¹⁷लोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
जीवितश्च [॥*] अति-
59 विमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्ध¹⁸ हि पुरुषै¹⁹परकीर्त्तयो विलीप्याः ॥[४८॥*] यथा
चैतदेयं तद्या साशन²⁰दाता लिपिप्रस्व²¹हस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं
मम श्री²²कर्कराजस्य श्रीमदि-

¹ करणी was first engraved, but it was unnecessarily changed later into करणीया by crossing out the medial क mark of कर and the following णी and adding the letters णीया.

² Read °रस्थै.

³ Read °रस्थै.

⁴ Read लम्ब for लंचलम्ब.

⁵ Read विन्दु.

⁶ This प is superfluous.

⁷ Originally पं was engraved, but the medial प mark was subsequently crossed out.

⁸ Read वंहु.

⁹ Read °नरा.

¹⁰ Read °जानुविन्दु.

¹¹ Read °न.

¹² Read शाधु. A līkṣapada after पं draws attention to the words साशनदाता, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record between two līkṣapadas.

¹³ A līkṣapada above सु draws attention to the letters सुहृन् सु, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record after the word शाधुदाता between two līkṣapadas.

¹⁴ A līkṣapada above अ draws attention to the letter अ, omitted while engraving the line, but written later below the line between अ and इ.

- 60 म्भराजस्तस्य ॥ लिखितं चैतन्मया महामन्त्रिविश्वप्रपिता नारायणेन
कुलपुत्रकचीदुर्मभट्टसुता ॥ जीयादुरितविशेषीं मात्तनं जि-
61 नशासनं [1*] ददन्ममतामैलानां मेदने कुलिमायते ॥[४८५*] प्रवति जिनीतो
धर्मोऽप्यहजीविकायवक्तो नित्यं । वृडामणिरिव जी[३*]
62 विभाति यस्त्वर्ध्वधर्मोऽयम् ॥[४८६*]

TRANSLATION.

NOTE.—Vv. 2-21, 23, 24 and 26-38 have been translated by Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 142 ff., while editing the Nagari plates of the present donor. The first two lines of v. 35, which he has declared to be unintelligible continue to be so to me as well. Vv. 39 and 40 have been translated by Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 201-2.

V. 1. Victorious is the gracious gospel propounded by the best of Jinas, which is a perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based upon the (seven) metaphysical viewpoints (*Nayas*), which prohibits (*recommends*) evil ways and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind.

V. 22. Whose (Dhruva's) glory, resembling in colour a mass of lunar rays, is sung with zest by swarms of Vidyadhara damsels seated on the top of the divine (i.e. *Mēru*) mountain.

V. 25. Who (i.e. Dhruva) alone here (in this world) appeared as Parameśvara (i. supreme ruler; ii. god Śiva;) since he had made his own the paraphernalia and glory of Vṛshāṅka (i. a king named Śiva*; or ii. who had appropriated to himself the high bull banner and ashes); since he was accustomed to take proper care of (or furnish) his strong and towering forts; (or if, since he was in the habit of decorating (his consort) Durgā who is the very essence of the most magnanimous;) and since his fame had increased by the imprisonment of a son of the Gāṅga family or by the obstruction of the flowing current of the Ganges (by his armies) (or ii. who had increased his fame by interrupting the continuous flow of the Ganges) (when it was lost in his matted hair).

Ll. 42-48. And now that king Ari-Karkharāja alias Suvarṇavaraha who has acquired (the right to the use of) all the (five) musical instruments* and who is the chief of great feudatories, notifies, while in good health, to all the provincial governors (*Rāṣṭrapati*), district officers (*Pāṣāyapati*), village land-lords* (*Grāmapati*), village headmen (*Grāmakūṭa*), revenue clerks and their subordinates* (*Yukta* and *Niyukta*), the officers among the village elders* (who were the descendants of) the (original) colonisers* (of the villages) (*Vāsīnakamabhattarāthizārā*) and other officers concerned:

* Read [४८६].

* This refers to the famous *Sapta-bhūgi-saṅgi* doctrine of Jainism which is a peculiar feature of its philosophy.

* There seems to be an allusion here to the annexation of Gaṅgarājī whose ruler's name was Śivamīra. It is also possible that this adjective may refer to the use by the Hārtrāśāstras of the image of seated Śiva as their *Mūrti*, but then it would not be particularly appropriate for Dhruva.

* These five instruments were *śringa*, *śaṅkha*, *dhvaja*, *juga-kūṭa* and *tanuṣa*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 96.

* Since both *grāmapati* and *grāmakūṭa* are mentioned, it is clear that one of these terms, presumably the former, is to be understood as referring to village land-lords.

* Since these officers are mentioned after the village headmen and before the village elders, it is likely that they may denote the village accountant and his assistant.

* For the interpretation of *Maṇḍarā* as a member of the village council, see Allcar, *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-22.

* The expression *vasīnaka* is obscure; it occurs again in the grant of Dantivarman. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 322.) The meaning suggested is only tentative.

Let it be known to you that for the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of myself and my parents was given by me,—while staying in the victorious camp on the bank of the holy Vaṅkikā,—(the field) called Hiraṇyayāgā (irrigated by) the well of Dhāshu,¹ situated to the north of the village Ambāpātaka, attached to Śrī-Nāgaśālikā whose boundaries (are as follows):—to the east (the field watered by) the well of Śrīdhara, to the south a stream, to the west the great river Pārāvī, and to the north the (public) well of Sambapura;—to the glorious preceptor Aparājita, the disciple of revered Śrī-Sumati, who was the disciple of Mallavādīn (belonging to) Sāna-saṅgha, a branch of the fourfold Mūla-saṅgha, for the purpose of (daily) worship, cooked rice offerings,² and the repairs and renovation of the monastery (caṇḍikā), which is an ornament of Sambapura and is attached to the temple of Arhat, situated within the boundaries of Śrī-Nāgaśālikā.

LI. 48-53. This (field), as determined by its boundaries, has thus been given (by me) with the discharge of water, after having bathed, on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, when seven centuries increased by forty-three (years) had elapsed according to the era of the Śaka king, to be enjoyed by successive disciples as long as the sun, the earth, the oceans, the rivets and the mountains endure, along with the right to receive the revenues in corn and gold, exempt from (the exactions levied at) the entry of the irregular and regular soldiers, and interference from all the royal officers. While this field is being enjoyed or caused to be enjoyed, tilled or caused to be tilled or assigned (by the donor or his successors while) leading the life proper for a (Jaina) preceptor, nobody whatsoever is to cause any hindrance. Similarly this gift should be confirmed and protected as in no way different from their own donations by future kings; whether our descendants or not, realising that prosperity is as ephemeral as the lightning and remembering that the religious merit of the gift of land is common (to all the rulers ruling for the time being) and that the life is as unstable as a drop on the edge of (a blade of) grass. Whoever, owing to the clouding of his mind by the cover of darkness of ignorance would snatch away or consent to (this grant) being snatched away would incur the five great sins as also the (five) subsidiary ones. And it has been observed by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas—

(Here follow the usual imprecatory verses.)

LI. 59-62. The donor who has seen (the contents of) this document³ writes in his own handwriting his opinion that this (engraving) is in accordance with (the charter originally granted). This is my own sign-manual, of Śrī-Karkkarāja, son of Indrarāja. This (charter) was drafted by me, Nārāyaṇa, the son of Durgabhaṭṭa, of noble extraction, the principal foreign minister.

V. 49. May the system of Jina, which hates evil and which is as efficacious as the thunder both in destroying the mountains, (in the form) of other theories, be (ever) successful.

V. 50. Victorious is the Dharma preached by Jina, ever compassionate to the six classes of animate beings and which shines in this world as the chief-jewel of all other religions.

¹ In Gujarat, fields are often known after the name of the wells irrigating them. The well by which this field was irrigated was apparently constructed by an individual named Dhāshu.

² Chāreḥeli is enjoined in Hinduism, but not in Jainism. The inclusion of this phrase in the present record is due to the absentmindedness of the drafter, who, accustomed to include this expression in Brahmanical grants where it was appropriate, allowed it to remain in the present grant also, forgetting that it was in favour of a Jain establishment.

³ This sentence is rather enigmatical. If the reading were to be amended as Śāhasadda-i-lipīśaḥ the translation would be 'The (principal) writer (in the secretariat office) of the donor certifies that . . .'

No. 23.—THE CHANDRĀHE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA : THE KALACHURI
YEAR 724.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BAKERJI, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below was discovered by the late Mr. Beglar, one of the Assistants of the late Sir A. Cunningham, at **Chandrāhi** or **Chandrāhe**,¹ a small village near the banks of the Sōṅa close to its confluence with the Banās. It lies in lat. 81° 32' E and long. 24° 18' N (Rewah Topographical Survey Sheet No. 291 of 1877). The village is situated in the State of Rewah in Baghelkhand Agency of Central India and is noted for the existence of ancient ruins, two buildings among which are still standing, viz., a temple of Śiva and a fine Śaiva monastery.²

The inscription which has already been noticed by Kielhorn³ is incised on two slabs of stone of the same size which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door. Altogether there are twenty-seven lines of writing which are unequally divided, the first slab, marked A in the text below, bearing fourteen lines and the second, marked B, thirteen. The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is on the whole in a very good state of preservation. Except for a few stray letters the writing is clearly legible.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the invocation at the beginning and the second half of the concluding line, which are in prose, the whole of the record is in verse. It has been carefully incised and mistakes are very few, e.g., *śaśvad* for *śaśvad* (l. 12) and *-charaṇ-ājagati* for *-charaṇ-jagati* (l. 16). As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities may be noticed: *ṃ* is used for *anusvāra* in *kaṇṇa* (l. 2) and *ākṛmṣa* (l. 18); consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have not always been doubled, e.g., *r-muni* (l. 10), *kārya* (l. 14), *gurō-guru* (l. 23), *śātra* (l. 13), *mahīkṛt* (l. 18), etc.

The characters belong to the Northern variety of the Indian alphabet of the 10th century A.D. and bear great resemblance to the Bīhārī Inscription of the Kalachuri Yuvarājādēva III*. The principal peculiarities of this alphabet are the presence of two acute-angled triangles in the lower part of *kh*, cf. *kikhi* (l. 1), the looped form of *th* where the loop is not yet open, cf. *tathā* (l. 1) and the angle at the back of *d*; cf. *amāhōdē* (l. 1). There is no acute angle in the lower part of *p* or at the bottom of *v*, *m*, and *y*. Two different forms of *pā* have been used, cf. *phāsi* (l. 1) and *sphāsi* (l. 2). *R* is wedge-shaped and one loop of *l* is longer than the other.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery (*maṭha*) and the excavation of a tank and a well by a Śaiva ascetic named **Prabōdhasiva** who also repaired and re-excavated a well formerly caused to be excavated by his preceptor **Prasāntasiva**. This inscription and the Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhasiva provide us with the spiritual genealogy of the Rewah branch of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan whose full genealogy has been discussed elsewhere.⁴

The present record throws light on the date of erection of the temple of Śiva at Chandrāhe which was the first specimen of its kind to be discovered. We learn from verse 17 that Prabōdhasiva built a monastery close to the temple erected by his spiritual preceptor Prasāntasiva (vv. 21-22). Therefore the temple of Śiva which stands within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery must be the temple erected by Prasāntasiva. According to the date given in this inscription the

* Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. XIII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 f.

* P. E. A. R., N. C., 1921, p. 53.

* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85, No. 11 and above Vol. I, p. 354, footnote 1. * Above Vol. I, pp. 254 ff. and plate

* The *Baṭhagās of Tripurī and their Monuments* by R. D. Bakerji (*Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 23), chapter IV, pp. 119-2.

[illegible]

[illegible]

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Oñ! Adoration to Siva. Victorious is that Siva (Sarvva) in whose piles of matted hair, (*being like*) a cloud and in the hissing waters of the divine river (Ganges), dark with the hissing of snakes (*on Siva's body*), flashes the lightning (*in the form*) of the fire of (*his third*) eye and whose garland of human skulls elevates all quarters even as the shower of the collected effulgence of the moon on (*his*) crest.

V. 2. May the mass of lustre of the hump of Śaṅkara clad in an elephant skin which is as white as the geese which is spread around his face and which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his (*dark or blue*) neck (*and*) which (*therefore*) bears the clear splendour of the moon¹ emerging from a cloud, bring you prosperity.

V. 3. May the Tāṇḍava dance of the lordly Chandi (*i.e.*, Siva) give you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes (*viz.*, *Viṣṇu*) to be bent down owing to the hollow on the earth revolving on account of the movements of the feet (*of Siva*) skilled in practising the *Chārī* step (*in dancing*), which (*dance*) put to flight the elephants of the cardinal points on account of the revolutions of his rodlike arms, which (*dance*) suddenly caused commotion in parts of the universe (*and*) which (*took accompanied by the*) up sound of the *ḍamaru*.

V. 4. May the uninterrupted succession of the illustrious Mattamayūra (*elephant*) purify the three worlds, like the Ganges, in which (*elephant*) was born Parandara, who had performed austerities (*tapas*) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (*was*) Śikhāśiva (*who was*) like the fire, (*and*) who through the heat of his austerities became a lamp (*lit.* born the qualities of a lamp) illuminating (*lit.* standing on) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness (*of ignorance*).

V. 5. After him (*who was*) lord of Madhvatī came Prabhāśiva who had accumulated great austerities (*to his credit*), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas (*and who*) was made to accept the *ecā*, sanctified by his feet (*i.e.*, was induced to settle in his territory by free gifts of land, etc.) by *īvarājadēva*.

V. 6. Thereafter came his disciple Prāntāśiva, (*who* like) the moon, (*was*) pure, whose real self was manifested in his attempt, dispel ignorance (or darkness), who whitened all the quarters with the rays of his bright forehead who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas, as the moon bestows splendour on the firm night lotuses.

V. 7. He, the virtuous, whose food is fruits, the stalk of the lotus and (*edible*) bulbs, who had the Munis as his companions, and who had sanctified the face of earth by his footsteps, built an incomparable hermitage, well-known to the people, at the confluence of the river *Sōṇa* and at the foot of the Bhramara hill covered in dense forest of *Priyāla* trees.²

V. 8. Whose fame was incessant with delight in every (*month of*) Māgha³ in a high tone by *Gandharvas* and *Vidyādhis*, in the assembly of Indra in the celestial garden and by Nandin, who for the pleasure of Śivelayed his attention to instrumental music, (*to enable the God to hear his devotees' song*) (*and by*) the charioteer of the sun who tossing his head (*from one side to the other*) in an ecstatic ardor let the reins of the horses slide from his hands.

V. 9. Prabodhasiva, the foremost among all his (Prāntāśiva's) disciples, just as Parakurāma was of the *ecā* of Madana (*i.e.*, Siva), who had conquered all enemies, who had

¹ [Apparently the moon with slight dark spot on its surface is likened to the splendour of the hump, while the cloud in the vicinity has counterpart in the elephant skin.—Ed.]

² *Bachchanas Latifolia*.

³ [This month being the month of the Śiva-rātri festival is particularly sacred to Śiva.—Ed.]

placed the earth under obligation by bestowing riches on the qualified (and) who had adorned the faces of the quarters by his fame.

V. 10. Who betimes, was like Kumāra (i.e., Kārttikā), whose one hand was manifested in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (as Kumāra one hand was engaged in pacifying his fierce peacock), who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power (or weapons) on exalted kings (or high mountains), who was devoted to (Śiva), the enemy of the mind-born (i.e., Kāma) (as Kumāra is the favourite of Śiva) and who had performed (all) the duties towards the gods (just as Śaṅkara carried out the daughter of the demon Tāraka, a duty imposed upon him by the gods).

B

V. 11. Who, after investigating all the secrets, as acquired the knowledge of God through meditation and performance (of religious duties), as living on greens (śāka), roots of water plants (śālikā) and fruits such as āmalaka, priyāla, etc., as roots (mūla), caused the world to wonder by practising austerities, even in (his) boyhood, the bank (lit. on the surface of land) washed by the river (Śoṇa), imitating his spiritual preceptor.

V. 12. Who, having obtained greatness, as in a friendly manner (or as the sun) setting his auspicious foot on the heads of (world) kings (just as the sun, having reached high altitude emits his powerful rays on the peaks of mountains) (and) performed the duty of dispelling ignorance (or darkness), who was worshipped by all in peaceful undertakings (just as the sun is worshipped by all at the beginning of the rainy season). What more (to say)! He has pervaded the three worlds with his prowess (just as the sun spreads heat over the three worlds).

V. 13. Who, through the expedients of excavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy stones built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams (as also) through forest and thickets, as Rāma (did) through the sea. The achievement of the great proclaims great wonder in the world.

V. 14. At night, this hermitage (āśrama) caused the people the semblance of lightning on account of the phosphorescence of plants (growing in it), resembling lightning, (that) of clouds on account of the (dark) bees flying at the sides of main peaks, (that of thunder) on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (and that of others) on account of the air being cooled by the sprays of the waters of the Śoṇa.

V. 15. In this place herds of monkeys kiss the lions, the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness; so other (lower animals), too (natural) enemies, take leave of their antipathy; indeed, in forests devoted to austerities all of all become peaceful.

V. 16. Near the temple built by his preceptor, in Prabodhaśiva caused to be built this high and big monastery (matha) (which was white) his own fame, resembling the white clouds; he also caused to be excavated, close to the sin, a well with copious water and a tank, called the Sindhu.

V. 17. On account of his devotion for his preceptor caused to be deeply re-excavated (and re-built) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, in which was excavated by Prabhāśiva, at this place, (but which) had become dilapidated out of (the passage of) time, and full of wood.

V. 18. There was a Dīkṣita named Mithuka whose fame known in the earth. He who was the foremost among good men, begot a son named Jetha womb of Amarikā. To him was born the poet Dhātasaṭa. He composed this praiseworthy composition.

* [The process of road-making described here is strikingly similar adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadamizing' known in Hindu India. The word *ṣṭy* must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' of metal and apparently survives in Hindi *ṣṭy* and Bengali *ṣṭy* = a rammer.—Ed.]

V. 19. Let this fame (of this work) last as long as the divine stream (i.e., Ganges) wandering through the mass of matted hair of Śiva, with its waters shattering over the rocks of Himādrī (the Himālayas), whose billowing waves purify the earth, proceeds to the ocean (lit. lord of rivers) along the path (shown by) Bhagīratha.

V. 20. This *prastāva* was written, in excellent letters, by the learned and famous Dāmōdara, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (and) the son of Lakṣmīdhara.

Inscribed by Nīlakapṭha according to the orders of the (master) mason Sūrāka. The year 724, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna.

NO. 24—THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH; 12TH YEAR.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARI, B.A., MADRAS.

The record edited below was discovered¹ in the spring of 1922 by the late Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and myself when we were touring in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam district, Madras Presidency. We had gone thither to examine the Telugu inscriptions at Komṣakambūru² in the Malkangiri Agency, brought to the notice of the Department by F. G. Butler, Esq., I.C.S., the Assistant Agency Commissioner at Kōrāput, and the Nāgarī inscription at Doḍra,³ a village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Poḍāgaḍh, reported by Mr. Burrows, the late Forest Officer, Jeypore, in the year 1916-17. Our attention was drawn to the inscription at Poḍāgaḍh by the Duffadar of the Umarkōṭ Thāpa office who accompanied us as our guide. It was no small surprise to us to be led at the end of our tedious journey to the slab bearing the inscription⁴ leaning against the natural rock at a height of 40 feet from the ground level. This was a veritable epigraphical oasis in the deserted and barren Agency tracts.

The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest. Within a furlong from the foot of the hill, as we approached it, we observed some *śaī* stones (nearly a dozen) lying scattered in a group which gave us hopes of some useful discovery. Not far from this spot was a ruined Śiva temple with fallen roof and dilapidating walls and entrance, with the Nandin (bull), Gaṇēśa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it. There was a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it embowered by a thick-set bamboo grove. All these associations brought home to us the impression, suggested by the discovery of the Nāgarī inscription at Doḍra, that the Agency tracts are now only a fallen country like the adjoining state of Raṭṭa. The provenance has been described at some length only with a view to indicate the extent of the decadence that has come over a country, which, judging from its few known inscriptions and monuments, once enjoyed a civilised and cultured life in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Agency tract seems well worthy of a systematic study by scholars owing to the wealth of antiquarian and ethnographical material it contains, although it has now relapsed into primeval jungle.

¹ [Sewall in his *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. 1 (p. 317) refers to an inscription on the rock in Devanagari characters at Poḍāgaḍa, which is possibly the same as the present inscription though his information, derived from local sources, appears to have been rather inaccurate. The stone doorway referred to in his account, as being close to the inscription is probably the entrance to the ruined Vishnu temple referred to in verse 5 of the inscription.—Ed.]

² Nos. 286 and 287 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1922.

³ No. 282 of the same Collection.

⁴ No. 283 of 1922.

⁵ For the inscriptions of this State, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 160; Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.; Vol. XII, p. 242; see also R. B. Hiralal's *List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

The Podigadh hill and village shown as 'Poragath' in the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas* (Vol. XXVI), Plate 42, lie on the north-western frontier of the Jeypore Agency bordering on the Bastar State. The way to the hill and the inscribed slab lie from the Nowrangpur side, through the village of Bhagdārigūda which is only a small cluster of insignificant huts. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22, page 93, where a plate of the record has also been given.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit verse. The epigraph consists of twelve or possibly thirteen verses of which the first is a variety of the Āryā metre while the others excepting verse 9 (which is Vamśasthavila) are Anuṣṭubh. The inscription begins with the expression "Siddham". Verse 1 contains a glorification of Hari in His aspect as the essence of victory. Verses 2 to 4 describe the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince [Skanda?]varman,¹ son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, and his repopulation of (the capital) Pushkari. Verses 5 and 6 record his foundation of a [pā]damūla or foot-print of Viṣṇu, for the worship of which he made the gift of a holding and of some money in the shape of *dhāra-dakṣiṇā* the proceeds of which were to be availed of for the feeding of Brahmans, ascetics and the destitute. In verse 7 the holding is made permanently tax-free in the name of the Puruṣa (Highest Being) and non-interferable by state officials. Verses 8 and 9 give (apparently) the warning of the sinfulness involved in the violation of the charity and the promise of salvation through the grace of (god) Vāśudēva, to those that conform to the good path of kings and maintain the donation. Verse 10 gives the date of the setting up of the inscribed monument, perhaps under the personal supervision of the prince, as the 27th day of the Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) month in the 12th year. Since we have no materials to determine the exact date of the commencement of king Bhavadatta's or his son's reign it is difficult to give the English equivalent of the date. We may, however, for the present, reasonably refer it to the 12th year from the date of accession of or the recovery of the lost crown by prince [Skanda?]varman. Verse 11, which is partly damaged, mentions the General (*śāsapatī*) Prithivāgarata(?) who is described as devoted to his master. He was probably the executor of the charter like the *śāsoptī* of the Eastern Chālukya and the *śāśhivirāghika* of the other copper-plate records. The writer of the record is said in verse 12 to be Jānturadāsa, the son of Chauli, and the engraver is probably the person mentioned last, viz., Visvarūpa, son of Aja.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern type of alphabet and closely resemble those of the Tājagunda pillar inscription of Kākuṣṭhavarmā² which has been assigned by Professor Kellhorn to the first half of the 6th century A.D.³ and those of the Mandhata inscription of Kumāragupta of the Mālava year 493.⁴ The comparatively more developed forms of the letters *ṣa*, *tha*, *dha*, *ba*, *wa* and *ya* and more ornamental signs of the secondary *i*, *ṣa* and *ya* employed in the Kadamba inscription, suggest an earlier date for our record. The *anusekha* is marked by a small round loop in the Tājagunda inscription while in our record it is denoted only by a point which also shows its earlier character. The record may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.D. The letter *ta* is written without the loop which is found in *sa*, as in the inscription referred to. The final *m* is denoted by a

¹ The name is much blurred in the stampage and I have given here only the most probable reading. But I do not feel quite certain of the correctness of the restoration.

² Bhavadatta of the present record can be tentatively identified with Bhavattavarman of the Bithapur plates. The suffix *varman* which is certainly applied to the son's name has been apparently dropped in the father's name owing to metrical difficulties. In the Bithapur plates the dropping of *da* of Bhavadatta is obviously a scribe's mistake.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 24 and plate opposite page 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. XL.

miniature was written after the previous letter and near its bottom, e.g., *siddham* in line 1, *Pushkarim* in line 4, etc. The *jihvāmūliya* is employed in one case, viz., in *jananyāh-kritinā* (l. 4). The *upadīmāliya* is employed in the compound words *pituh-pitāmaha* (l. 4), *maḥ-pārthiva** (l. 10) and *[bharta]h-pri*† (l. 13). The consonant following the *rēpha* is, in some cases‡, doubled as in almost all early records but aspirates§ following it are left single. The consonant preceding the *rēpha* is also doubled in a few instances (e.g., *vikkrama* in l. 2; *vyatikkrāmēdayō* in l. 10). The word *mukhya* is written as *mukkha* (l. 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record of the Nala dynasty hitherto discovered. The Nalas have been known directly only from the Rithapur copper-plates of Bhavattavarman and indirectly by the mention of their defeat by the early Chalukyas of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era. The Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 567-597) claims to have destroyed them.§ He is also stated to have destroyed the residence (*nilaya*) of the Nalas. They are described as the traditional enemies of the Chalukyas¶ at whose hands they suffered defeat like the Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇ.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar speaking of the family of Nalas defeated by Kirtivarman I remarks 'over what province it ruled we do not know'. Dr. Fleet depending upon the mention of the Nalavādi-nishaya made in a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I of about A.D. 657 thinks that there is a probable indication that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of the Bellary and Karnul districts.‡ The mention of the Nalas in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chalukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of Kōṅkaṇ and the Kadambas of Vijayanti were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively. The provenance of this inscription and of the Rithapur plates localises them in the southern part of the Central Provinces and Berar including the Bastar State. On the extreme east the kingdom might have included the northern part of the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district) from which our inscription comes.

The town Pushkarī mentioned in the inscription (probably the capital of the Nalas) cannot be identified.

TEXT.*

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ हरिणा जितं जयति जेष्यती[त्ये]षा गुणस्तुतिर्ब[हि सा] [1*]
ननु भगवानि[व]
- 2 जयो जेतव्यं चाधिजेता [च] ॥ [१*] श्रीनशान्वयमुक्ख्यस्य विजुमचपित
द्वियः [1*]
- 3 नृपतेर्भवदत्तस्य सत्पुत्रेणान्वसंस्थिताम् ॥ [२*] भट्टामाकृष्य राजर्षि
- 4 शून्यामावास्य पुष्करीम् [1*] पितुःपितामहानां जनन्याऽक्ति(क)तिना [ततः] [॥२*]

* *rēphāddhim* (l. 3), *pājārtthas* (l. 6), *sarvavah* (l. 8), *siccarjijiam* (l. 8).

† *vipatir-Bhavadattasya* (l. 3) and *dharmadattas* (l. 5); but cf. *pājārtthas* in the above note.

‡ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 190 ff.

§ Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.

¶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Darangem No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11.

‡ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 181.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¶ From inked stampages prepared by myself.

‡ It is also possible to read as सत्पुत्रेणान्वसिताम्.

- 5 कृत्वा घ[र्मा]यनेभ्यागानि(मि)दमात्महितेषिणा [1*] पादमूलं कृतं विष्णो [राजा
यो[स्कन्दव].
- 6 मीणा ॥ [४*] पूजार्थमस्य चैवेह सोदकभूरिदक्षिणम् [1*] पुरुषाय
पुरं [द].
- 7 कृतारका[म्] ॥ [५*] सवीपभोज्य विप्राणां यतीनाञ्च विग्रेषत[ः] [1*]
[दीनानाम]प्यनाद्यानां . . .
- 8 च सर्वश ॥ [६*] अप्रविश्य भट्टेचेदं सदा करविमर्जितम् । यो[चक्रदो]-
नपुत्र[1*]य . . .
- 9 यथोचित[म्] ॥ [७*] स्थितिष्वयं पुरो वडा धर्मा स्तम्भे निवे[शि]ता [1*]
यथेमां ज्ञापय[त्स]स्यान्महापात[ः] ॥ [८*]
- 10 व्यतिक्रमेद्यो हि महीपते[ः] स्थिति[म्] कुलाधम[ः] पार्थिवकिस्त्रियम्विषे[त्] ॥ [९*]
- 11 समन्विद्याद्यव [नरन्द]सत्त्वधम् स वासुदेवाच्च[य]मापुयाच्चिर[म्] ॥ [१०*]
- 12 डादशेन्द्रे नरन्द्रेण माधवे मासि चोत्तमे [सप्तविंश] दिने पुण्ये
- 13 स्तम्भोयं [मा]हितस्त्वयम् ॥ [१०*] प्रीतिभागवत[मे]वम् भर्तु[ः] प्रिय[चा] . .
- 14 सेनापतिना कल्पिता माहिनेहात्यदुहिता ॥ [११*]
- 15 लिखितं [चौ]लिखनुना भक्त्या [जा]तुरदामिन [१२*]
- 16 [चा]त्रेन विश्वरूपेन[ण] निर्गुणेन गुणैषिणा ॥ [१३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Victory! The praise of (His) qualities (in) such (words) as "Hari was victorious, is victorious (and) will be victorious," is not that (i.e., appropriate). For, verily, the Divine (Hari) is himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and the conqueror.*

(Vv. 2 to 4). This foot-print (or sanctuary)* was made by the illustrious king [Skanda]-varman, the noble son of king Bhavadatta—who was the foremost (son) of the glorious Nala family (and) repelled his enemies by his valour—(on) having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands (or was unsettled) and having repopled the deserted (town of

* Read मारकम्. [There is no room for more than three letters at the end of the sixth line. The second half of the fifth verse may therefore be possibly restored as पुरुषाय उर दमयाचक्रदक्षिणम् ॥—Ed.]

* [Read सवीपभोज्य.—Ed.]

* The Rithapur plates of Bharattavarman have the expressions यमटप्राविश and सवीकरविमर्जित. (above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, ll. 12-13 of the text. Cf. also above, Vol. XI, p. 2, l. 9 of the text).

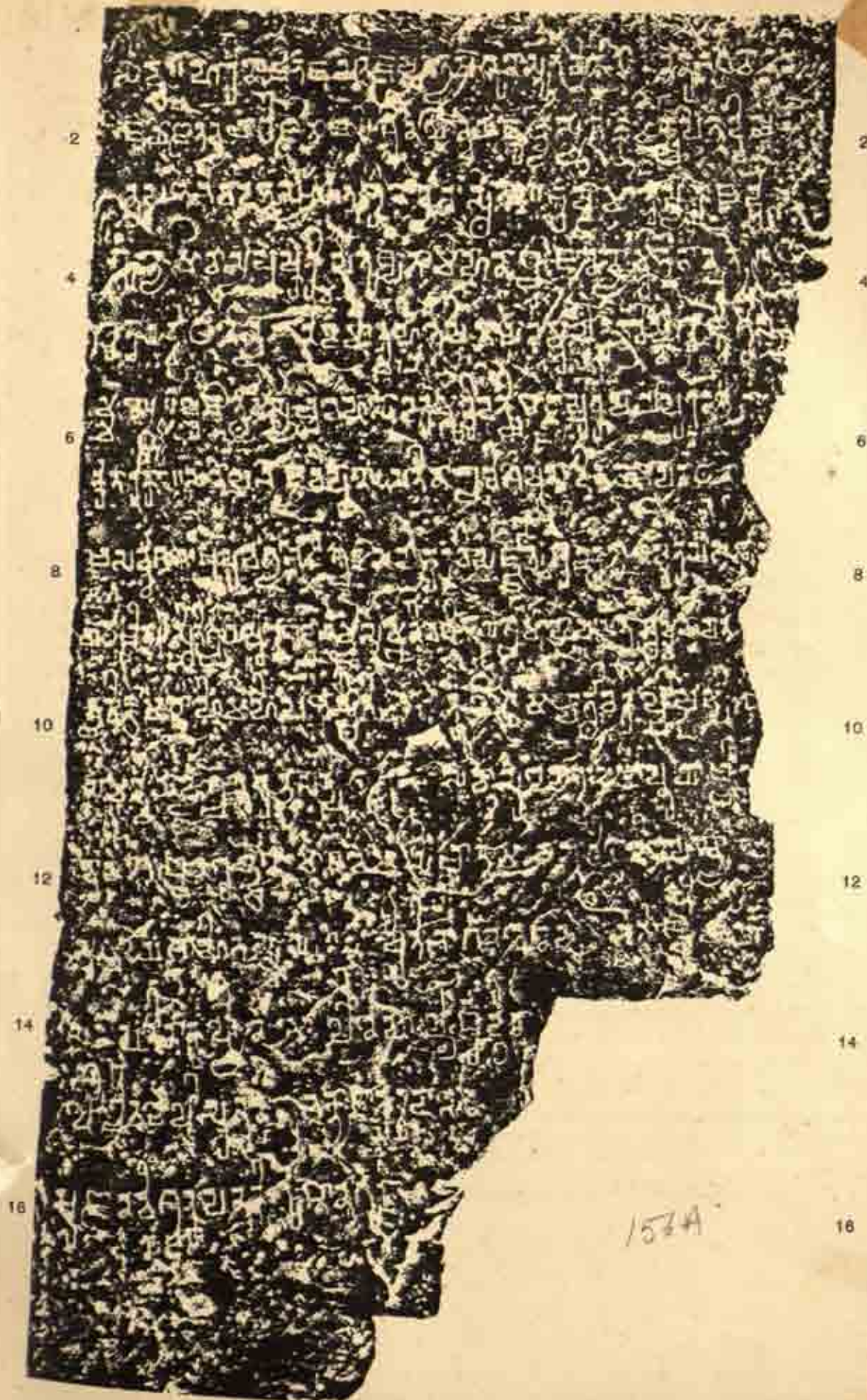
* This might be restored as महापातकनष्टने.

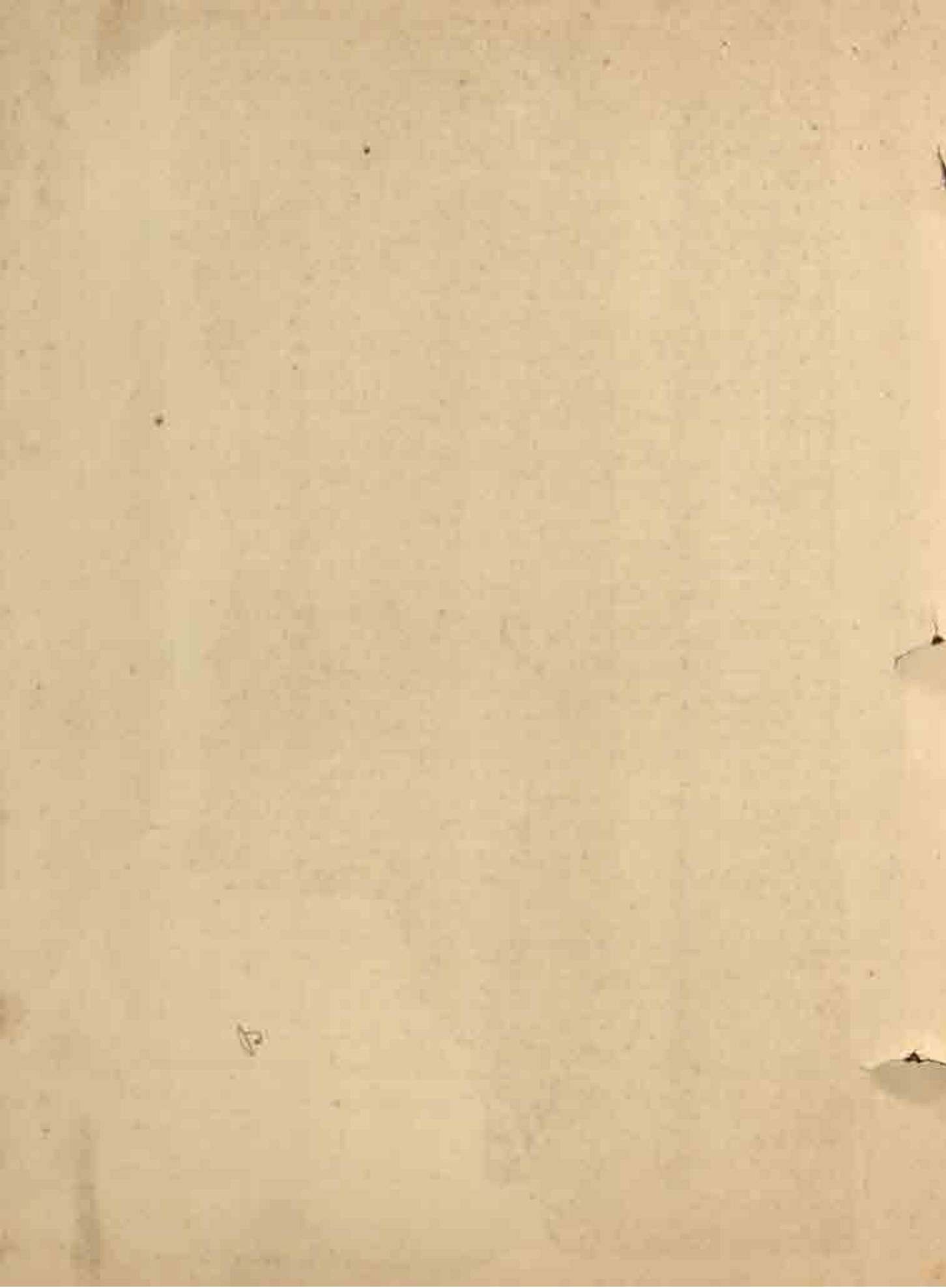
* [Read [चि]निर्मागवतनेवा.—Ed.]

* [Reading is कल्याणनामि*. One pāda is apparently lost at the ends of the lines 14 and 15. The existing two pādas in l. 15 seem to be the second and first pādas respectively of an Anashtak half-verse.—Ed.]

* Compare this statement with the description of Vishnu as "vijaya pāda" given in verse 16 of the Vishnu-sahasranama.

* [The word pādamaṇḍala is evidently used here in the sense of a sanctuary; see above, Vol. XI, No. 19, p. 193.—Ed.]





Pushkarī, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, other ancestors and mother and desiring welfare for himself.

(V. 5 and 6). And for His worship in this (temple), with (libation of) water and with abundant *dakṣiṇā* & holding (*pura*)¹ for the Supreme Being (*Paruṣha*) to last as long as the Sun and the stars. The proceeds have to be used entirely for the (free) feeding in a *śāstra* of Brahmans, especially of ascetics, of the poor and of the destitute.....

(V. 7). This (holding) (shall remain) impenetrable to State servants and permanently tax-free to the son of the noble (*Chakradrōpa*)..... as may be suitable.

(V. 8). This order (of the king) was composed and recorded on the pillar in front (of the temple). Whoever causes damage to this (shall incur) great sin.

(V. 9). Whoever transgresses the order of the king, that low-born (one) will commit offence against the king; he who will conform to the good path followed by kings will for long find refuge in (god) *Vāsudēva*.

(V. 10). This pillar was caused to be planted by the king, personally, on the sacred twenty-seventh day in the excellent month of *Mādhava* (i.e., *Vaiśākha*) in the twelfth year (of his reign).

(V. 11). Thus was promulgated (the ordinance) on all sides (i.e., everywhere) by the General *Prītibhāgavata* (who was) devoted to his master (and it) was composed by *Mālin* of poor intellect (*alpabuddhi*).²

(V. 12 and 13). (The edict) has been written with devotion by *Jānturādāsa*, the son of [*Chau*]³ (and engraved!) by *Viśvarūpa*, the son of *Aja* (who is) devoid of qualities (and aspires for good qualities!).

No. 25—A NOTE ON TILAKWADA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJADEVA OF V. S. 1103.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., SATARA.

These plates were discovered in 1917 in *Tilakwādā*, a *peṭā mahāl* under *Sankhedā*, in the Baroda State, in the bed of the river *Narīnadā* and are now preserved in the oriental section of the Baroda Central Library. They form the last two of the three plates which made up the complete grant. The late Mr. J. S. Kuṇḍlikar, M.A., Curator of Baroda State Libraries, exhibited them and read an article on them at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona in November 1919 which was subsequently published in its Proceedings,⁴ and again in his own Journal, now extinct, called *Library Miscellany*.⁵ The present note deals specially with the historical bearings of the plates.

The first of the extant two plates begins with the description of a sovereign named *Bhōjadēva*, who is said to have destroyed all the enemies by his great valour. His feudatory was *Sū(Sū)rāditya* born in the family of the *Śraṇabhadrās* and who had migrated from *Kānyakubja* (modern Kanauj). *Sū(Sū)rāditya* was helpful to *Bhōjadēva* in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with *Sāhavāhana* as well as the warriors of other princes. *Sūrāditya*'s son was *Jasōrāja* who was enjoying *Saṅgamakhēṭamaṇḍala*.

¹ Though the word '*pura*' generally means a 'town' or a 'city', it appears in certain inscriptions to have a special reference to the tax-free lands possessed by temples or Brahmans. The latter are referred to in Kanarese inscriptions as '*Brahmapuri*' or '*Brahmapura*'; see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kader Nos. 10, 125; Vol. XI, Chittaldurg No. 12; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 47; Vol. V, pp. 18, 22, 150; and Vol. VI, p. 202, Text i. 23. Dr. Kielhorn suggests that it might have been some establishment set up for Brahmans.

² This epithet as also *nirpeta* in the next line is prompted by modesty.

³ [Probably *Chauli* of this record is the same as *Chulla*, the writer of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 103).—N. P. C.]

⁴ Vol. II, pp. 319 ff.

⁵ Vol. VI.

The charter records the grant by Jaśvājña of the village *Vilāhaja* and one hundred (measures) of land in the village *Ghaṇṭāpalli* to a Śaiva ascetic *Dinakara* for the worship of *Ghaṇṭādeva* (Śiva). The writer of the grant was *Sōhika*, son of the *Kāyastha* *Aiyala* of the *Vilāhika* family.

The inscription being incomplete gives us no clue as to the antecedents of king *Bhōjadēva*, whose feudatory issued the present grant. But there can be no doubt that *Bhōjadēva* mentioned here is the famous *Paramāra* king of the same name. The earliest date so far found for *Bhōja* is V. S. 1076 from the *Bānswārū* plates¹ and the latest is V. S. 1099.² The latest date of *Vākpati Muṇja* is V. S. 1050.³ He was succeeded by *Sindhurāja* and the latter by *Bhōja*, evidently, some time before V. S. 1076, the date of the *Bānswārū* plates. For *Bhōja*'s successor *Jayasthita*, we have V. S. 1112 as the earliest date in his *Māndhātā* plates.⁴ It is evident therefore that *Bhōja* died some time before V. S. 1112 and after V. S. 1099. If there is any truth in the popular tradition that *Bhōja* ruled for 55 years, we shall not be far from truth if we assign to *Bhōja*'s reign the approximate period from V. S. 1055 to V. S. 1110. The *Bhōjadēva* of the present record of V. S. 1103 must therefore be identical with the *Paramāra* *Bhōja*. The contemporary *Chaulukya* ruler of Northern *Gujarāt* was *Bhima* I, but his rule does not seem to have extended much to the south and east of his capital. In the *Lāṭa* country (*Surat* and *Broach* Districts) another *Chaulukya* family was ruling which did not acknowledge the power of the *Chaulukyas* of *Apahilapāṭaṇa* as may be seen from the *Surat* plates⁵ of *Kīrtirāja* of Śaka 940 and of *Tribhuvānspāla* of Śaka 972. We know also that the *Paramāras* were not new to the province of *Gujarāt* in the time of *Bhōja*. For the two grants⁶ of the *Paramāra* *Siyaka* of V. S. 1005 recently found at *Harsola* in *Ahmadābād* District and the incomplete grant⁷ of V. S. 1026 of the same king found in *Ahmadābād* show us that that part of *Gujarāt* at any rate was in the hands of the *Paramāras* during the time of *Siyaka*.

At *Kaṣavapa* in the *Nāsik* District an undated grant⁸ of the time of *Bhōja* is found which leaves no doubt that *Bhōja*'s power was at this period acknowledged there. It moreover speaks of *Bhōja*'s defeating the kings of a number of countries including *Lāṭa* and *Gujarāt*. In the *Beṭmā* plates⁹ of *Bhōja* of V. S. 1076 the village granted may probably be located in *Gujarāt*. All these indications point to the fact that the *Paramāras* were connected with *Gujarāt*¹⁰ in the early days of the rise of their family and had gained influence over a considerable tract of country under king *Bhōja* in *Gujarāt* and elsewhere in its neighbourhood.

No account is given of *Sāhāvāhana* who was among other kings subdued by *Bhōjadēva* with the help of *Śārāḍiṭya*. *Sāhāvāhana* no doubt stands for the word *Chāḍhāmāna* as the change

¹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 182 ff.

² From a MS. of *Rājatarāṅgīnī*.

³ From a MS. of *Amitagati's* *Saṁskṛtavarṇanāmaśloka*.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 48.

⁵ *Kishore's* List No. 354 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 241 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 178 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff. See also my note on the grant published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, p. 222. There is reason to believe that the date of this grant, which mentions a solar eclipse in the month of *Chaitra*, must be confined to V. S. 1102-1104 and was therefore nearest to the date of the present grant.

⁹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 323 ff.

¹⁰ In fact I am led to believe that the *Paramāras* had no footing in *Mālwa* before about V. S. 1027, a short time before *Siyaka* attacked *Māyakhōja* as is known from the *Polgalochāt-Nāmasūtrī* of *Dharmapāla*, since the *Pratāpādī* inscription of *Pratāpāra Mahēndrapāla* of V. S. 1003 shows that *Mālwa* was governed by a *Pratāpāra* governor. See above, Vol. XIV, p. 177.

of *sa* to *cha* and *ra* to *ma* is common. The Chāhamānas of Nāḍol were hereditary enemies of the Paramāras of Mālwa; Chāhamāna Sōbhita, son of Lakshmaṇa is styled lord of Dhārā in an inscription¹ which showed that he had defeated Vākpati Muñja, the king of Dhārā, and become for some time the lord of the city and the surrounding country. Sōbhita's son, Balirāja, again, is said to have routed the army of Muñjarāja.² Chāhamāna Anahilla of the same family is said to have slain Śādhā, a general of king Bhōja.³ To avenge this defeat and death of his *daṇḍanāyaka* Bhōja might have waged a war with the Chāhamāna king and defeated him with the help of Śūrāditya of our inscription.

Though the actual construction in the record may be taken to denote that Śūrāditya of the Śravaṇabhadra family, whose son issued the present grant, had migrated from Kanaṇj, it is equally possible that the family of Śūrāditya had migrated from Kanaṇj at an earlier date. We know that the Pratihāras of Kanaṇj were sovereign lords of Gujārāt for some time as is evidenced by the Wadhvān plates of Mahipāla⁴ and the Unā plates of Mahēndrapāla.⁵ In their palmey days it is not surprising if some fortune seekers⁶ like the ancestor of Śūrāditya founded a principality in Gujārāt. The name Śravaṇabhadra of his family denotes that it was probably a Kshatriya family like the Uṭamabhadra family of Saka Ushavādita's Nāḍik inscription.⁷

The reason why this grant, though it belongs to the time of the sovereign Bhōja, does not contain the usual relief⁸ of *Garuḍa* of the Paramāra family must no doubt be that the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhōja and that the latter had nothing in fact to do with the actual issuing of the grant. The Kalavaṇa plates also, issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhōja do not contain the usual *Garuḍa* and *snake* seal of the Paramāras.⁹ It must at the same time be noted that more space in the record is devoted towards the praise of the sovereign family than of the family of the actual donor of the grant.

The grant was issued on Monday, the Amāvāsyā (śoma-parvā) day of the month of Mārgaśīras in the year 1103 of Vikramāditya. The Christian equivalent of the date, as kindly calculated for me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit is most probably Monday, the 11th November 1045 A.D. taking the month as the *Pūrṇimā* and the year as a *Southern Vikrama Year*, which should be ordinarily prevalent in the locality in question.

No. 26—KHAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVA III—CHEDI SAMVAT 933.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab affixed to the temple of Lakṣmīnār (Lakshman-Ēśvara) in Kharod, a village in District Bilaspur, C. P., 37 miles from the district headquarters. It has been noticed¹⁰ before but is published here for the first time. It contains 28 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' broad by 1' 5½" high. The size of the letters is about ½". The writing has suffered a good deal the whole way down, particularly, towards the proper left. The

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 368.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 68.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 1.

⁴ In a number of plates found of this period the donors are said to have migrated from *Madhyadēśa*.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 78. [The recently discovered Narwal plates of Vākpati Muñja contain references to Śravaṇabhadra as a locality from which certain Brahman donors originated. Again, some of the names of Brahmins in the same grant end in—*āditya*. It is therefore not improbable that Śūrāditya belonged to a Brahman family originally from Śravaṇabhadra, that may have settled in Mālwa.—Ed.]

⁶ Similarly the Kalavaṇa plates of the feudatory of Bhōjadēva do not contain the *Garuḍa* relief and other peculiar features of Paramāra grants. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 &.

⁷ See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 226.

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. VII, p. 201 and XVII, p. 43; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 421; *PRAS.* W.C., 1903-04, pp. 53 f.; Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd edition), pp. 117 f.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 71 and XI, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 183.

characters are Nāgarī of the 12th Century A.D. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of *Om namah Śivāya* at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are all numbered, their total being 44. The orthography does not call for any special remark with the exception of the facts that *avagraha* has been frequently used where necessary and *r* and *ṛ* have not been distinguished.

The inscription is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapur down to Ratnadēva III. It has been noticed by several scholars but owing to the damaged condition of the stone the information so far given was meagre and unsatisfactory and also contained several errors. I cannot claim to have deciphered the whole record but I have been able to make out with a fair amount of certainty all that is important in it. The inscription is divided into two parts, the first containing verses 1-19 and the second verses 20 to the end. Like several other records of this dynasty the present record is Śaiva. The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva and the third that of the Moon to whose race the Kalachuri family is said to belong. The next verse brings in the prince of the Haihaya lineage of whom **Sahasrārjuna** is said to have imprisoned "the overlord of Laṅkā." In verse 5 **Kōkalla** and his eighteen sons are mentioned after whom comes **Kalīngarāja**—one of the younger if not the youngest of Kōkalla's sons—who by propitiating Baṅkēśvara or Śiva obtained the overlordship of Tumāya. He was followed in regular descent by **Kamala**, **Ratnadēva (I)** and **Prithvidēva (I)**. Verse 6 speaks of Prithvidēva's son, **Jājalladēva (I)** who defeated in battle **Bhujabala**, the lord of Savarnapura. In the next two verses are described the exploits of his son and successor **Ratnadēva (II)** who defeated the king **Chōjagaṅga**, the lord of Kalīngadēsa. His son was **Prithvidēva (II)** who is credited with defeating the king **Jaṭēśvara** (vv. 9-10). His son was **Jājalladēva (II)** (vv. 11-12). After his death his elder brother (I) **Jagaddēva** 'came from the Eastern countries' and became king (v. 13). The next verse (v. 14) speaks of the able rule of this king. Verse 15 gives the name of his wife as **Sōmalladēvi**. Their son was **Ratnadēva (III)** who is glorified in the next three verses (vv. 16-19).

The second part, an imperfect account of which was given by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar¹ for the first time, begins with verse 20 in l. 15. It gives the pedigree of Gaṅgādihara, a minister of Ratnadēva (III.) and also an account of his various charitable and pious deeds. There was one Dēvadhara belonging to Kātyāvaṇśa. His son was Rājādihara. The name of his wife occurs in l. 16 but is now not quite legible. Probably her name was Jivā. They had a son named Gaṅgādihara who afterwards became a minister of Ratnadēva (III.). The rest of the inscription is devoted to the praise of Gaṅgādihara's virtues and records his benefactions. It appears from verse 25 that when the kingdom of Ratnadēva was in a critical situation, most probably when the king was engaged in fighting a powerful adversary, Gaṅgādihara, through his wonderful ability, restored the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. We also learn from verse 27 that it was through the advice of this capable minister that Ratnadēva made his kingdom free from all foes. Gaṅgādihara had two wives named Rānmā (I) and Pālmā. The former gave birth to two sons Prada and Jijāka while the latter had one son born to her named Khadgaśimha. Verses 30-40 mention a series of charitable and pious acts performed by Gaṅgādihara. He built a temple of Śiva, which is evidently identical with the Lakṣmīśvar temple at Kharod where the inscription is found. To the south of this temple he constructed a *śuṭha* made of well seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics. He also built, evidently at the same place, a beautiful *manḍapa* for Śaurya (Viṣṇu). On the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura, he constructed a temple of Ekavīrā which resembled a *Pushpaka*². In the forest of Vajāda (var. *Vajade*)³ he built a *manḍapa* for 'the enemy of the

¹ PRAS. H.C., 1903-04, pp. 331.

² For a description of *Pushpaka* see P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 113-14. [The temple of Ekavīrā still exists on a hill to the west of Ratnapur—Ed.]

³ Bhandarkar reads *Nāgajālā* and Hiralal *Samant*.

(three) cities', i.e., Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. In the fortrees (*duṛga*) he built a temple for the goddess Durgā. He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (*Ravi*) at a place the name of which is not clear and also erected a Śiva temple at Pōratha. To the north of Ratnapura he built a temple for Tuṣṭā (=Dhruvā) (=Gaṇapati). He also had tanks excavated in the villages of Tipuraga (†), Girahall (†), Uluvā and Sēgāda (†). Besides the above-mentioned pious donations he raised a beautiful flower garden at Nārāyanapura and also a *sarva-satī* or public almshouse abounding in savoury food and drink.

The *prasaśi* was composed by Kumārapāla of the Hāhaya lineage who appears to have had a younger brother of the name of Jaihaṇa (†). It was written by himself on the slab and engraved by one Nātū who was clever in this art. The Kumārapāla of this inscription is evidently identical with the Kalachuri Kumārapāla, the composer of the Śeṣmarayan² and Malhār³ inscriptions. According to the last verse it seems that a part (*kalā*) of the inscription was composed by the Śrēṣṭhin Rāhaṇa who was the minister in charge of religious endowments (*Dharma-karm-ādhikāri*) in the reign of Ratnadēva (III).

The date of the inscription is given in the last line as Chēdi samvat 933 without any further details and would correspond to 1181-82 A.D.

In most of the inscriptions of the Ratanpur rulers a reference is made to Kōkalla and his 18 sons. Kielhorn seems to have taken him to be Kōkalla (I),⁴ the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. We know from the Benares Plates of Karpadēva⁵ that Kōkalla (I) was contemporary of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, Vallabharāja or the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja II and the Chandella Harsha. He would thus belong to a period between 860 and 900 A.D. as has been pointed out by Kielhorn.⁶ But according to the Amōḍa Plates⁷ of Prithvīdēva I, Kōkalla whose son was the founder of the Ratanpur branch, 'took treasures of the Karpāta, Vaṅga, Gūrjara, Kōṅkaṇa and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families.' The absence of any names of these kings renders the identification difficult, but the reference to Turuṣkas is very significant. If this term has been used in a broad sense to refer to the Muhammadans (which is very probable) and if the exploits mentioned in this inscription are not due to a mere poetical exaggeration, then the reference cannot be to Kōkalla I of the Tripuri family as he belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India. A still better clue is afforded by another reference in verse 9 of the same plates that 'having churned the king of Utkala with emaciated water he (i.e., Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II) made over the goddess of wealth (Śrī) to his overlord Gāṅgādēva'.⁸ This latter prince can be no other than Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya, the son of Kōkalla II.⁹ The reference to Gāṅgēya's defeating the Utkala king is found also in the Goharwā Plates of Karpadēva.¹⁰ Again, according to the present inscription, Kāṇḍarāja appears to have been a younger son of Kōkalla while according to the Amōḍa Plates of Prithvīdēva I, which is the oldest known record of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur, the eldest son of Kōkalla became the ruler of Tripuri and the others were made petty chieftains and Kāṇḍarāja is mentioned as the descendant of one of the younger sons of Kōkalla. The latter pedigree

¹ Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 123, No. 203 and *PRAS W.C.*, 1903-04, pp. 53 f.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 42.

³ See Index to *Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. V, p. 107.

⁴ Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78 ff.

⁷ I am unable to accept Hiralal's explanation that 'Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgādēva in prosperity.'

⁸ R. B. Hiralal has not identified the Utkala prince who was defeated by Kamalarāja. The pun on the words *kāṇḍarāja* and *Gāṅgēya* shows that the prince referred to was probably Kāṇḍarāja, the father of Vajrahasta.

⁹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 143 ff.

is found in other records of the Ratanpur kings and may therefore be accepted as correct. *Suvarṇapūra* of verse 6 is probably identical with *Sonpur* on the Mahānadi, the present capital of the homonymous state now transferred to Bilār and Orissa from C. P. But we are not aware of Bilābala the ruler of *Suvarṇapūra* from any other source. *Suvarṇapūra* is mentioned in the *Sonpur plates*¹ of Kumāra Somaśvara and the *Jatasinga Dūngri Plates*² of Mahāśivagupta which show that *Sonpur* was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Sōmavāṇśī rulers of Trikaṭiṅga. Only two chiefs of *Sonpur* are mentioned in the *Sonpur Plates*, viz., Abhimanyudēva and Somaśvara. This as well as other inscriptions of the rulers of Ratanpur show that their relations with the Eastern Gaṅgas, their immediate neighbours on the east, were not friendly. Chōḍagaṅga, the lord of Kalīṅga who was defeated by Ratnadēva II, is identical with the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The king Jaṭṭēvara who was defeated in battle by Prithivīdēva II is no other than Kāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga as we know from an inscription³ in the āsthāna-maṇḍapa at the Mukhalīṅgam temple dated Śaka 1070.

My reading of verse 13 in the text throws some new light on the genealogy of the Ratanpur kings after Jājalladēva II. Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal, were under the impression that Somaśvara was the wife of Jājalladēva II and that Ratnadēva III was their son. No other inscription of Jājalladēva mentions the name of his wife. But in verse 13 of the present inscription it is clearly stated that after the death of Jājalladēva II, Jagadīdēva, probably his elder brother, came from the eastern countries and became king. The reading appears to be *jyāyān-arya* and not *-putrā* or *-vātā*. If Jagadīdēva was the son of Jājalladēva the succession would have been in quite a natural order. But if Jagadīdēva was the elder brother of Jājalladēva and thus the eldest son of Prithivīdēva, as the reading of verse 13 appears to show, I do not understand why he did not become king after the death of his father Prithivīdēva II. The most plausible explanation seems to be that Jagadīdēva was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gaṅgas and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jājalladēva took the reins of government in his own hands. The verse under consideration seems to imply that Jājalladēva's death took place somewhat suddenly and that was probably the reason why Jagadīdēva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription several have already been identified by Hiralal. Thus *Tumhāṇa*, the original capital of the Ratanpur Kaichuris, exists under the name of Tumān in the Lāphā Zamindari of Bilāpur. *Suvarṇapūra*, as has been pointed out already, may be *Sonpur*. *Ratnapura* is the present Ratanpur and *Nārāyana-pura* and *Pōratha* are still known by the same names (the latter as Portha) and are situated, respectively, about 20 miles S. W. and 30 miles N. E. of Kharod. The name read as *Vanavāṭa* by Hiralal, I have read as *vana-Vaḍa* which may be Balodā near Kharod. If the reading *Sāṇḍarā* is correct, it may be identified with the present-day Sendri between Bilāpur and Ratanpur. *Ulūvā* is probably the same as Ulba in Raipur District. I cannot identify the other places mentioned in the inscription.

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 52 ff.

³ E. C. Majumdar identifies this Somaśvara with the king defeated by Jājalladēva as mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.). Hiralal, however, identifies this latter Somaśvara with the Nāgarahāṇī king of Bastar. If Mr. Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujabala would be only a friend of Somaśvara.

⁴ *E. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1044.

⁵ [Baloda, 20 miles north of Kharod, must be the *Vaḍa* of this record. Being the headquarters of a forest range, it is aptly called *vana*. Baloda (or Baloda Bazar, as it is called) is the headquarters of a Tahsil in Raipur District, but there is no forest in its immediate vicinity.—Ed.]

In editing the Amśā Plates of Prithvidēva I, Hiralal suggested that the term Vañkēśvara, which is found in the present inscription also, might refer to an 'aboriginal' local deity¹. In Sanskrit and Prākṛit *vañka* has the same meaning as Skt. *vakra* and the latter is a name of Rudra according to the *Anikārtasāra* of Dharaṇidāsa. Thus Vañkēśvara may signify Śiva and the word *īśvara* added after Vañka would point to the same conclusion. This explanation seems quite justified as we know that the Kalachuris of Ratnapur were adherents of the Śaiva faith.

I edit this inscription from an impression found amongst those received from the office of the Director General of Archaeology in India by the Government Epigraphist for India.

TEXT.

[Measures: vv. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 25, 26, 43, *Śāntulavikṛīḍita*; v. 2, *Śikhariṇi*; vv. 3, 30, 41, *Śragdharā*; v. 4, *Bhujāṅga*; vv. 6, 8, 36, 38, 39, *Āryā*; vv. 11, 13, 15, 17-19, 27-29, 31-35, 37, 40, 43, 44, *Amuṣṭubh*; v. 12, *Mālini*; v. 16, *Mandākrāntā*; v. 20, *Upajāti*; vv. 21, 23, 24, *Vasantatilakā*; and v. 22, *Vaṅkēśvara*.]

- 1 Ōm namah Śivāya || Kalyāṇāni karōtu Parvatasutā-pāci-graha-prakra[m]o
dēvaḥ kēli-kālā-nūllis-trijagatī[m] Daks-ādhipara-dhvaṅśakāḥ | yaḥ kṛṣṭha-
dyuti-vāsasā jana-[d]iśā — — — — — [Gau]ri-vaktra-nirikṣha[ṇ]ya
- 2 [vi]kṣēdhi mugd-śūdu-dīpa-tvishā || Kriyā-d-vaḥ kalyāṇa niravadhi vidhātus-
trijagatī[m] samamānān-āli-śipala-dēva-ruchinām sahacharī | ruchih kṛṣṭhasy-
śchichair-achala-tanayā-vaktra-kāmala-prasarppat-[santabhyē tora-madhukar-ā-]
- 3 — — — [tir]-iva || Hvēśuh kairavāṇām-angita-rasa-dharī[ras-] śūpakārah surāṅga-
tārāṅga prāpa-nāthah kusuma-sara-kathā-dhyāyinām Pīthamarddhaḥ | ādarō
dig-vadhinām [pri]jha-gagana-sarō-tā[jahmās]- — — — — — pām śrīgārō — — — — —
- 4 — — — [ra]-ruchir-abhūd-Ātri-nētrāt-sudhānūh || 3|| Dhariribhuḥ Haihayā[s-ta]ya varhē
va(ba)bhūvur-yaśah prāpa yēśām-udāram | bhujā-jyā-latā-va(ba)ddha-lamk-
ādhi-nāthah Sahasrārjunō vīra — — — — — || 4|| [Śrī-Kōkalla-nripas-] tad-
anvaya-bhavas-ta-
- 5 t-sūnavō-śhātāsa khyātō [hy-ē-]śhu laghub Kālāṅganripatir-vVañkēśvar-ārā-
dhanāt | Tummāy-ādhipatīh sūtō-śya Kamalāḥ śrī-Ratnarājas-tataḥ Prithvi-
dēva-narēva[rō]-bhavad-ataḥ [kshōḡ-īśa]-chūdā-maṇiḥ || 5|| [Jājalladēva-]
nripatī-ta-
- 6 t-sūnur-abhūt-Suvarṇapura-nātham | Bhujava(ba)lam-śva(ba)lāḥ chakrō nija-
bhujā-va(ba)lataḥ samikō yaḥ || 6|| Ād-āt-tanayō nay-śchita-matīh kshōḡ-īśa-chūdā-
maṇi-erō(śē)pi-śchicharapa-[pravu(ba)ddha-] charaṇah [śrī-Ratnadēv-āhvayaḥ] |
lōk-ālā-
- 7 ka-gir-Indra-kandara-darī-viśrānta-vidyādhari-vaktr-śūdu-dyuti-jāla-[pāth]sa(su)la-yaśō-rāśih
pravir-āgrāṇiḥ || 7|| Yaś-Chōḡagaṅga-nripatim Kālāṅga-dē-ādhipatī[m] ga-
ādhiśam | samiti Jātēśvara — — — — — [kṛitak-Āśvayujō-antikāḥ-cha(?)—] || 8||
- 8 Prithvidēva-nripas-tataḥ samabhavad-yan-manī-[dē]ś-śllasād-ratn-ārochir-nichayēna
rañjita-umābharttaḥ pad-āyja(bja)-dvayam | jivā yēna Jātēśvarō nara-
patīh sadikhyē śva-dōr-vvikra[m]ah — — — — — || 9||
- 9 Gaṇḍ-ōd-bhōdi-mad-ānvu(bu)-ni[r]jāta-karī-tyā — — — — — vyājataḥ kiṁ vāchvaḥ sa
jagat-travi-matha-kṛit-āśvōś yaśas-tāpasah | yaś-ō[dvē]jāna-kṛṇḇa-bhūti-kapikā-
ja[na] patitō śamī || — — — — — dhī-Him-ādri-kūṭa — — — — — || 10||

¹ See above, Vol. XX, p. 77.

沈氏

B

- 21 vijkrājam-anya cha Khadgasambham-ajjanat [39] Ālōky-ānēna vidyut-tati-
saralatar-ānra-tārūnya-(dadhni) Lakshmin-a — m-ēvach cha [j]iṭa-mṛigadṛiśāṣ
pritiṃ-a[py]-aṅganānām | — — — k-ā[pta]yā [tat-punar]-dha sukṛitair-(dṛ)ṣṭa —
pta-vō(bō)dhād-ētach-chakrē navinasti saha-jā-śubha-ma-
- 22 tir-munapdapam Bhūtabharitū [30] Maṭhaḥ kathōra-kūshṭh-aughair-atr-aiv-
ākāri dhimastā | dēva-dakṣiṇa-dig-bhāgō nivāsārthan-tapasvinām [31] Kāsitār
vistṛita[ṣi] Sauri-maṇḍapam² puṇya-kāriṇā | Gaṅgādharēṇa [dharagār-bhū-
shām]-ēv-ātisundarām [32] Śrīmad-Ratnapurē chā-
- 23 ru pratichyāt Pūshpak-ōpamam | akarōd-ēkavitrāyā maṇḍapam giri-mūrdhāni
[33] Maṇḍapam vanē Vajradō³ [Pu]r-ārātēr-vinirmitam | Hara-Hēramvayō-
chakrē tatr-aiva vīṣa[ṣa]d-ālayau [34] Dēvi-Durgā-griham durgā Ravēḥ
Paha[takā(?)] purē | Pōrthō bhavanam Sāmbhōr-⁴
- 24 bhramkasham-uchikarat [35] Ratnaparasy-ōlchayāt diśi Tumrā-Gaṇapatēr-asau
chakrē | maṇḍapam-aśēṣa-vāśēhita-phala-dātur-vighna-hantus-cha [36] ||⁵
Saras-[Ti]puruga-[grā]mē nirṇunala[ṣi] vihaṣ-āhva[ḥ]ajam | tathā Gurahā-
[grāmō] sphārāt pūshkarīṇm-api [37] ~~~~~
- 25 kṛitam-samalatā sarasija-ruchiram sadā jagat-ōvyyam | tāt-āpāham-uru-harim-iva
[U]lūvā-grāmē saras-chakrē [38] Guṇjan-muḍja-madhuvrata-chaya-chumvita-vīṣa-
cha-paṭkajām-akarōt | pūshkarīṇm-a[pi] śōbha[na]-Sēṇā[dā]-r-ā[ḥ]bhikṣha-[grā]mē [39]
Mishṭ-ānna-pāna-sampannā[ṣi] sa-
- 26 rvasatr[ṣi] vyadhād-asau | Nārāyaṇapurē puṣpa-vāṭikām-api śōbhanāt [40]
Yāval-dilāvatīnām sayana-sarasija-prānta-saṁsthō Manōbhār-yāvan-Maināka-
pakṣ-āṇa-chaṭula-chalad-vichi-māḥ payōdhiḥ | chandr-ārkan yāvad-ētan
gagana-tala-samud[ā]yōtāmānu prabhātas-tā-
- 27 vad-Gaṅgādharasya pravara-guṇa-nidhē sthairyatām-ētu kīrtiḥ [41] Dakṣō
lakṣhaṇa-nirṇa[ṇa]yō kavi-kalā-sarva[ṣa]-vīrāma-bhūṣ-ohhandah-sundara-vu-
(bu)ddhir-ādibhuta-matiḥ sāhitya-Chāḍakyayōḥ | khyātō Haihaya-vanśābhūḥ
kavi-vṛiṣṭā yasy-ānūjō Ja[ḥ]aga[ṣ]-tōn-ākāri Kumārapāla-kṛitā [ch-ēyad-?]
- 28 prakāṣtir-munḍā [42] Akṣharair-mauktik-ākārais-tōn-aiv-ālōki kautukāt [Nāṣi]-
nūnnā samntkīrṇā ālpa-vijñāna-sālinā [43] Śrēṣṭhīnā Rāhaṇ-ātra
dharma-karm-ādihikāriṇā | kṛitā kalā kalāpājña-jana-sūruta-vu(bu)ddhinā[ḥ] [44]
Chēdi Samvat 933 [45] Maṅgalam-astu ||

No. 27.—THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN; A.D. 988.

By PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

This inscription¹ is engraved, along with some other Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century A.D., on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantēśvarasvāmī temple at Udaiyārguḍi, a hamlet of Kāṭṭumappārkōyil, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiology of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya, also called Ājavandār, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmānuja. In the inscription, the place is called Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the same as the Viranārāyaṇapuram of Vaiṣṇava literature and our inscription further describes

¹ Read *Sauri*. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre.

² The metre is irregular here.

³ Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left unscripted.

⁴ No. 877 of 1920. *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1920-21*, part II, paragraph 31.

it as a *brahmadiya* on the Northern bank (evidently of the Coleroon). Most probably, it was an *agradāra* founded by Parāntaka I Viranārāyaṇa (A.D. 907-53), whose inscriptions are also found in the Anantīśvara temple.²

The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 14'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average well over an inch, some of the ligatures being 2" high. The characters employed are Tamil and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tanjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tamil part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla³, allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in *u* are fully developed, but not so in *y*. Medial *ā* and *e* are clearly distinguished though not always; the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while *e* is written exactly like the subsidiary *ā* in *pāpamūridum* and *śūmūmūridum* in line 3, and in *śūre* in line 7. Medial *i* and *ū* are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from *ī* and *u* by loops, the loop indicating length in *ī* being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating *ī* instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long *ī* is best seen in the letters *Sri* and *Vi* and in *gi* in *laḡgi* (line 7). The long *ū* is sometimes indicated by the short *u*-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the *ā*-sign as in *malai-gaḡḡā* in line 2 and *nāḡḡapāḡḡi* in line 6; the regular sign with the loop occurs in *koḡḡaiḡḡi* in line 4, *śūmūridum* in line 5, and twice in *Veḡḡaiḡḡi* in line 8. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter *y* is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttaramūḡḡi inscriptions of Parāntaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla. The *paḡḡi* is not marked.⁴ Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form; *lla* is written in two forms in line 6—*Palla* and *Malla*—in the one case, a Grantha *la* placed over a Tamil *la* and in the other, two Tamil *la*s placed one above the other.

As regards orthography, a tendency to omit *r* is noticed in such forms as *iraḡḡi* (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other features calling for notice are the insertion of *y* in *miy-piḡḡai* in line 5.

The language of the inscription is Tamil. The construction of the second sentence (ll. 1-4), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix *idum* attached to each of them and by the phrase summing up the whole (*iraḡḡaiḡḡi*) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The object of the inscription is to record an endowment by Aratiya Bharatya alias Vyajagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaḡḡi, the son of Nakkaḡḡi Aravaiyaḡḡi alias Pallava-Muttaraiyaḡḡi, the lord of Veḡḡaiḡḡi. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a *śaḡḡaḡḡi* before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmins. The endowment took the form of land, and in the narration of the

² Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1920-21, part II, para. 24 and Appendix B, Nos. 539, 547, 549, etc.

³ South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 128. [While in the Uttama-Chōla plates, the letter for *r* is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial long *ā*, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the proper right side.—C. R. K.]

⁴ [The *yaḡḡi* is marked in a few cases: e.g., see *maḡḡalattu p-peruḡḡi p-peru* in l. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so.—C. R. K.]

circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that **Āditya II Karikāla** fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army.¹

The inscription opens by stating that in the **second year of Kō-Rājakēsarivarma**, a letter (*śrīmukham*) was sent by the Emperor to the Great *Sabbā* of *Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgala* (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that *Sōmat*....., and his younger brothers *Ravidāsa* and *Paramēśvara* had been found guilty of treason (*drohikēśāna*) for their murder of *Karikāla Śōja* 'who took the head of the *Pāḍya*' (II. 1-2); the properties² of these three persons and their relatives specified (II. 2-3) were to be taken over³ by *Brahma-śrīrājā* of *Koṭṭaiyūr* and *Chandrasēkhara-bhāṭṭa* of *Puḷḷamaṅgala* (I. 4); the *Sabbā* (*āṅgaḷum*) were to arrange, in co-operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order (I. 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by *Kurukāḍi Kilāṅ* (I. 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of *Rēvadāsa*⁴ (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his *uḷappirandā* *Maliyāṇṭrāṇ*), *Rēvadāsa*'s son and his mother, situated in the western *paḍaṅga* of *Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgala* (line 5) were bought from the *sabbā* by *Bharata*, alias *Vyāḷagajamallan*. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (*paḷambaṭi*), two (*vēḷi*) and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 *kaḷaṅṇu* of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of *Mēsha* in this year, on a **Sunday** which was a **Pārattādi** day, *Bharata* gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the *Anantēvara* temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr. L. D. Swamikanun Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, to be correct for **Sunday, the 15th April, A.D. 988**, which would fall in the third regnal year of *Rājārāja I*, whose accession has been fixed by Kielhorn between 25th June and 25th July 985 A.D.⁵ The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second; and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of *Karikāla* 'who took the head of the *Pāḍya*', i.e., *Āditya II*, the elder brother of *Rājārāja I*, and its paleographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the *Rājakēsa*ri of this inscription with *Rājārāja I* who began his rule in A.D. 985. In fact there is no other *Rājakēsa*ri in the period after *Āditya II* whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of *Parāntaka I* and the beginning of that of *Rājārāja I* is still one of the rather obscure periods in *Chōḷa* history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of *Rājārāja*

¹ [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

² See n. I, p. 170 *post*.

³ The expression *peruṇṇāḍum* makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. [The expression has to be read as 'peruṇṇāḍu' in the sense of 'nominated'; cf. S. J. J., Vol. III, p. 404, l. 128 and p. 429. If the sense intended were 'obtaining' the original should be *peruṇ*.—C. R. K.]

⁴ The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called *Ravidāsa*ḷaṅ *Paṇḍava*-*Brahma-śrīrājā*. The name given in line 5 is *Rēvadāsa*, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial *v* preceding *sa* in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the impression. But *Rēvadāsa* is here called a *Kramavitta* and has the alias *Maliyāṇṭrāṇ*, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from *Ravidāsa* of line 2. But the preceding phrase *i-śrī-mukhaṭṭa* *śrīpattā* means that the same man is mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription; and this may be a reference either to *Ravidāsa* or *Maliyāṇṭrāṇ* of line 2. [The surname 'Maliyāṇṭrāṇ' clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, App. 2, p. 22.

I was Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōja, who had a reign of about sixteen years (A.D. 903-85).¹ Of Āditya II, the Parakāśari 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' we have inscriptions bearing the fifth regnal year.² He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōja, and it is generally admitted that the period of his rule must lie between the end of Sundara-Chōja's reign and the commencement of that of Uttama-Chōja. The latter was the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and most probably a baby at the time of his father's death.³ This was doubtless the reason why the succession passed to a junior branch of the family, and Ariṇjaya, his son Parāntaka II, and his son Āditya succeeded one after another. After Āditya, we find Uttama-Chōja ruling for sixteen years before the crown passed to Āditya's younger brother Rājārāja. The Tiruvālaṅgū plates of Rājendra-Chōja I seem to furnish a clue which, when interpreted with the aid of the present inscription, enables us to trace the probable course of events. Verses 69 and 70 of these plates state that though on the death of Āditya, the people, in their eagerness to witness the destruction of the increasing darkness of *Kali*, desired Arumolivarman, i.e., Rājārāja, to take up the reins of government, he, the true Kshatriya, did not desire to rule his kingdom so long as his paternal uncle coveted it, and that Arumoli was made the *Yuvarāja* by Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōja who became king.

Though the Tiruvālaṅgū plates and other Chōja records tell us nothing of the manner of Āditya's death, the reference to the increasing darkness of *Kali* looks like a thinly veiled allusion to the state of anarchy that prevailed at the sudden demise of the late king. The people's wish to have Arumoli as king, Arumoli's unwillingness to accept the throne when his paternal uncle coveted it, and the recognition of Arumoli as heir apparent, may be taken to indicate the troubles of a disputed succession ended by a political compromise by which Uttama-Chōja was indeed to enjoy the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but the succession was to revert to the ruling line, viz., that of Ariṇjaya. A certain Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādittag is found in the service of Rājārāja I, and it is probable that he was a son of Uttama-Chōja. If this view is correct, he must be taken to have acquiesced in his exclusion from the succession which was the direct result of Arumoli having been made the *Yuvarāja* at the time of Uttama's accession. Apparently the choice before Arumoli after his brother's death was between a civil war with his paternal uncle and a compromise such as the one actually adopted; Arumoli preferred the latter course, and his wisdom seems to be commended in the phrase *Kshatradharmāthavēdī* (v. 69) of the Tiruvālaṅgū plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Malaiyaṇṭr* and *Koṭṭaiyūr* cannot be identified without more details. *Puḷḷamaṅgalam* may be the same as *Puḷḷamaṅgai*, a village near Paṇḍatikōyil, about nine miles south of Tanjore. *Venṇaiyūr-nādu* may be the same as the subdivision of Vaḍagarni-Rājendramahā-vaḷanādu in the *Sōḷamaṅgalam*.⁴ If that is so, *Venṇaiyūr* must be included in the list of villages in the *nādu* given by Venkayya.

I edit the text from a set of estampages received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

TEXT.

- 1 *Svaṃtī Śrī [] Kō-Rājakāśari-varmaṃmarkko yāṇḍu 2-āvaḍu Vaḍagarni-brahmadēyam Śrī-Viranārāya[ṇa]-chchaturvēdimachgalattu-pperruṇṇari-pperrumakk[]ukku Cha-kravartti-śrīmakkham Pāṇḍiyanaī-ttalai-koṇḍa Karikāle-Sōḷaṇai-kkoṇḍu drōṭika-[]-āṇḍa Sōma[ṇa].....*rumbi*

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Nos. 135, 138 and 144.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, II Introduction, p. 24.

⁵ The stone is damaged here but there can be no doubt about the missing letter.

⁶ There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first *āṇḍi* followed by *imṇ*.

2. Ravidāsaṅ-āṅa Pañchavan-Brahmādhīrāṅam ivaga-rambi Paramēśvaraṅ-āṅa Irumadi-
chchōḷa-Brahmādhīrāṅam ivaga-udappiranda Malaiyaṅṇāṅam ivaga-tamhi-
mārum-ivaga-makkalidum ivar-brāhmaṅam[āṅ]-pērāḷum-i.....*ramattam
3. pēraṅmāridum-ivaga-makkalidum-ivaga[ukku-ppillai-kuḍutta māmaṅmāridum tāyōḍ-
udappiranda māmaṅ māmaṅmāridum-ivaga-udappiranda poṅgaḷai
vēṭṭāriṅavum-ivaga-makkalai vēṭṭāriṅavum-āṅa ivv-aṅaiyar [muri]yum
namu-āṅaikk-urivavāru Ko-
4. ṭṭaiyūr Brahmaśīrāṅam Puḷḷamaṅgalattu Chandraśekhara-Bhaṭṭapaṅiyum pera-
ttandōm tāṅgaḷum-ivaga-kaṅkāpiyōḍum-ivaga-āṅṇavāru namu-āṅai-
kk-urivavāru kuḍiyoḍu kuḍipērum vīlaikka virru-ṭṭalattiduga ivai
Kuru[kāḷi]-kiḷṇu-ēḷutt-eṅṇu* i-ppariṇa vara i-
5. śrīmukhattin mēppaṭṭa Malaiyaṅṇāṅ-āṅa* Pāṇṇachchēri Rēvadāma-kramavi-
ttaṅum ivaga-magaṅum-ivaga-rāy Periyanaṅgai-chchāṅiyum-i-munūvaridum-āṅa
nilam śrī-Vīraṅārāyaṅa-chchatu[r]jvōḷimaṅgalattu mīy-paḷāḷai Dēvaṅmaṅgalam-
āṅa paṭṭila nilam śrī-Vīraṅārāyaṅa-chchatu[r]*-vōḷi-
6. maṅgalattu sabhaiyār-pakkal Veṅṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu Veṅṇaiyūr-udaiyāṅ Nakkaṅ-Ara-
vaṅaiyāṅ-āṅa Pallava-Muttaraiya-magaṅ Barataṅ-āṅa Vyāḷagajamalla-
Ppallavaraiyaṅṇ-i-nnilam paḷambadi irāṅḍō-mukkālēy-oru-māvum-agamaṅai-
y-āṅum-āṅa i-nnilamum-i-mmaṅaiyūm nūrr-orupatt-i*.
7. ra-kaḷaṅḷu poḷ kuḍuttu vīlai-koṅḍ-ivvūr-Tiruv-Anantēśvarattu Bhaṭṭārakar-
kōyililēy-ivv-āṭṭai Mēba-nāyagru Nāyagru-kkilaṅmai-pera Pūṇāṭṭādi-nāṅgu
chandr-ādityavat āḷvār-kōyil-munbu [Mōvā]yirattarunūṭṭuvāṅāṅa nilaiy-
ambalattu taṅṅir-aṭṭum brāhmaṅam-oruvaṅukku nīḷa]-
8. dam padī-nāḷi nallum-āṭṭaiyaṭṭam-oru kāḍum nīṣadam padinaiyvar brāhmaṅar-
unbadarkum-āṅa padināru ivarṇūḷy-aiyvar śivavōḷika[-aḷṇ]avum vaiyṭṭōḷ
Araiyāṅ Bharataṅ-āṅa Vyāḷagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṅṇ i-dha[r]umam
rakshikkirra mahā-sabhaiyār-śrī-pādaṅga[-eṅ]-talaimāḷa[āḷi]*

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Hail ! Prosperity ! (In the) second year of (the reign of) King Rājakesarivarmān, the order of the Emperor (addressed) to the members of the Great Assembly of Śrī-Vīraṅārāyaṅachaturvēdimaṅgalam, a brahmāṅga on the North bank :

- * Length is marked by the sign for secondary ā.
* The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 5 above.
* A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1.
* Cancel the second and next.
* Read "kīḷṇu".
* See D. 4, p. 167 note.
* The length of subsidiary ā in nā is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā. The letters poḷ and i are seen to have been corrected from the original pira and io.

No. 28.—THE PALANPUR PLATES OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA (V. S. 1120).

By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

These plates were received from Palanpur by Mr. Pura Chand Nahar, M.A., LL.B., of 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, who brought them to me for decipherment and for the preparation of impressions. They consist of two unusually thick ($\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ") plates joined together by a ring $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, passed through a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner side of the plates is inscribed, in all there being 15 lines of bold writing. The dimensions are $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " of which about $\frac{1}{2}$ " of the rim has been raised on all sides to protect the writing. The thickness of each plate is $\frac{1}{4}$ " but there are two knobs on either side of the ring where the thickness is about half an inch. The plates weigh $108\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The characters of the record are Dēvanāgarī and the language Sanskrit prose calling for no special remarks. The engraving is full of mistakes. The document refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Bhimadēva* (I) apparently of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujaraṭ, who was encamped at Ilā, its object being the grant of 3 *halas* of land at a village named Varasvādā to a Mōḍha Brāhmin named Jānaka. The boundaries of the land are specified as: 'to the east, the way to the village Vāra-Aṣavali; to the south, the village Pādra; to the west, the way to Chhūddriyā; to the north, the field of Kāṣava and Vāḷaṇa'.

The date of the grant is mentioned as the fifteenth of the bright half of Pausa in the Vikrama year 1120. It is further stated that the grant was made by Bhimadēva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana purnā* or winter solstice. Now the particular coincidence of the full-moon day of Pausa and the *uttarāyana* occurs neither in any of the possible equivalents of Samvat 1120, taking the year as northern or southern, current or expired; nor within a few years on either side. It is therefore apparent that either the details of the date are wrong or that the actual date of issuing the grant was somewhat later than the date of the donation. In the latter case, it is probable that the date of issue of the grant was 6th January 1064 A.D. while the *Makarasaṅkrānti* or *uttarāyana* which occurred on 25th December 1063 A.D. was the occasion of the king's donation.

The date of the grant is interesting inasmuch as it is the last recorded date of the Chaulukya Bhimadēva. According to Mārutunga in his *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, Bhimadēva's accession took place in V. S. 1078 (1022-3 A.D.), which must be regarded fairly accurate, inasmuch as we have V. S. 1076 as the last recorded date of his predecessor Durlabharāja. From the testimony of the Muhammadan chroniclers it is apparent that Bhimadēva was the ruler of Gujaraṭ and Southern Kāthiāwār at the time of the well-known sack of the Sōmanātha temple in 1024 A.D. (circa 1080 V. S.). The first epigraphical date for Bhimadēva known from his Rādhanpur¹ and Mupjaka grants² is V. S. 1086. The next reference is in the Mount Abu Vimala³ temple inscription, where it is stated how in V. S. 1088 (1031-2 A.D.) Vimala, who had been appointed *lapdāpati* by Bhimadēva, founded the temple. The duration of the reign of Bhimadēva as given by Mārutunga was from V. S. 1078 to V. S. 1120, but practically no records of the latter part of his long reign have survived. The date of another donation made at the Vimala Śhaḥ temple by a minister of Bhimadēva in V. S. 1119⁴ can now be definitely accepted as made within the monarch's reign and life-time. The date of the accession of Bhimadēva's successor Karpadēva is given by Mārutunga as V. S. 1120; *Chaitra sudi 3 Śanav*. It is clear that this date can be reconciled with

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.² *J. E. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 49.³ *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 43 ff.⁴ *Above*, Vol. XIX, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 127.

that of the present grant, only on the supposition that the year used was the Southern Vikrama year commencing with the month of Kārtika. Bhīmadēva must therefore have died during the period between Pauṣa and Chaitra of the Southern Vikrama year 1120. On verification, however, the date of Kārpa's accession as given by Māruṭūṅga appears to work out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March 1065 (=Southern V. S. 1131), which is more than a year removed from the date of the present grant. The first epigraphical dates for Kārpa are those provided by his Navasāri¹ grants dated Śaka 996 and V. S. 1131 (=1074 A.D.).

The writer of the grant was Kāḍḍaka, the son of the Kāyastha Vateśvara, who appears to belong to a family of hereditary scribes of the Chaulukya. Thus we know the Kāyastha Vateśvara to be the writer of the Rādhanpur grant of Bhīmadēva and Kāḍḍaka himself to be the writer of the Navasāri² and Sūmak³ plates of Kārpa. The Dātaka was the illustrious Bhōgāditya, the minister of peace and war, who also figures in the Navasāri plates.

Of the geographical names, Ilā, the place of the king's encampment, can possibly be identified with the modern Ilol, a petty state in the Mahikāṣṭha Agency, to the south-east of Pālanpur. The ending -ol of place names in North Gujarāt (e.g., Halol, Kalol, Palol) is to be considered the local equivalent of *pur*, through *ur* and *ul*. Ilāpura can thus be a good Sanskrit equivalent to Ilol. I am unable to identify the other places.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁴ Vikrama-Samvat 1120 Pauṣa sudi 15 ady-āha kālā Ilā-
- 2 vāsta-srīmad-vijayi-kāṭakā samasta-rāj-āvali-virāji-
- 3 te-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Bhīmadēvaḥ svabhujyamāna-Dhāpād-
- 4 hāra-pathakā samasta-rāja-purashān⁵ janapadānā-cha bōdhaya-
- 5 ty-astu vaḥ samviditam yathā ady-ōtvarōyaga⁶-parvaḥ Mahēva-
- 6 ram-abhyarchya pitrō-ātmanā-cha puṇya-yasō⁷-bhividdhaya⁸ Mōḍha-Brā-
- 7 hmaṇa-Jānakāya Varnapāḍa-grānō(mō) Pātā-satka-kshētrō | Vi-
- 8 vuka-satka-kshētrō cha iti hala-trayaśya haladh 3 bhūmī⁹

Second Plate.

- 9 śāsanā¹⁰-ōdaka-pūrvam-asmābhiḥ pradattā¹¹ syānā-cha¹² pūrva¹³
- 10 sūm(ayān) Vāra-Aṇavali-grāma-mārgaḥ | dakṣiṇāyān grāma-Pādrām | pa-
- 11 schūnāyān Chhīndriyālā-mārgaḥ | uttarāyān Kāśava¹⁴-Vālaṇayōḥ
- 12 kshētram-iti catur-āghāṭ-ōpalakṣitāyāḥ bhūmēr-asyāḥ pa-
- 13 ripantīhanā kēn-āpi na kāryā | lū(kh)itam-jḍam śāsanāḥ kā-
- 14 yatu¹⁵ Vateśvara-suta-Kāḍḍakēna | Dātakō¹⁶-tra mahā-sāc-
- 15 dhivigrahika-śrī-Bhōgāditya iti¹⁷ śrī-Bhīmadēva¹⁸ ||

¹ J. B. S. R. A. S., Vol. XXVI, pp. 202 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 317 ff.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read *peruakā*.

⁵ Read *ōtvarōyaga*.

⁶ Read *gadh*.

⁷ Read *kāśava*.

⁸ Read *kāśava*.

⁹ Read *gadh*.

¹⁰ *Pa* looks like *da*.

¹¹ Read *Kāśava*.

¹² Read *yathā*.

¹³ The symbol after *i* either stands for a punctuation mark or abbreviation of *ti*.

¹⁴ Read *Bhīmadēva*.

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१ विक्रमराजसूत ११२० पोतश्रि १५ अश्वदत्तकालशुला
 २ वामिने श्रीमहि रुद्रिरुत्तकसमस्रराजावतीविराजि २
 तमहा राजा विराजशीरुमीमरवः ससुसमानतलरा
 ४ दानपसकिसमस्रगजपुनया नरुनपराथातावय ४
 तशुतः न विदिनं यवात्रात्र सो यल पर्वणिमरुश
 ६ रमरा र्गि विवा राननथपुत्रय गसादिहृदयामादह ६
 दपजा नकायवरुण वाशयानपादसकलविवा
 ८ वृकसकृत्तिवउतिह लवयमादलउहमी ८

शासनादकसर्वमस्वा रिः सदा स्थाप्युर्द
 १० साकुरुषासतलिथाममार्गः रक्तिगस्यायामपादप १०
 सिमायौलीदियामा मार्गः उउपस्था करव बावलाया
 १२ तिवमितिचत्रयायायि प्रलहितायाः नमस्त्राः य १२
 विद्यं प्रवाकतापिनवां यो लिस्त्रिभुमिदं शासनं क
 १४ यउवदधुनसुतकककवः हतका १३ मदासा १४
 विविपदिकी शाशदित्यः १० श्रीरुमीमदेवा॥

No. 29.—HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr. S. V. Haldipur, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General's Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr. Haldipur's family in Guddehittal at Haldipur, a village in the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. K. N. Dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The plates which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both the sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1". Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 96 tolas.

On the seal is shown in bold relief the figure of a rampant lion facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli¹ grant of the Pallava king Vishnugōpavarman and the Pikira² grant of Simhavarmā of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Sīyamaṅgalam³ excavated by the Pallava king Mahēndravarmā I and the Uḍjavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas⁴, we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Uḍjavalli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant.⁵ Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr. V. Venkayya⁶ that "along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history."

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanarese country during the eighth century A.D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chālukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Maṅga Plates⁷ of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726⁸. It closely resembles the characters of the Ājapa inscriptions of Udiyāvāra⁹ in the South Kanara District which the late Dr. Hultzsch has assigned to about A.D. 800 and those of the Kovalaveṭṭu grant¹⁰ of the Western

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 338 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate facing p. 29.

² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

³ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, f. n. 6.

⁴ Longhurst: *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. I, p. 5.

⁵ Dabreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 33; the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Vijayanandins.

⁶ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, f. n. 6; see also above, Vol. XI, p. 343.

⁷ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 82.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, plate facing p. 126.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 15 ff. and plates.

¹⁰ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1927, plates facing pp. 106 and 107.

Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710¹ and who began to rule, according to the Dēvarahallī plates², if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A.D. 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of palaeography is to the Anpigeri inscription³ of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Chālukya monarch Kirtivarman II (i.e., A.D. 752), the form of every letter except *l* being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel *a* in *aṅka* (ll. 3 and 4), *aruṇḍavaru* (l. 7), *arḥaṣa* (l. 14), *aruṇḍa* and *aruḥḍa* (l. 17). The initial *ā* occurs only once in *Arīda* (l. 8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial *ṣ* consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in *Idereṣṣa* (l. 13), in *śiḍa* (l. 16) and *śiḍa-param* (l. 17). Initial *ṣ* occurs in line 13 and *o* in line 16. Among medial vowels *i* is distinguished from *ī* by a small loop in the circular sign (cf. *Lakṣmī* with *nirṇā*, l. 3). Medial *u* is marked in two ways: when it is attached to the letter *r* it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U-shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (cf. *puruṣa* and *guru* in line 3). In medial *e* the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long *e* and *o*. Medial *ai* is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the *talakattu* of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (e.g., *Ka* in *Kaḥḥa*, l. 2). Medial *au* is merely a combination of the *e* and the *i* strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *ḥ* and *l* which along with *ḥ* (not found here) furnish, according to Dr. Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The *ṣ* which occurs only once in *śaṅkaṅga* (l. 12) differs from *j* only in the absence of the centre prong. We have *j* in *rāja* (l. 2), *jana* (l. 4), *rājana* (l. 6), *gōtraja* (l. 8), *jawoḥ* (l. 16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in *peljavasi* (l. 14). *B* appears twice, first in *bāhu* (l. 5) and a second time in *koṇḍa* (l. 15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. *L* is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (e.g., *vallabha* and *Pallava* in line 1, *vipula* in line 4, *śaḥ* in l. 8, etc.). According to Fleet this form of *l* cannot be placed much before A.D. 800 in records coming from Western India.⁴ But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Rāygaḍ Plates⁵ of the Early Chālukya king Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625 and in the Bopgaon Plates⁶ of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final *n* (l. 9) and *r* (ll. 10, 17 and 18). Lingual *ḍ* can be distinguished from the dental *ḍ* by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in *ḍa* of *paduṇḍaḍa* (l. 12) and *ḍe* of *śiḍe* (l. 16). But the distinct form of *ḍ* is not shown in *ḍa* of *Chayḍamaḍḍeṣa* (l. 5) and *ḍaṇa* of *karuṇḍaḍaṇa* (l. 15) and, as Fleet has remarked, "it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the *ḍ* in the combination *ḍḍ*".⁷ The Dravidian *r* as well as *j* are represented in the record, the former in *aruṇḍavaruṇa* (l. 7), *Neydalgera* (l. 13), *niriyaga*, (l. 14), *niripattestu* (l. 15) and *aruṇḍa* (l. 17) and the latter in *kaṣaṇi* (l. 11), *Paramaḥ* (l. 12), *Gurapāḥ* (l. 12), *aiyeḥ* (l. 17) and *aiḍarā* (l. 18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in *śiḍa* (l. 16) and *peljavasi* (l. 14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the

¹ *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 42.

² *Ep. Car.*, Vol. IV, pp. 223 ff. and plates.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, plate between pages 16 and 17.

⁶ From ink-impressions in the possession of Mr. E. N. Dikshī.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 203.

Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gōpālādēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchi who continued to rule till the Chōla King Aditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 9th century A.D.¹ The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāñchi and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. Chāḍamahāsēna, the father of Gōpālādēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chāḍamahāsēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāḍavāṇa and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Sarvat 898 from Dhōlpur.² A Chāḍadāṇḍa of Kāñchi is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.³

The Kaikēyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage to Chāḍamahāsēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Ilahvāṇas⁴, probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavāsi. The wife of Kṛṣṇavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikēya princess⁵ and Mṛigēśvaravarman, the brother of Ravivarman was married to Prabhāvatī who "was born in the noble Kaikēya family".⁶ On the authority of the Purāṇas Pargiter places the Kaikēyas in the Panjab⁷ but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The record is not dated but, as shown above, it can be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known *śiṛṇa* of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gōpālādēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name, or that Chāḍamahāsēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47; or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gōpālādēva also tried to assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only waned towards the end of the reign of Kirtivarman II, the latest date available for whom is A.D. 757, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga. But it was Kṛṣṇa I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of all their territory and established the Rāṣṭrakūṭa supremacy by "transforming into a deer the great bear" which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.⁸ Since Kṛṣṇa I must have ceased to rule sometime between 773, the date of his Bhāṇḍak plates⁹ and 775, the date of the Pimpri plates of Dhāravarsha,¹⁰ the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.

¹ A. S. R., 1906-07, p. 239 and above, Vol. XIX, p. 34.

² No. 12 of Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But we know of an earlier Chāḍamahāsēna who was the King of Avanti and father of Vāsaśatā so well known to Sanskrit literature.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

⁴ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 161.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 12.

⁶ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1911, p. 35.

⁷ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 294 and 293.

⁸ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part B, p. 391.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seems to have ruled only for short time before 775.

Of the places mentioned in the grant Payvegunda can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Honavar, on the bank of the river Sarāvatī. Paramaṣe has probably to be identified with the modern village Harnavā which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda; and Tanvaḷḷi may be the same as the present Tumbolli, also close to Haigunda.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ Svasti [1*] Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prīṣṭhvi(śrī)-vallabha Pallava-
 2 va-rāja-Gōpālādēvaśya Kaikōya-vana-śābha-śādhata-pradhāna-pu-
 3 rusaśya anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkṛita-prasāva-lakṣmī-nivā-
 4 sa-vakṣa-ethalaya anēka-rapa-vipula-śatru-jana-prabhaṇjana-ka-
 5 ri-kar-ākāra-bāhu-dvayaśya Chapṇamahā(ā)sēna-putraśya Payve-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 gundu-pur-śivaraśya Pallava-rājēna dattah¹ [1*] Mantri-purohita-śrīkara-
 7 samuṭṭha-śāśvavaruṭṭha-ayunūrvvaruṭṭha-sahitāṁ tasmā prasāda-parāva-
 8 pponge Arila(Hārita)-gōtrajange Simgitale-Panyārange Kāsampa-
 9 ḥiṣā sama-bhūgumāṇa chandra-sūryya-udāppinaṁ sarva-vituddha-ra-
 10 hitāṁ Gōpālādēva[1*] kottar bhukt-ānubhuktāṁ salutt-ijḍuḍu [1*]

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 Mana-dānamuṭṭha Palace-gaṇṭha modai-āge kaṇimiyuṭṭha vaḍagannā śme
 12 Paramaṣe paḍuvannā śme Tanvaḷḷi Gōrapāḷi teṅkannā śme
 13 Neydalgeppā śrī mōḍannā śme Iḍevettadā vaḍaga-
 14 nṇā nūrtaga ॐ Kolaguppe peḷḷavasi arithaṁ kāmasoppin-ardhaṁ
 15 vāral-arithaṁ kāra-pūḍaṁ nūr-irpatt-eṭṭu(ṇṇu) konbe gāraḍa pa-

Third Plate.

- 16 ḍevan meṭṭa(vōṇu) mōḍe jamaḷi ondu ॐ Iḍu Gōpa(ā)lādēvarā da-
 17 ṭi itaḥ-param-ūḷṇ-āḷṇār 1 aṇuṇṇa bhūmi agra-
 18 ka(ḷ)ramuṭṭha Vāraṇāsiyūṇ-āḷḍerā lōkakke salvūr [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-6. Hail! This is the gift of the Pallava chief Gōpālādēva alias Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages born of the Kaikōya family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the abode of the (goddess) Lakṣmī, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of Chapṇamahāsēna and the lord of the city of Payvegunda.

LL 6-10. Gōpālādēva, attended by his minister, the purohita (family priest), the Śrīkaraṇa (officer of Accounts), the one-thousand (maḷḷaṇas) and the six-hundred (uḷḷu) granted, free from all opposition, to Simgitale-Panyāra of the Hārita-gōtra who had earned his (Gōpālādēva's) favour the equal share (i.e. half) of the village Kāsampaḷḷi (to be enjoyed) as long as the sun and the moon exist. (This estate) was in (his) continued enjoyment.

¹ Read Pallava-rājāya dattah.

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

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SEAL



THREE TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE.

Ll. 11-14. (*The portion granted was as follows*) :—The house site and the rice-fields beginning from (the place called) Palage-gaṇṭa. The northern boundary (of this was) the (village) Potamaḷe, the western boundary (consisted of the villages) Tayvaḷḷi and Gārapāḷi, the southern boundary (was) the embankment of the (tank called) Neydalgere and the eastern boundary (was) the lake on the north of (the hill called) Iḷevetta.

Ll. 14-16. (*Besides this*) he was granted one half of the incomes *kolaguppe*¹ and *paljanna*, one-half of *kāna-soppu* and one-half of *cāra* and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight *kāra* (= *kārahāpana* ?)² and a pair of eight *mādes*.

Ll. 16-18. This was the gift of Gopāladēva. He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this *agrahāra* comprising six hundred lands and Benāres.

NO. 30.—TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS.

By D. B. DISKALRAJ, M.A.

A.—Bantia Plates of Dharaśena II [Valabhi-] Śaṁvat 257.

While examining the old records of the Watson Museum, Rājkot, I found two impressions of two plates of a Valabhi grant hitherto unpublished. On the cover of the impressions the late Mr. Vallabhi H. Acharya, formerly Curator of the Watson Museum, had made the remark that the impressions were given to him by a vernacular school-master of the village Bantia, in the Bātwa *ṭhālā* in the south-west of Kāthiawār, in 1904. It seems that the late Mr. Acharya was not successful in obtaining the original plates. My efforts to trace them have not yet been successful. But considering the importance of the inscription I think it proper to publish it here with the help of the impressions only.

Unfortunately the impressions were not properly taken and being kept in the files for the last 22 years the paper has become very fragile. It is clear, however, that the two plates were in a perfect state of preservation, and formed a complete grant. Each plate measures 12½" by 8" and contains two holes meant for the rings. The first plate contains 17 and the second 15 lines of writing.

The characters are those usually used in Valabhi grants. As regards orthography it is sufficient to note that the name of the grantor king is spelt as Dharaśena (l. 15) instead of Dharaśēna as is usually found in the grants. The symbols of *Jhacimāṇiya* and *Upadimāṇiya* are used only once in l. 15 and l. 30 respectively. The word *bhaktā* (or *datā* as in some grants) is left to be engraved after *bahubhīr-vasudhā* in l. 30. The record is however generally free from mistakes.

The record opens with the name of the place, viz., Valabhi from which the grant was issued. Then as usual the genealogy of the Maṭṭraka family from Bhātārta, the founder, to Dharaśena II, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical description of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharaśena II. The donor is a Brāhmana named Dēva-datta, of *Śāṅgīya-gotra* and *Maṭṭrayaniya-Sākha* (l. 20).³ The property granted consists of a village named Bhāṭṭaka- (or Bhadraka) *paṭra* (dm l) in the northern part (*uttarapatti*) of *Kaṇṇa-dīnyapura* in the *Suraśtras* (ll. 11, 17, 18). The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmanas, for the maintenance of the five sacrificial rites (l. 20). The names of officers (ll. 15-16) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (ll. 18-19) accompanying the enjoyment of the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharaśena of Sam.

¹ For the explanation of these terms see above p. 176.

² The meaning of *kāra* given is not clear.

³ The place of residence of the Brāhmana is not mentioned.

332¹. The grant was written by Skandabhaṭṭa, the minister for peace and war (l. 31), and the Dātaka was Chirbhira (l. 32). The date of the grant is the **fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of (the Gupta-Valabhi) Samvat 254** (l. 32) when there was a solar eclipse (*Sūrya-śaṣṭōga* l. 22).

Both the Dātaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants² of Dharaśēna II of Sam. 252. In his grant of Sam. 269 however the Dātaka was a different person.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grant it is well known that Valabhi is modern Valā in Kāthiāwār. The village of Kaundinyapura can be identified with Kodinār in south Kāthiāwār. The village Bhaṭṭakapat(d)ra in the Surāṣṭras cannot be identified.

Of Dharaśēna II as many as twelve grants are known: seven³ of these are of Sam. 252, one⁴ of Sam. 269, two⁵ of Sam. 270 and the remaining two⁶ being fragmentary do not give the dates. The most interesting point about the date of the present grant is the mention of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Sam. 254. Though as many as 9 grants were issued by Valabhi kings on the *amāvāsya*-day (mostly on the *amāvāsya* of Vaiśākha), it is only this grant that makes mention of a solar eclipse. It is also probably the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record. According to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. I, part I, pp. 230 f.) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (i.e., Vaiśākha according to the *Pūrṇimānta* calculation) on 19th March 573 A.D. which may be taken to be the date of the grant.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री लक्ष्मि [1⁸] वलभीतः प्रसभ-²

 16 पालिवन्धोः परमसाहेवरः श्रीमहाराजधर्मेन्द्राय सन्निवायुक्त

 17 वासये सुरादेय

Second Plate.

- 18 कौण्डिन्यापुरा उत्तरपदे भद्रकपच(द्र)सामकोदक
 20 मैत्रायणिकसत्रज्ञवारिणाण्डिवसमोत्रज्ञानदेवदत्ताय वलिवरवेष्टदेवाम्निहोवा-
 तिधिपंचमहायाज्ञिका-
 21 ना क्रियाणां समुत्तर्यणार्थमाचन्द्राकीर्णवसरिति(तिष्ठति)समकालीनः पृथपोवा-
 न्वयभोज्यः पूर्व-

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 80.

² See n. 3.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XV, p. 187; VII, p. 68; VIII, p. 301; XIII, p. 160; *Sk. and Pr. Ins. of Kāthiāwār*, p. 33; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IV, pp. 38 ff. and Above Vol. XI, p. 80.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

⁵ *J. B. E. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), p. 66; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 70.

⁶ *J. B. E. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), pp. 24 and 21.

⁷ As the text is practically identical with that of the Palitana grant of Sam. 262 (Above, Vol. XI, p. 80) only the most important portion is given here. It may be noted that the names of Bhaṭṭaka, Dr̥ṣṭadīpa, Dharaśēna, Bhārappa and Guhasēna, are recorded in the lines 2, 3, 6, 7, 8 and 12 respectively.

⁸ Read श्रीम.

- 22 भुज्यमान[द्वय] सूर्योपरानि उदकसर्वण व्रद्धदेयो निवृष्टः

 31 दिभिः [१^a] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ।
 निश्चितं मन्थिनिपहाधिकृतस्कन्दमटेन ॥
 32 स्रजस्तो मम महाराजयोधरसेनस्य ॥ इ चिन्विः सं २०० ५० ४ ।
 वेगस्तं व १० ५ ॥

B.—Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III—[Valabhi.] Samvat 304.

Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (retired), kindly gave me information of the plates edited here, which are lying with a grain merchant named Dipasang Kānāji in Bhavnagar in Kāthiāwād. Through the good offices of Prof. Naraināhprasād Bhaṭṭa of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Bhavan, Bhavnagar and other friends I have been able to purchase them from the owner.

The plates are two in number each measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. They contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Each plate contains two holes as are commonly found with Valabhi plates and meant for the insertion of copper rings holding both the plates together. But both the rings, one of which must have contained the usual Valabhi seal, are missing. The characters are those usually found in Valabhi grants. They are neatly engraved though not in perfect straight lines. The writing is almost free from mistakes. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

At the beginning of the record is mentioned the military camp, *Kṣatāka-prasāda* from which the grant was issued by Dharasena III, the son of Kharagraha, who was the younger brother of Śilāditya. The introductory portion containing the description of each ruler from Bhātārka, the founder of the family, to Dharasena III, the donor of the grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasena II of Sam. 310^a. The grantor king bears only the epithet *parama-mahēśvara*. The donee is a Brāhmaṇa named Mitrayāśas, son of Brāhmaṇa Viśnuyāśas, of *Ātrāya-gotra* and a follower of *Ātharva-Vēda*, resident of Hastavapra. The property granted to him recorded in the grant consists of the following—

- (1) 100 *pādārtas* of land called Kōlikā, ploughed by Kuṭumbi Gōmīyaka and situated in the north-west quarter in the village Amākarakūpa in the Hastavapra-*dhāra* in the *Sunāhīrā^a-vishaya*. The boundaries of the field are: to the south, the village cattle-track; to the west, the junction of the boundary of the village Chūṭikā (with that of the village Amākarakūpa); to the east,^b the rising ground of a stone quarry (and) to the north, the field called Pālasika (†) of the Kuṭumbina Chārabbhāṭaka and Ohandravaka, as well as the field belonging to Karīraka in the north of the Rōhidaka-*māla* adjoining the *Arishijjikā-śālā*.
- (2) A ploughed field of Kuṭumbi Kapardiyaka in the north-west quarter in the village Dabhaka in the Kālāpaka-*paṭhaka*. It lies to the west of the field Avakṣiastī (*i.e.*,

^a The usual imprecatory verses and injunctions.

^b Read *śāyaka*.

^c It is well known that in grants beginning with and later than the year 286 the names of the rulers between Bhātārka and Guhmesena are dropped. See above, Vol. XI, p. 175 and *J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.)*, Vol. 1, p. 24.

^d The word is generally used in the masculine but in a few cases it is used in the feminine as in the present case. Cf. above Vol. XVII, p. 108.

^e It may be seen that the boundaries are not given in the proper order.

unploughable land I), to the north of the field of Khudjaka, to the east of the field of Nagnvaka, (and) to the south of the junction of the boundary of the village Bhajjaka (with that of the village Dabhaka).

- (3) In the same village in its south-east quarter an irrigation well with an area of eighteen *pāḍārtas*, dug by Kutumbi Kapārdiya of the same village. It lies to the west of the field irrigated by (*prachikāḥ*) the Khajjāri well, to the north of the field of Somaḥ and a canal, to the east of the play-ground (and) to the south of the old way by the side of Dabhaka.

- (4) Similarly in the village Hasthridaka in the Śrāvastākā-śālā in its southern quarter seventy superficial (*ulbaka*) *pāḍārtas* of the field of Kutumbi Nāgāka, to the west of (the temple of) Saṅkasiḥ . . . (i.e., goddess Bhavāni) built by the villagers, to the north of the field of Khachchabhaya, to the east of the junction of the boundary of Sanviraḥ, to the south of the limit of the field irrigated by (*prachikāḥ*) the well called Śirāḥa.

The Dātaka, who executed the grant was the prince Sāmānta Śilāditya and it was written by Vastabhāṭṭi, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war.

The record concludes with the date the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhi) Samvat 304 and the sign-manual (of the king).

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that no date was hitherto found between Samvat 292,¹ the latest date of Śilāditya I and 319,² the earliest date of Dhruvasena II-Balāditya. Although we know that two rulers (viz., Kharagraha I and Dhruvasena III) had ruled in the intervening period, no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for one of these rulers³ and partly fills up the gap existing between Sam. 302 and 319.

The Dātaka of the present grant, viz., Sāmānta Śilāditya, is the same as is found in the earlier grants of Dhruvasena II-Balāditya. The writer Vastabhāṭṭi is mentioned in the grants of Śilāditya-Dharmāditya beginning with the year 286 and also in the grants of Dhruvasena II-Balāditya at least up to the year 313. From Sam. 330 to 339 his son Skandabhāṭṭa succeeded him as the keeper of records and writer of grants and from 334 to 365 Anabha the son of Skandabhāṭṭa. We know that another Skandabhāṭṭa (probably the father of Vastabhāṭṭi) was the writer of the later grants of Dhruvasena beginning with the year 246 and in all the grants of Dhruvasena II from 252 to 270 just before Vastabhāṭṭi. The office was thus held by four generations in this family for at least 120 years.

The following places are mentioned in the record: **Surāshṭrā** mentioned as a *viśaya*, **Hastavapra** mentioned as an *āḍa*, **Kāśpaka** mentioned as a *paṭaka*, **Śrāvastākā** and **Arabhāṭṭā**, mentioned as *śālā* and **Amākāśāpā**, **Dabhaka**, **Bhājaka**, **Hasthridaka** and **Chūṭikā** all these mentioned as villages. Of these **Surāshṭrā** is the old name of the Kāthiāwār peninsula. Though in later times and at the present day **Surāshṭrā** denotes only the southern part of Kāthiāwār, it appears that eastern Kāthiāwār was once included in **Surāshṭrā** since **Hastavapra**, which is modern Hāthab⁴ in Bhāvnagar State is said to be in **Surāshṭrā**. **Kāśpaka**

¹ Above, pp. 117 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 12.

³ Very recently Mr. Cooke, the present Curator of the Rajasth Museum has discovered a grant of Kharagraha dated Sam. 297 cf. *Asia. Rep. Indian Mus.* 1931-32, p. 7.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, App. p. 42.

which is mentioned in the grants of Sam. 310 and 326 and perhaps also of 286 is modern Kalkveda. 60 miles north-west of Porbandar.¹ The other places cannot be identified.

The expression *Khōṭaka-pradeśa* seems to denote that the king had probably encamped just outside (*pradeśa*) the city of Khōṭaka. The use of the word *pradeśa* is also found used in connection with Valabhi itself, the capital of the dynasty, in the Dhānk² grant of the year 290 as *विजयस्कन्धारादलभोप्रहारहोस्ववासकात्*. It is also found used in a Gurjara grant³ of Śaka 417 as *भक्तकण्ठप्रहारवासकात्*. In fact, the use of *pradeśa* in the ancient grants would appear to be analogous to that of the modern *parā* which is added to the names of several towns in Kāthiāwār to indicate the precincts or suburbs in the vicinity.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धारादखेटकप्रहारवासकात्समप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामनुव-
ससंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहार⁴

Second Plate.

- 25 निखिलप्रतिपन्नदर्यादयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानः सकलनृपतिमण्डला-
भिनन्दितशामनः पर-
26 ममादिष्ठः श्रीधरसेन × कुमली सर्वानिव यथासंवध्यमानकाशमाज्ञापयत्यसु वो
विदितं यथा मया मातापितोः
27 पुण्याभ्यायनाय हस्तावप्रवास्तुध्यायेयसगोचाश्चर्चसन्नचारिणे ब्राह्मणविष्णुयशःपुत्र-
ब्राह्मणमित्रयशसे सु-
28 राष्ट्रविप्रये हस्तावप्रचारि भमाकाररूपयामि पूर्वोत्तरसीन्नि गोमिथककुटुम्बिकट-
कोत्तिकावेनपादावर्त्तयतं यस्यावाटनानि
29 दक्षिणेन सामगोसरपवः अपरतवूटिकायामसीमासन्धिः पूर्वतः पादाणव्यलिकाम-
स्तक(क) उत्तरेण त्रारभटकवद्रवककुटुम्बिकेव
30 पालशिकं तथा अरिष्टिज्जिकासलोपत्यासकरोचिकमालादुत्तरतः करीरकसक्तकेच २
तथा कालापकपथके डभकयामि
31 उत्तरापरसीमायां कपदि(हिं)यककुटुम्बिकटसीता अवलषिचेवादपरतः खुडुमवेवा-
दुत्तरतः मण्णुवकवेवात्पूर्वतः भडासक-
32 सीमासन्धेर्दक्षिणतः तदापैव यामि पूर्वदक्षिणसीन्नि कुटुम्बिकपरिचकाह(कर्तु)कल्लटा
अष्टादशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा वापी-खजूरि [वापी]

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 237.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 82.

⁴ For the portion II, 2-24 omitted here as being common with other Valabhi plates, cf. above, Vol. VIII, pp. 190 ff., 199 ff.

- 33 प्रचीज्ञादा[*] अपरतः शौककचेववदादुत्तरतः खिलपाद्या-पूर्वतः इभकाज्ञे पुराण-
कगामिमाम्नाइच्छिनात तदा सो[रावा]टाका[क]
34 स्वव्यां हस्तिहृदकपाभे दक्षिणसीमि नागिलककुटुम्बिवेचोत्पन्नपादावर्ता सततिः
सामोणनिमित्तगङ्गारिकाव्या[परतः]
35 खञ्जयवेचादुत्तरतः सौवीरकसीमासन्धेः पूर्वतः सेरिद्रहवापीप्रचीज्ञामव्यादाया
दक्षिणतः एवमतद् सोदङ्ग¹
42 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकोच राजपुत्र सामन्तगोलादिल ॥ लिखितं चेदं सन्धि-
विशहाधिलतदिविरपतिवच द्विना ॥ सं ३०० ४
43 माघ श ० स्वहस्तो भम ।

No. 31.—THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The inscription¹ published below is engraved on the south wall of the *sanctuary* in front of the central shrine in the Sundarēśvara temple at Pallavarāyappēttai near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll. 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the Tamil language and script of the 12th century A.D. Orthographical peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word *Kōyir-kotu* (l. 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' *kōyir* meaning 'palace' and *kotu* a 'division' or 'establishment.'² The word *apamādaṁ-neyyūm* (l. 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' The first part of the compound implies 'those that are attached to the inner circle,' in which sense, the word is, however, now obsolete. The significance of the term *tuṟai* (l. 6) is not quite clear. From the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department.' In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. *Muṭi-ṭol* (l. 7.) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word *virundāṇṇi* (l. 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman.' The term *uṭṭari* (l. 28) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant.' The *uṭṭari*-documents are invariably issued over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakesari-varman Rājādhirājādēva (II) and begins with the words '*kaḍai-sūṇḍa*,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The object of the record is the grant of an *uṭṭari*

¹ The portion ll. 36-41 contains the usual privilege accompanying the gift of a land and the imprecatory verses.

² Registered as No. 453 of 1924 in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24. The inscription is noticed in the *Journal of the Mysic Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 57, but the readings and the interpretation given there requires great alteration.

³ [The word means also 'a household' or 'family' see Winslow's Tamil-English Dictionary.—C. R. E.]

regarding the estate of **Tiruchchirrambalam-Udayāg Perumānambi** alias **Pallavarāyar** of Kāṇṇai-Kulattūr, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyar, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājārāja II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōla succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A.D.

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyar brought in Rājādhirāja II and placed him on the throne; in the second, the help rendered by the Chōla king to the Pāṇḍya refugee Kulasekhara, Pallavarāyar's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulasekhara are detailed at length; and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyar, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by **Vēdavanam-Udayāg Ammayappa** alias **Pallavarāyan** and the final grant of an *alvār* for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōla king Rājārāja II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected **Edirū-Perumā**, the son of **Neriyūḍai-Perumā** and the grandson of **Vikramaśūlavar**, residing at Gaṅgaikondaśūlapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājārāja II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their succession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (*pillaiṅgal*)⁴ were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyar escorted them to Rājārājapuram along with the harem⁵ from the stronghold at Ayirattal. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne **Edirū-Perumā**⁶ under the title Rājādhirāja (II) with the consent of the *uday-kāṭam* and the *nāṭu* in the fourth year of installation.⁷ Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected.

⁴ The common term *pillaiṅgal* is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as *per-māṭṭai* (l. 21).

⁵ [If the daughter of Pallavarāyar, who is described as 'the wife of Rājārājādāya with her sons' (l. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 *vali* of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājārāja II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyar could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactful removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the former king's successor-designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grand-children.—Ed.]

⁶ There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.

⁷ No. 337 of 1914 from Madattukōyil in the Pudukkōṭai State belonging to Rājādhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Svāti', corresponding to A.D. 1162, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kielhorn has fixed the date of accession of this king between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. According to the present inscription, Rājādhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, i.e., in 1160-61 A.D. His second year, therefore, would be 1161-62 and the Madattukōyil grant was probably issued while Rājādhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Punganūr in the Cāttūr district (No. 209 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājādhirājādāya', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.

[There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos. 571 of 1907, above Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A.D. as the first year of Rājādhirāja II's reign; on the other hand there is at least one record (No. 96 of 1920) according to which Rājārāja II was ruling in 1155th December 1163 A.D., i.e., about 8 months subsequent to the date of his successor's accession as fixed by Kielhorn. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]

Though Rājārāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirili-Perumāi to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir-apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājārāja's demise, when Edirili-Perumāi was crowned king as Rājādhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A.D. 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulōttunga-Chōla III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttunga-Chōla III was one of the two sons of Rājārāja II and that during the former's minority, Rājādhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōla country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājārāja II and those of Kulōttunga-Chōla III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions 'Pū-maruvaya' and 'Puyal-vilaytu,' etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirili-Perumāi under the title Rājādhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāyar to the Chōla kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession¹ waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulāśekhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulāśekhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōla king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar undertook to lead the Chōla army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulāśekhara to the throne, to decapitate the Sinhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura² so as to inspire terror in the enemy's camp. Kulāśekhara³ is stated to have stayed in the Chōla country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Sinhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulāśekhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājādhirāja II refer to this war, viz., one from Ārpākkam⁴ in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year; another from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu⁵ near Madras, dated in the 12th year; and the third from Tirumayāgam⁶ in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

¹ Copper-plate No. 23 of 1916-17 which belongs to Rājārāja II as the ruler of the Vēṅgi country couples the Saka year 1091 (= A.D. 1160) with the 23rd regnal year. We know that Rājārāja II was not alive in A.D. 1160 and that the Chōla country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājārāja's reign. Incidentally, however, we see from the record that the Chōla hold on the Vēṅgi country was not lost even after the death of Rājārāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (*A. R.* for 1917, para. 26).

² *A. R.* No. 178 of 1908; also *A. R.* for 1909, para. 80.

³ *A. R.* No. 154 of 1907. For similar commencement with the introduction of predecessors, see *A. R.* for 1913, para. 33, and *A. R.* for 1924, p. 102.

⁴ This war is detailed at length in chapters 76 and 77 of the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptional evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it assigns victory to the Sinhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Sinhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōla general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulāśekhara received from Rājādhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

⁵ Such gruesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 68).

⁶ In this connection it may be noted that Kulāśekhara sought help from his uncle, the Kōṅga king Kulōttunga-Chōla, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restitution of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (*A. R.* No. 336 of 1928). The *Mahāvaṃsa* also corroborates the help received by Kulāśekhara from the king of Kōṅga. The chronicle states that 'Kulāśekhara gathered together the forces of Tirunavala and those also of his mother's brethren which were at Ten-Kōṅga and Vaḍa-Kōṅga' (Wijesinha's translation p. 245).

⁷ No. 30 of 1899 of the Madras Epigraphical collection and *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, p. 188 ff.

⁸ No. 468 of 1905 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection.

These epigraphs confirm and supplement the information given in our record and are, therefore, valuable sources for the history of this war, our knowledge of which, in the absence of any reference to it in Tamil literature, has been hitherto wholly based on the one-sided account of the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*. In this war the two Chōla generals that took prominent part were, Pallavarāyaṇ mentioned in our present record, and after him, Vēdavapam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Appan Pallavarāyaṇ, the officer who distributed the lands among the former's relatives. After detailing the events recorded in the present inscription, the Tiruvālaṅgādu epigraph sets forth that Vēlavapam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Appan Pallavarāyaṇ counter-acted the subsequent machinations of the Singhalese king. Finding that his attempts to place Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne were frustrated by the intervention of the Chōla king and that his own generals were defeated and killed, the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu¹ mobilised his forces in his camps at Ūratturai,² Pulaichchēri,³ Mātōttam,⁴ Vallikāmam,⁵ Maṭṭivāḷ⁶ and other places and was busy preparing his ships for a naval attack. Hearing of this, the Chōla king summoned Śrīvallabha,⁷ the nephew of the king of Ceylon and a previous claimant to the throne of Iḷam, supplied him with what was necessary and helped him to enter Ūratturai, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ and other places with large forces with the result that Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam and other villages were destroyed, the elephants stationed therein were captured, more than 20 *kūdam* of land in extent from east to west and 30 *kūdam* of land from south to north in Iḷa-maṇḍalam was devastated, and among the Singhalese chiefs that were stationed in the region, some were killed and others taken captive. The general Vēdavapam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Appan Pallavarāyaṇ then sent for these captives, the booty and the captured elephants and presented them to the Chōla king.

At this stage, the Tiruvālaṅgādu inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king Kulasekhara, ignoring the good done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Iḷam and conspired with him against the Chōlas. In furtherance of this policy, he drove to the north of the river Vejjāru the Chōla general Rājarāja-Karkudiyarāyaṇ, Rājagambhīra-Aṇḍukōṭṭinādālvāṇ and others that were

¹ Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1183-1186), the greatest ruler of Ceylon, is remembered chiefly for his activities in building cities, constructing and restoring large tanks and for his imperialistic attempts to extend his authority over Southern India. There is a statue of this king, carved on a rock at Polonnaruwa.

² Ūratturai is now known by the Dutch name Kayts and is situated on an island to the west of Jaffna. In Singhalese works the place is called Hūrā (or Ūrā)-tōṭa and in the *Mahāvamsa* it is referred to by the name Sūkaratittha. It was an important port in the time of Parākramabāhu.

³ Pulaichchēri is the same as Pulaverri of the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 83, V. 17).

⁴ Mātōttam is the Mahātittam of the Pālī chronicles. In Tamil inscriptions it is called Rājarājapattam (S. I. I. (Texts), Vol. IV, Nos. 1412 and 1414). It is now known as Māntai or Tirukhādīvaram and is situated about 6 miles to the east of Mannar. There was a temple called Rājarāja-Ivaram-Mahādēva in this village (A. R. for 1913, para. 21).

⁵ Vallikāmam may be identified with Valikkāmam about 5 miles to the south-east of Mannar. The village is called Vallikūma in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 83, V. 17).

⁶ Maṭṭivāḷ may be identified with Maṭṭuvil, a village about 10 miles to the east of Jaffna. A sea-port of this name is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 60, V. 34).

⁷ The assistance rendered by Śrī-Vallabha to the Chōla king is not noticed in the *Mahāvamsa*. In the Tiruvālaṅgādu inscription it is clearly stated that Śrī-Vallabha was the nephew (*suramāyāṇ*) of the Singhalese king. He was the son of princess Mittā, sister of Parākramabāhu (see genealogical table facing page 52, *Ep. Zeylonica*, Vol. II). His father Mañchharaya was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon, and before the latter ascended the throne, there was a protracted struggle between the two claimants for sovereignty. Mañchharaya was in the end worsted, but his son does not seem to have been reconciled to the annexation. It may be said that the Jaffna kings had been the allies of the Chōla emperors and so, when help was needed, Śrī-Vallabha readily embraced the opportunity. It is not certain whether Śrī-Vallabha went to the assistance of the Chōla king with the connivance of Parākramabāhu. It cannot also be affirmed whether the treachery of Kulasekhara, which stands unexplained in the inscriptions, is in any way to be traced to Śrī-Vallabha.

stationed in the Pāṇḍya country, and also removed the heads of the Ceylonese generals that had been previously nailed to the gates of Madura by Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar. Some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulasekhara, hinting that the Singhaless king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōla king. It was therefore, decided to renounce on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon and a claimant to the throne of Madura. Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammayappan alias Pallavarājan was directed by the Chōla king to proceed with the necessary forces. When he had successfully accomplished his object, the general was granted 10 *vēli* of land in Rājārāja-Palaiyanūr, according to the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu record. All the above events are also recorded in the Tirumayāpam inscription which appears to be an almost exact copy of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu inscription. Both of them are dated in the 13th year and 157th day; the Tirumayāpam inscription is, however, very fragmentary, but it has helped to fill in certain lacunae in the text of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu record. The reason why the same inscription should be engraved in two distant places as Tiruvālaṅkāḍu (Chingleput district) and Tirumayāpam (Tanjore district) is not quite clear.

Of the persons figuring in the present inscription, the most important is Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar who took an active part in the coronation of Rājādhirāja II and in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession. From the Ārppūkam epigraph we learn that his father was Kōṭṭuṅga-Sambuvacāvar. He seems to have died before 1171 A.D., the date of the present record. Next in importance to Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar stands Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka. He was entrusted with the command of the Singhaless army by the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu, when Parākrama-Pāṇḍya sought his assistance against Kulasekhara-Pāṇḍya. Before Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka could start for India, Parākrama-Pāṇḍya had been murdered, but the Ceylonese general succeeded in besieging Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya country, and in forcing Kulasekhara to flee from his kingdom. Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammayappan alias Pallavarāyan, who effected the distribution of lands among the relations of Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar seems to have been an important officer and general both under Rājārāja II and his successor Rājādhirāja II. The several persons noticed in the record as the relatives of Pallavarāyar are obscure and are, therefore, not easily identifiable. The signatories to the *uḍari*, Chēdirāśar, Vāṇādhirāśar, Singai-arāyar, Nilaguṇagaraiyar and the royal secretary Mūnavan-Māvāṇḍavāḷḷu appear to have held office even in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription Kārigai-Kuḷattūr, the native place of Pallavarāyar, deserves notice. The Tamil prosodist Amudasāgarar commenced and completed his work Kārigai in this village, which, therefore, came to be known as Kārigaikūḷattūr.¹ It is stated to have been in Āmūr-kōṭṭam which roughly comprises the eastern portion of the present Chingleput taluk. There are two villages in this taluk bearing the name Kuḷattūr, one near Tirukkachehiyūr in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam and the other near Tiruppōrūr in Āmūr-kōṭṭam and the village mentioned in our record may be identified with the latter. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, Kaṇḍan-Mādhavan,² a descendant of the chief who patronised Amudasāgarar, was

¹ The chronicle describes Kulasekhara as 'a powerful king,' 'conquering in the art of war,' 'a terror to his enemies' and as 'skilled in devising means such as reconciliation, etc., to prevail against the enemy.' We find that Kulasekhara was driven out of Madura by A.D. 1108 (Ārppūkam inscription) and that he was reinstated on the throne by A.D. 1171 (Pallavarāyapēṭṭai record). By A.D. 1175 (Tiruvālaṅkāḍu inscription) he had been dethroned and Vira-Pāṇḍya crowned in his stead. It is, therefore, clear that Kulasekhara could have occupied the throne only from about 1171 to 1175 A.D.

² Atiya, Vol. XVIII, p. 87.

³ Ibid. p. 84.

in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarāyur of our record. **Jayaṅkoṇḍasōla-maṇḍalam** and **Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōla-puram** are well known to Tamil epigraphy. **Ayirattai** was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Paḷamānēri in the Tanjore district. The village is also mentioned in the '*Viraṅḍiyam*' of Buddhamiṭra and mentioned as 'a place of thousand temples.' **Rājādhirāja-Kuṭattūr** probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyanpettai which is known in inscriptions as Kuṭattūr and must have been called Pallavarāyanpettai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōja general. **Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaṇaṇḍu** was evidently named after the surname 'Virudarājabhayaṅkara' of Kulāstuṅga-Chōja I.¹

TEXT.

1. Svasti ēti [|*] Kaḍal-ēḷḷiṁ Pār-māḍarum Pū-māḍaruṅ Kalai-māḍarum-aḍai-ēḷḷeḍa Pēr-māḍaruṅ-Chēr-māḍarum [amarṇḍa-vā]a²
2. nāṅ-kaḍal-ēḷḷi puvī-ḍum pār-kaḍal-pōl³ puḡaḷ parappa āḍiyugam-m-eṇ[ua]⁴ ēḍimūḍi pumaṇḍarūḷi aru-ḍamaiyamam
3. aṁ-bāḍamūṇa nēṇṇiḷ nīḡru pārippat⁵ Te[n*]navaruṅ-Chēralaruṅ⁶ [Śōḷa]a[ra]-mudalāya maḷ[ḡavargaḷ] t[ā]ḷ[ra] ḍumandu vaṇ[ḍ-iḡēḷḷi] sōḷippa⁷ūḷi sōḷḷōḷ eḷu-p[ā]rum-inḍa-āḷippach-chem-po- vī-
4. ra-sjinhāḡattu Ulagūḍai-Mukkoḷkiḷāṇḍiḡaḷḍum vīṇṇirundaruḷiṇa Kōv-Irājakōvari-paṇmar-āṇa⁸ [Tribhujvanachelukravartiga]⁹ Śrī-Rājādhirājadēvarikku yāḡḡu eḷtāvadū¹⁰ |||
5. Jayaṅkoṇḍasōla-maṇḍalattu Āmūr-k-kōṭṭattuch-Chirukunṇa-nāṭṭuk-Kāṇḡaḷ-Kuṭattūr-Kuḷ[ā]ttuḷḷa Tiruchchirāmbalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambiyār-āṇa Pallava-
6. rāyar Periyadēvar Rājārājadēvar pērttu kōyir-kottum-āvar-kudirai-agambaḍi-niyāyam uḷḷiṭṭa turaṇḡaḷḷukkuṁ mudaliḡaḷum-āy mudaliḡaḷ-ōpūḍi kārīyat-
7. mukkuṅ-kaḍavarum-āy eḷ[ā]ḷa varisāḡaḷum muṇ-ēval uḷḷiṭṭu mudaliḡaḷ perakkāḡava ēḡraṇḡaḷum porru nīḡru Periyadēvar¹¹ tūḷḷi-aruḷip-piḷḷaḡaḷ[ḷ]ukku oḡṇum irāḡḡum tironakshatrum-ā-
8. ḡiṇṇiḷ Āyirattaiḷip-paḍaiṇṇiḍum viṭṭup-pōḍavēṇḍip-pōḍuḡiṇa-ḷḡattut-tirav-antapuramum ...¹² Araḡḡaḷum uḷḷiḷ[ā]ḷaṇa eḷlām paṇḡarittuk-[kūṭṭi]k-koḍu-pōṇḍu Rāja-
9. [rā*]ḷ[ḡa]ḷ[ra]ḷ[ā]ḷiḷḷe iruṇḍa iḷaḷttakku [sōḷ]ḷeḷḷe iḷaṇ...yaru mīḡuḍi-p... [ra]ḷḷu uḍaḡ-kūṭṭatt[ā]...[rā]ḷum eḷlāk-[kaḷakka]... [Sō]ṇṇāḷyat¹³ tukku...yā irupṇār kārāḡavaruḍ....
10. vēḇḍip-purattu eḷlā aḷaiṇu kēḷḡaḷum va[rāḍa] iḷattu in.....[um] paṇḡarittu iv..... Periyadēvar eḷundaruḷiḷḷe...¹⁴ n[ā]ḷiḷḷe tīru-abbi[ḷe]ḡattukku aṇṇiṇa piḷḷaḡaḷ iḷṇiṇḷe ...[rukki]-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 152.

² Amāṇḍuḷa is another reading for amāṇḍu vā (No. 58 of 1900).

³ For pōl some inscriptions read rōḷ.

⁴ Other readings are āḍiyugam madaḍeṇa (No. 20 of 1899) and āḍiyugam āmema (No. 474 of 1905).

⁵ Pāḍa pōḷḷiḷḷe is another reading (No. 20 of 1899).

⁶ No. 20 of 1899 gives in addition *Konḡamūṇa Pallavarum*. No. 465 of 1905 has *maḷḷiḷḷe-ḷḷiḷḷe*.

⁷ No. 20 of 1899 has *parakkāḡarum*; and in *paṇmarāṇa* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

⁸ Some inscriptions have *Maduraiyem Iṇamam Iṇḡarāḷiḷḷe* in addition (cf. No. 474 of 1905) *chala* in *chhalamāṇḡaḷ* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

⁹ The letter *ga* is inserted between *ri* and *ā*.

¹⁰ The *pa* may be filled up with the letters *paṇ*.

¹¹ *Ja* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

¹² The word *ḡiṇḍa* may have been lost here.

- 11 paṇḍiṇai pārttu [m]e-gāḷiḷē kārīyam irundapadi vi....¹ [e]yda Gaṅgaiko[ḥ*]ja-
ḷḷapara....² daruḷi iru[k*]kīya piḷḷaṅgaḷai ..³yāgam paṇḍu....⁴jaṇḍi
Viḷk[i]ramaśōḷadēvar-pēraṇār
- 12 Neriḍaiṇperumā[*]tirumagaṇār Ediriḷi[perumā]ip-peri....[ḷi]-araliṇa nāḷiḷē
maṇḍai kav[ḷ]pittu...⁵ dār-āṅavāḷē ivarai-tiru-abbi[shōgam] paṇḍu[viḷkka]-kaḷ-
avar[ḷ]a]...⁶tu nāḷān-tirunakshatratilē **Rājadhiraśa⁷dēvar** *
- 13 nṛu tīru-ā[sh]bhishōgam paṇḍuvittu uḍaḷ-kūṭṭaṇḍu nāḷu-k⁸oṇṇupattuch-chellumpadi
paṇḍu[vitt-arali]uḷr [i*] miḷai śeyyādapadiyūm] pari[ga]ṇṇittu ivargal ei....⁹u-
chērap-piḍittup-paḷi aḷaḷid-ā
- 14 gaḇ-cheyvāḍ-erupaliyūm paṇḍi [i*] Nattān Pāṇḍi-nāṭṭilē paḷaḷaḷu-kāraṇavar-
ānāraiyu[m*] eṇḷadip...¹⁰vittu i-nāḷu kaikkōḷak-kaḷavan-āḷap-paṇḍiṇa
i...¹¹ [P]ḷeḷiyaṇār Kulakṣharadēvar
- 15 ta[m]maḍaiya rāḷyam¹² vittuch-Chō[arā]ya¹³tilē pugundu eṇḍaiya rāḷya¹⁴tu nā
perum[ḷ]aḷi-ppaḷ[ḷ]avēṇḍu-vā[ḷ]u] [o]ḷḷa ivar Uḍaiyār....¹⁵ var perumpadi
paṇḍu-kaḷa-
- 16 var-āḷavūm imā rāḷya¹⁶tilē pugunḍu [vāḷu] kaikkōḷa Ilakkāpuri-Daḍḍanāyaka-
uḷḷittāraik-kōṇṇu Pāḍi[ya]r[*]ḷa]-i-
- 17 ruppāḷa Madurai-vāḷalilē ivargal] talai taippikkak-kaḷavarāḷavū-chōḷi ippaḷiellām-
vionappa[ḥ*]-cheyvā tīruvullam-āṇapadiyē Pāḍiyaṇār Kulakṣharadēvar Śōḷarā-
ya¹⁷tilē iranda nāḷi ivarkku v-
- 18 eḍuvagav-ellān-kuraiv-ara-cheyvā parikarittu laḷattāḷum¹⁸ aritattāḷum urāḷa¹⁹[y*]pāḷum
Pāḍi-nāḷu kaikkōḷu tū-chōṇṇapadiyē Ilakkāpuri-Daḍḍanāyaka-uḷḷittāraik-
ko tu ivargal-talai
- 19 Madurai-vāḷalilē taippittu Pāḍiyaṇār Kulakṣharadēvar Madurai[yi]ḷē pugunakku-
chey²⁰[y*]ya-ēḍuvagavūm vā...[ḷ]yāt]tu śeyvittu ivarai Madurai[yi]ḷē pugavittup-
Pāḍi-nāḷu Il-nāḷ-āḷaḷa-
- 20 paḍi parikarittuch-Chōḷa-rāḷya²¹m *ora-paḷi[ḷ]kku] iḷḷat-Toḍai-nāḍum Pāḍi-nā²²ḍum
chellumpadiyūm paṇḍi rāḷya²³kāriyān-kōḷu nīrvagittak-kaḷava ma...ku-ttāḷ-kaḷi-
aḷai-ttu-k²⁴kāriyān-kōḷu-ḷeluttipapadiyē tamakku pi-
- 21 ubam i-kkaḷḷaḷaiyilē kāriyān-chelvadornpadi kāriyān-kōḷu śe[va]ḷḷā[ḷi*]niḷka [i*]ivar
viyādi-paṭṭu iriyē oḷḷamāyil ivar-virun[ḷ]aṅgaḷukku[m] makkaḷukku[m] ivargal-
virumlaṅgaḷukku[m*] makkaḷukku[m] poṇ-makkaḷukku[m] tāvārkkum uḷa-

¹ The letters *seppa* may be inserted here.² The letters *piu* may be inserted here.³ The letters *yaḷḷu-ḷi* may be inserted here.⁴ The letters *veḷchey* may be inserted here.⁵ The expression intended was probably *nāḷu-ṇṇupattuch*.⁶ The letters *ḷeṇḍi* may be inserted here.⁷ The letters *pōḷa* may be inserted here.⁸ *ḷa* is engraved as a conjunct letter in Grantha characters.⁹ The letters *Kolattāraḷi* may be inserted here.¹⁰ The letter *ba* is written in Grantha characters.¹¹ The letter *āḷ* is engraved in Grantha characters.¹² There is an extra secondary length after the letter *āḷ*.¹³ The letters *tilē* *u* may be inserted here.¹⁴ The letters *vitta* *U* may be inserted here.¹⁵ The letters *ppa* may be inserted here.¹⁶ Engraved in Grantha characters.¹⁷ The letters *ḷaḷa* may be inserted here.

- TRANSLATION.

* The word *Rājadhikṛṣṭo* is engraved in *Grantha*.

* The gap may be filled with the letters //a.p/.

* The word intended was perhaps *Sander*.

* The letter *ss* is engraved in Gensho character.

¹ The letters *sk* and *vd* are ungraved in *Grantha*.

The letters 26, and 29 are illegible in the original document.

* The word *allure* may be lost here.

* The letters *Rāksas* are engraved in *Grantha*.

When **Kulattulāy Tīruchchirāmbalamudaiyāy Perumānambī** alias **Pallavarāyar**, (a resident) of **Kūrigai-Kulattūr** in **Sīgukunra-nādu**, which was a subdivision of **Āmūr-kōttam**, a district of **Jayāngondasōla-maṇḍalam**, who had received all honours (*varāṇas*) (such as) the position of the Palace-Comptroller of the big household of **Periyadēvar** (i.e., the senior king) **Rājārājadēva**, the headship of the several departments (*tuṟṟai*) of the body of armed cavalry, retinue, etc., and was managing such of the affairs as had been allotted to the chiefs, receiving all (*high*) dignities attainable by the officers such as *meg-ēal*. **Periyadēvar** (i.e., **Rājārāja**) passed away. His (**Rājārāja**'s) sons (*piṣṣai*) (being then) aged one and two years, it became obligatory for them to leave the citadel of **Ayirattai**. And while they were moving, he (**Pallavarāyar**) safely escorted the harem including all their retinue and conducted them to **Rājārājapuram**.

L. 9. Damaged.

Ll. 10-13.

protected them watching off all possible danger from outside. Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for appointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it (then) stood, (was intimated to the king) and (having brought) the princess residing at **Gaṅgaikondasōlapuram**, and at the time of **Periyadēvar**'s demise, he (**Pallavarāyar**) had **Edirilipperumāl**, son of **Neriyudaiipperumāl** and the grandson of **Udayār Vikramasādādēvar**, who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (king) under the title of **Rājādhirājadēva** in the fourth year (of his installation) and made the *udai-kōttam* (assembly) and the *nāḍu* (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus, (he) brought all (parties) together so that there might be no transgression. (In this way he) creditably discharged one of his commissions.

Ll. 14-24. While the king of Ceylon sent a large contingent of forces along with many chiefs into the **Pāṇḍya** country so as to effect the capture of this kingdom, the **Pāṇḍya** (king) **Kulaśekhara** left his dominions and entering the **Chōla** country requested (the king) to get him (back) his territory: (whereupon **Pallavarāyar**) represented to (the **Chōla** king) that **Udayār** [**Kulaśekhara**] **dēva** should be made to get back the kingdom, that **Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka** and others who had entered and taken possession of this (**Pāṇḍya**) kingdom should be killed and (that) their heads should be nailed on to the gates of **Madura**, the capital of the **Pāṇḍya**. When the royal sanction was obtained (thereof), he (**Pallavarāyar**) unhesitatingly did all that was necessary for (the **Pāṇḍya** king) **Kulaśekhara** and guarded (him) during his stay in the **Chōla** kingdom; captured the **Pāṇḍya** country with (the aid of) his army, resources and zeal; and, as promised, killed **Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka** and others and nailed their heads on to the gates of **Madura**; (he) made all necessary arrangements for the entry of the **Pāṇḍya** king **Kulaśekhara** into **Madura**; and by making him (**Kulaśekhara**) enter (his capital) **Madura**, prevented the **Pāṇḍya** kingdom from becoming a **Singhalese** possession; and made the **Tondai-nāḍu** and the **Pāṇḍi-nāḍu** subject to him (i.e., the **Chōla**), as was his own (**Chōla**) country.

When (**Pallavarāyar**) was thus in the height of power, having taken upon himself the management of the country and having appointed persons capable of bearing the burden of the administration even after him (i.e., after his death) in the same manner as it used to be done (during his lifetime) through his orders issued to capable officers administering the kingdom, he fell ill and died. (Thereupon), his estate, 40 *ēḷi* in extent, in **Rājādhirājap-Kulattūr** situated in **Kurukku-nādu**, a division of **Vimdarājabhayaṅkara-vaṇaṇḍu**, which was separated in the 8th year of the king, from **Chōḷendrasōganallūr** after discarding its old name, and being exempted from all taxes including *antariyam* and *pāṭṭam*, (was distributed) among his wives, sons, their wives and children, (his) daughters and mother, (his) uterine sister, her children and their relations, by **Palaiyaṇḍi-Udayār**.

* It is noteworthy that in this distribution of lands, all the near relatives of the deceased are provided for.

Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan alias **Pallavarāyan** of Mēgmalaip-Pajaiyagūr in Jayāṅgaṇḍa-sōja-maṇḍalam for enjoyment (as follows):—

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| Ll. 24-25 . Among (Pallavarāyan's) wives (a), (b), (c) and (d). | (a) to the daughter of Śīrālattūr-Uḍaiyāṇ. | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| | (b) to the daughter of Ālinād-Uḍaiyāṇ. | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| | (c) to the daughter of Nor-kunraṇ-kijār Kalappālarāyar. | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To the three married daughters of (b) above. | | six <i>vēli</i> (of) land at two <i>vēli</i> per head. |
| Among the sons of (c) above | to Aḷagiyālēyar | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To the (three) daughters of (c) above | | six <i>vēli</i> (of) land at two <i>vēli</i> per head. |
| | (d) to the daughter of Ambar Aruvandai Kōṭṭarāyar. | three <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To the daughter of the son of (d) above, Śō([ta(n)]*) Tirmattamādi Viramam[bi] Devaṅḍaiyāṇ and her daughter. | | two <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To the wife of Rājārāṣṭar (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyan from (f) above) and her sons. | | eight <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| To his mother | the daughter of Vaippūr-Uḍaiyār. | one <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |
| Among his sisters | to the wife of Vāliyār-Uḍaiyāṇ and her daughter. | two <i>vēli</i> (of) land. |

On the whole 40 *vēli* of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*.

Ll. 28-30. The signatories to the *uṭṭari* (are):—

Sandiyarāyar||— Amarakōṭṭār||— Kaṇakarāyar||— Mūvandarāyar||— Chīṇattarāyar||— Vāḷiyarāyar||— The *Puram-tari Śrīkarāṇa-nōyakam* are:— Śīrūkudaiyāṇ||— Kuṇraṇkijār||— Kūṇār-kijavan||— Nariyanūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— The *puram-tari Śrīkarapatta Muṇuveṭṭi* are:— Iḷḷar-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Tattainallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Śīrūnallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— For the royal order that was issued, (the attestors are):— Chōḍirāṣṭar||— Vāṇādhirā||— [va]rāṣṭar Rājā*|rājā*|vijupparaiyar||— Śīṅḷarāyar||— Nīlagaṇḍarāyar||— Dipattarāyar||— (This royal order) is the draft of the royal secretary Mūvāṇḍaiyāṇ||—

No. 32.—TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTACAMUNDI.

The Buddhist *stūtra* forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on two incised bricks which were discovered in 1924 by Mr. J. A. Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive *stūpas* near the main *stūpa* at Nālandā.¹ The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

¹ See *A. S. I. As. Rep.*, 1923-24, p. 74.

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of $11\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $8\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The inscription consists altogether of thirty-one lines of writing of which twenty-two lines are incised on the top surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 8". In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both A and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palaeography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigrapha. It appears that the letters have not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. It is clear from the shape of the letters that the scriber has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents here in the nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The characters found on these records belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period, more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the **sixth century of the Christian era**. As to their palaeography the following points may be noticed:—of the initial vowels the lower portion of *e* and *ā* shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of *ā* is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. *I* is denoted by three dots and in *e* the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, angle *k* is written in the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left but such loops are noticed in places in ligatures (cf. *sanskāra* in l. 3, *skandha* in l. 11, etc.). The triangle of *kh* stands at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common with the latter the third as well as the central horizontal line of *j* are slanting downwards and *d* has a serif in the lower end. In *a* the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from the 7th century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. *Bh* is as in the Gupta period¹ and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. *Y* is tripartite with a hook to the left which led up to the later bipartite *y*. *D* is rounded at the top of the middle vertical touching the right and the left limbs. Lingual *l* occurs twice in the document (cf. *Mula-kāṣa*, B l. 19), a peculiarity not found in later documents. The *Virāma* is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (cf. *katama*, B. 10, 11, 15) and the superscript *r* is denoted by an angular stroke on top evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The language of both the documents is Sanskrit which is on the whole correct. Rules of *sandhi* have not been strictly adhered to. As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have at times been doubled, e.g., *vahirdhā* (B l. 6), *pārcratā* (A l. 14), *avakhrātā* (A l. 21). *Sl* is frequently written as *ks* in A, e.g., *sanskāra* for *sanskāra* (A l. 3, etc.). *V* and *b* have not been distinguished except in *kubja* (B l. 19; A l. 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the ordinary mark represented by a small curve (—) like a comma written horizontally, and the other, a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (cf. B l. 15 after *cā* and A l. 30 after *ā*). The former has been shown in the transcript below, with a *daṣṭa*.

The text of the *sūtra* as found in both the bricks is substantially the same. I have given below only the text of B, which is the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They contain the text of the well-known *Pratītyasamutpāda* or *Nāṭyasaṁhita* as well as its *śikhaṅga* or division.

¹ Cf. the inscription of Tōranāga, G. I. I., Vol. III, Pl. XXIII.A.

The *sūtra*¹ portion is found in Buddhist literature both in Pāli and Sanskrit,² while the *vibhāṅga* portion is closely connected with the *vibhāṅga* found in the Nidāna Sāmyutta.³ B does not give any colophon while at the end of A we find only *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samvāpataḥ*.

In addition to these records, several other bricks and terracotta slabs containing the Nidāna-sūtra have been found at Nālandā. But none of them is complete and they contain only a fragment of the *sūtra* and sometimes that of the *virōdha* portion as well, but none contains the *vibhāṅga* as found in the two records under discussion. All are written in a cursive hand (No. S. 3, Reg. 237 of the Central Circle, being the most cursive), just as the two documents dealt with here. Of these, No. S. 3, Reg. 237 contains seven fragmentary lines of the *sūtra* and Brick C seven such lines of the *virōdha* only. No. S. 3, Reg. 242 is inscribed on both sides (of which portions of five lines only remain on each side) and contains fragments of the *sūtra* with its *virōdha*. No. S. 3, Reg. 236 originally contained the *sūtra* with its *virōdha* which was repeated thrice. Only at the end of the *virōdha* portion we find an additional sentence which reads *iyam samyak-prakṛitir-asaukṛitā nīyam-āvakāśāntīr-iti*.

Inscriptions containing the text of the Nidāna Sūtra have also been found in places other than Nālandā. Bricks with this *sūtra* inscribed on them have been discovered at Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces.⁴ Besides these we find the text inscribed on the Kasiā copper-plate⁵ and the Kurram casket.⁶ Of these the first two are written in the Gupta script and Sanskrit language while the third is written in the Kharoṣṭhī script and a Prākṛit dialect. Palaeographically all the three appear to belong to a period earlier than that of the two Nālandā bricks under discussion, the Kurram casket being the earliest in date. The text in Pāli is not also unknown. A manuscript with leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hmaswa⁷ in Prome District of Lower Burma. The writing is in the South Indian Script of the 5th or 7th century A.D. than in common use in Burma and the language is Pāli. The manuscript contains, among other extracts from the Piṭakas, the text of the Pañcoba Samuppāda Sutta.

The text of the *sūtra* on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasiā copper-plate is on the whole identical. Both contain the positive and the negative arrangements of the 'Propositions of the Theory of Causes', here technically termed as the *āchaya* (i.e., collection) and the *apachaya* (the loss) of Dharma, the latter corresponding to the *virōdha* portion of the *sūtra* as found in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The text of the Kurram Casket contains only the positive arrangements of the *sūtra* and is termed *Pañcāsamupāda* (Skt. *Pratītyasamutpāda*). The interest of the present

¹ This has been shown in the text in Italics for facility of reference while the rest is the *vibhāṅga*.

² See *Vinaya Pitaka* (ed. Oldenberg), I, pp. 1 ff.; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, II, pp. 1 ff., etc.; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, pp. 196, 257; *Dīghanikāya*, pp. 300, 347; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1; *Lalitā Vistara* (ed. Lefmann), p. 347. In most of these texts we find the positive as well as the negative (*virōdha*) arrangement of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

³ *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.

⁴ The twelve-fold *Pratītyasamutpāda* or the propositions of the Buddhist Theory of Causation are often found in their 'positive and negative' arrangement. It is essential for a Buddhist to study and learn the respective links in this chain of causation and to understand it in its positive and negative arrangements, both forward and backward (Pāli, *anuloma* and *patiloma*). For an explanation of this theory cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (English translation), pp. 223 ff.; Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 185 ff.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 47 ff.; Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 876 ff., etc.

⁵ *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 29.

⁶ *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1910-11, pp. 76 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 17, and *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 135.

⁸ *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1926-27, p. 209.

records, however, lies in the fact that they contain the positive arrangement of the *sūtra* and also a *vibhanga* or division which is not met with in other records so far discovered. Besides this the present text has an interest of its own. As has been pointed out by Dr. Bagchi in his notes appended below, it was the same text which was translated by Yuan Chwang in 661 A.D., i.e., three years before his death. Recently Prof. G. Tucci has published the fragments of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-śākyā*, a commentary on the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* by Vasubandhu¹ (circa 4th or 5th century), a work which was already known through its Tibetan translation. But it will be of great interest to observe that the text on which Vasubandhu, himself a teacher at Nālandā for some time, wrote a commentary, must have been the same as that now published. Thus the Nālandā text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* reveals to us the original Sanskrit text of a *sūtra* of great importance which was so far known only through translations.

It is to be noted that all these documents containing the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* were found imbedded in *stūpas*. Of these the Kasiā copper-plate and the Kurram Casket contain the names of donors. The former was the gift of one Haribala who deposited it in the (*Parī-*)*śrīśākyā-chaitya* while the inscription on the latter informs us that the casket contained the corporeal relics of the Buddha and the *Pratītya-samutpāda* was written 'for the honouring of all beings'. The present records and the Gopalpur brick inscriptions contain no names of the donors. Now the question that naturally arises is this: what was the object of writing down the Nidāna Sūtra and depositing it in the *stūpas*? It was done obviously for the sake of gaining merit, but why was the Nidāna Sūtra selected above all others? We know that among the Buddhists there are four classes of objects of worship—(i) the corporeal remains of the Buddha, (ii) objects used by the Buddha himself such as staffs, bowls, pieces of articles burning his robes, etc., (iii) objects indirectly connected with the Buddha and thus regarded as holy such as the *bodhi-tree*, *chaitya*, etc., and (iv) *Dhamma* as preached by the Buddha. I-tsing also gives us some interesting information on this point. "The priests and laymen in India," says the Chinese pilgrim, "make Chaityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings whatever they go. Sometimes they build Stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these Stūpas in lonely fields, and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again when the people make images and Chaityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand [lit. sand-snow], they put in the images or Chaityas two kinds of Śāstras. 1. The relics of the Great Teacher. 2. The Gāthā of the Chain of Causation."² The *gāthā* referred to by I-tsing is the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dhammā* etc. supposed to have been spoken by Āvajit to Śāriputra.³ Prof. Oldenberg and Rhys Davids pointed out long ago⁴ that this stanza alludes, undoubtedly, to the Nidāna-sūtra, 'which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here *dhammā kete-ppabhavā*'. The Sanskrit version of this stanza is extensively found on Buddhist votive gifts such as images,

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 613 ff. Prof. Tucci in the text published by him has underlined the portion quoted from the *sūtra*, but on comparison with the Nālandā text it will be observed that his division of the original text and the commentary is not everywhere correct. Moreover, I do not agree with him that in Vasubandhu's work *vibhanga* was 'the name of the various chapters each corresponding to a particular *nidāna*' (ibid. p. 612, n. 1). The text commented on by Vasubandhu is identical with that obtained at Nālandā and contained at the beginning the Nidāna Sūtra followed by the *vibhanga* in connection with each *nidāna*. Thus he is not right in giving the title *Arīṣṭa-vibhanga* to the first section of the work which deals only with the *sūtra* portion.

² I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (translated by J. Takakura), p. 160.

³ See *The Pāliya Pīṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg), I, p. 40.

⁴ See *S. B. R.*, Vol. XIII.

tablets, plaques, etc., throughout the Buddhist world.¹ The blessings derived from putting in the images or *chaityas* the *stūpas* mentioned above are abundant.² The authentic relics of the Buddha were always scarce and must have been more so after the early centuries of the Christian era. That is why we find in the *stūpas* at Nālandā and other places only tablets containing the Nidāna-sūtra, which was part of the *Dhamma* preached by the Buddha himself. To a Buddhist this *sūtra* is next in sacredness only to the four venerable truths (*ārya-satyāḥ*) and is very important since a proper understanding of this leads to the way of Nirvāṇa. Nāgārjuna said in his *Saṃvṛtīkha*, "Even though fire should be burning above our head, . . . we ought to waste no time in putting it out, but should keep in view perpetually our Final Liberation (*Mokṣha*), reflecting on the truths of the 'Chain of Causality'."³ It is no wonder, therefore, that this *sūtra* is considered as of paramount importance and has so frequently been found deposited in the votive *stūpas* raised by the Buddhist monks as well as laymen.

The following text is transcribed from impressions and photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Central Circle. As the Chinese translation, an English rendering of which has been appended below by Dr. Bagchi, followed the Sanskrit original quite closely, I have not given a separate translation of the Sanskrit text but have noticed the slight differences found in places in the foot-notes to Dr. Bagchi's translation.

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham* [*] Evaṃ mayā śrutam-ākāśam-samayē Bhagavān-chChrāvastyāśa
viharati sma Jōtavanō Anāthapiṇḍadas-ārāmō¹ mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghāna
sārdham-ardha²-trayōda³-sabbhīr-bhikṣu-śataḥ [*] Tatra Bhagavān bhikṣū-
ṇām-ā[ma*]tra-
- 2 yatē⁴ sma Pratītya-samutpādaya vō bhikṣavaḥ ādī[m*] vō dēśayishyāmi
vibhāgaṃ cha⁵ tach-chhṛ[ṇa*]ta⁶ sādhu cha sushīlu cha manasi kuruta
bhāshishyē Pratītya-samutpāday-ādīḥ katamaḥ [*] yat-ut-dēśin-sat-[I]dān-
bhavaty-asy-ōtpāda[dō]⁷ d-ida-
- 3 m-utpadyatē⁸ yat-ut-āvidyā-pratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ⁹ saṃskāra-pratyayaṃ vijñānaḥ
vijñāna-pratyayaṃ nāmarūpa[ḥ] nāmarūpa-pratyayaṃ śarī-āyatanaṃ śarī-
āyatana-pratyayaḥ sparśaḥ (śāś)¹⁰ sparśa-pratyayā vēdanā vēdanā-
- 4 pratyayā trishṇā trishṇā-pratyayā[m-¹¹upādānaṃ upādāna-pratyayā bhavaḥ
bhava-pratyayā jātiḥ jāti-pratyayā jarā-maraṇa-śōka-paridēśa-duḥkhā-āurmanasy-
ōpāyāḥ saṃsāra[mōha]samūḥ¹² sam-ārya kōśala-

¹ [The latest finds of this kind are from Nālandā and Pāṭharpur excavations, where thousands of tiny clay votive *stūpas* have been discovered in the relic chambers of small *stūpas*, each enclosing little clay balls inscribed with the Buddhist creed.—Ed.]

² I-tsing, *A Record* etc., p. 161.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ A reads *arīḥ*.

⁵ There is a small stroke above *tra* in both which may be accidental.

⁶ A reads correctly *ānāśā*.

⁷ A reads *śārīrāṇa* correctly.

⁸ Here and in several other places A reads *saṃsāra*.

⁹ A has *pratyaya*.

¹⁰ Translated by I-tsing in his *Record*, p. 161.

¹¹ The record A has a mark of punctuation here.

¹² A has *āgāḥ*.

¹³ A reads *dā* correctly.

¹⁴ A has correctly *spāṇa*.

¹⁵ A reads *simhānāṇa*.

- 5 *aya mukhā dukkha-samudhaya samudayā* [Dh]anti¹ [1*] *Ayam-uchyātē Pratyaya-samutpādasy-ādih* [1*] *Vibhaṅgaḥ katamaḥ* [1*] *Avidyā-pratyayāḥ* [1*] *Avidyā² katamā* | *Yat-pūrvāntā³ ajāñānā sparśantā⁴ ajñā-*
- 6 *nān pūrvāntā-sparśantā ajāñānā adhyātmam-ajñātam* *va(bal)kiriddhā ajñānā* *addhyāstma-va(bal)kiriddhā* *ajñānā karmāny-ajñānā* *vipākā ajñānā* *karma-vipākā ajñānā* *Vu(Buddhā ajñānā* *Dharmā ajñānā* *Saṅghā ajñānā⁵ dukkhā*
- 7 *ajñānā⁶ samudayā ajñānā nirōdhā ajñānā⁷ mārgā ajñānā⁸ hētāv-ajñānā⁹ hētu-samutpannāṣu dharmāṣu-ajñānā¹⁰ kusal-ākosāḥsu āyady-*
- 8 *tavyāṣu* *kīna-praṇīta-kriyā-śukla-sapratibhāga-Pratitya-samutpannāṣu dhar-* *māṣu-ajñānā¹¹ śaṣṭu vā punaḥ sparś-āyatanāṣu yathābhūta-sampratīva-* *(Dē)dhā iti* | *Yat-tatra tatra yathābhūta-*
- 9 *taṣ-ajñānā¹² adarśanam-anubhūtanāyāḥ tamah satmōhaḥ avidyā-ānāhākāram-* *katamā* [1*] *Trayaḥ samskārāḥ* [1*] *Samskārah*
- 10 *Kāya-samskārah vāk-samskārah manah-samskārah iti* | *Samskāra-pratyayaḥ vijñā-* *nam-iti* | *Vijñānam katamat* [1*] *Shad-vijñāna-kāyāḥ* [1*] *Chakṣu* *(i-vijñānāḥ* *śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-mano-vijñānāḥ* [1*]
- 11 *Vijñāna-pratyayaḥ nāma-rūpam-iti* ¹³ | *Nāma katamat* [1*] *Chatvārah arūpi-* *yaḥ skandhāḥ* [1*] *Katamā chatvārah* [1*] *Vedanā-skandhāḥ samjñā-* *skandhāḥ samakāra-skandhāḥ vijñāna-skandhāḥ* [1*] *Rūpaḥ katamat* [1*]
- 12 *Yat-kūṣṭhīd-rūpaḥ sarvaṣu tathāchatvāri mahābhūtāni* | *Chatvāri cha mahā-* *bhūtinīy-upādāya ā-īdam cha rūpaḥ pūrvakam cha nāma tad-āikadh-* *yam-abhisamākalpya nāma-rūpam-ity-uchyātē* [1*] *Nāma-rūpa-pratyayaḥ shad-* *āya-*
- 13 *tanam-iti* | *Shad-āyatanāḥ katamat* [1*] *Shad-adhyātmikāny-āyatanāni* [1*] *Chakṣur-ādhyātmikam-āyatanāḥ* ¹⁴ *śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-mano* [1*] *adh-* *yātmikam-āyatanāḥ* | *Shad-āyātana-pratyayaḥ*
- 14 *sparsāḥ* *iti* [1*] *Sparsāḥ katamat* [1*] *Shat-sparsākāyāḥ* [1*] *Chakṣuh-sat-* *sparsāḥ śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manah-samsparsāḥ* [1*] *Sparsa-pratyayā vedanā-* *iti* | *Vedanā katamā* | *Tvō vedanāḥ* [1*] *Bukhā*
- 15 *dukkhā adukkha-āsukhā cha* || *Vedanā-pratyayā trishā-iti* | *Trishā katamā* *[1*] Tvō¹⁵ trishāḥ* [1*] *Kāma-trishā¹⁶ rūpa-trishā¹⁷ arūpya-trishā¹⁸* *cha* | *Trishā-pratyayam-upādānam-iti* | *Upādānāḥ katamat* [1*]

¹ A has a mark of punctuation here.² A reads *pūrvāntā* and *aparśantā* here and in the next line.³ A reads wrongly *antā*.⁴ A reads *antā*.⁵ A has the correct reading *Tanmā*.⁶ A reads *āyatanāḥ*.⁷ A has a punctuation mark here.⁸ A reads wrongly *aparśantā*.

198A

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a Buddhist inscription. The text is arranged in two columns, with the left column containing lines 2 through 22 and the right column containing lines 2 through 22. The script is highly stylized and appears to be a form of Pali or Sanskrit. The text is written on a dark, possibly black, background, which is the surface of the brick. The characters are white or light-colored, creating a high contrast. The text is organized into a grid-like structure, with lines of text running horizontally across the page. The lines are numbered on the left and right margins, indicating the sequence of the inscription. The overall appearance is that of an ancient manuscript or record.

- 16 Chatvāry-upādānāni [*] Kām-upādānāni¹ dṛiṣṭiy²-upādānāni³ sīla-vrat-upādānāni⁴ ātma-vāśā-upādānāni⁵ | Upādāna-pratyay[ō] bhava itī [*] Bhavaḥ katamaḥ [*] Trayō bhavāḥ [*] Kāma-bhavaḥ rūpa-bhavaḥ arū⁶.
- 17 pṛa-bhavaḥ [*] Bhava-pratyayā jātī-iti | Jātīḥ katamā | Yā tśhām tśhām satvānām tasmā⁷-tasmān(amin)-satva-nikāyō jānīḥ satī-jātī-avakrāntī⁸-abhinirvṛtīḥ prādurbhāvaḥ skandha-pratilambhō dhātu-prati-
- 18 lambhaḥ āyatana-pratilambhaḥ skandhānām-abhinirvṛtīḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya [prādu]-rbhāvaḥ [*] Jāti-pratyayam jarā-maraṇam itī [*] Jarā katamā | Yat-tat-[k]hālātyaḥ pālītyaḥ vaḥ-prachurātā
- 19 jīratā bhugatā kuhja⁹-gōpānāni-vaṅkatā sīla-kālakā-chita-gātrātā |¹⁰ khula-khula-praśvāsa-kāyatā puratā pṛāg-bhāra-kāyatā |¹¹ dāṇḍa-vishkamabhāratā |¹² dhaṇḍatvaḥ mandatvaḥ hānīḥ pariḥā¹³joḥ¹⁴
- 20 indriyāṇāḥ paripākāḥ paribhēdāḥ satākārāṇāḥ purāṣṭhāvaḥ jarjurtbhāvaḥ iyaṃ-uchyatē jarā | Maraṇam katamaḥ [*] Yā tśhām tśhām satvānām tasmāt-tasmāt-sa[va]-nikā-
- 21 yāt chyatī¹⁵-chyavanataḥ bhōdō-ntara-bāṇīḥ āyusā hānīḥ tśhmaṇō hānīḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya nirōdhaḥ skandhānām nikshēpō maraṇam kāla-kriyā ātma-uchyatē maraṇam-iti [*]
- 22 Idam cha maraṇam pūrjvikā cha jarā tad-ubhayaṃ-aikadhyam-alihesati-kālipya jarā-maraṇam-ity-uchyatē | Ayam-uchyatē Pratitya-samutpādaya vibhāṅgaḥ [*] Pratitya-samutpādaya ādī[ur]¹⁶ vō
- 23 dēśavishyāmi vibhāṅgaḥ-cha itī vō yad-uktam-idam-ētat-pratyut-tam [*] Idam-avāchad Bhagavān-[āṭṭa]manasaḥ¹⁷ atō bhikṣavō Bhagavatō bhā-ṣitam-abhyānandam ti (dam-iti)¹⁸

No. 33.—A NOTE ON THE PRATITYA SAMUTPADA SUTRA.

By P. C. BAGCHI, M.A., D. in letters; CALCUTTA.

The small Sanskrit Buddhist text here published by Dr. Chakravarti is of considerable interest for the student of Buddhism. The colophon of the text contained in one of the bricks runs thus—*Pratityasamutpādaya samūptāḥ*. The text contains an enumeration of the causes of "dependent production," their definition and division (*vibhāṅga*). The complete title of the text was apparently, either *Pratityasamutpāda-sūtra* or *Pratitya-samutpāda-sūtra-vibhāṅga*.

Though the original text was unknown till now we were acquainted with it through the fragment of a commentary of Vasubandhu discovered from Nepal and published by Prof. Tucci.¹⁹ Only six leaves of the complete manuscript were found in the admirable collection of His Holiness the Rajaguru Hīmarāja Śarmā. They contain fragments of Vasubandhu's commentary on the five *vibhāṅgas*: *avidyā*, *vēdanā*, *spīṣhyā*, *upādāna* and *bhava*. This commentary is preserved

¹ A has a punctuation mark here.² A has *tasmā tasmān*.³ A reads wrongly *dṛiṣṭiyā*.⁴ A gives *dharmāni*.⁵ A reads *cha* after this.⁶ A also gives *kuhja*.⁷ A reads *āyusā*.⁸ Mark of punctuation unnecessary.⁹ A reads *paribhāṇī*.¹⁰ Read *manasaḥ*.¹¹ A reads at the end *satvānām-iti* | *Pratityasamutpādaya samūptāḥ*.¹² A fragment from the *Pratitya-samutpāda-vyākhyā* of Vasubandhu, *J. R. A. S.*, 1936, pp. 611-623.

in its entirety in the Tibetan collection (Gordier, Catalogue p. 365). A gloss on the commentary of Vasubandhu made by Guṇamati is also preserved in Tibetan in the same volume of the *Beṣan* Agyur. The title of Vasubandhu's work as preserved in Tibetan is *Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhāṅga-nirūṭha* but it was also commonly known as *Pratītya-samutpāda-nyūṭha* (see the fragment published by Tucci).

The Nālandā text is also preserved in a Chinese translation. It is No. 628 *Fan li ling* of Nanjio's Catalogue in which Nanjio has inaccurately restored the title as *Nāḍā-sūtra*. The translation has been published in Taishō Edition of the Tripiṭaka, Vol. II (Āgama), pp. 547-548 (No. 124). The translation was prepared by Hsuan Tsang on the 9th day of the 7th month of the year 661 A.D. The *K'ei yuen shue hse lu* (Tokio Ed. p. 706 II) mentions this translation on the authority of an unknown source called *Fan ling lu* and says that it is a different translation of the 46th chapter of the Ekōttarāgama. The text is found in the Taishō Tripiṭaka Vol. II, p. 794 *Fang niu ling*. The Ekōttarāgama was translated into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva in 383 A.D. A separate translation of the same text was made by Kumārajīva a few years later — viz. the *Fang niu ling*.¹ The same text is also found in another translation in the Chinese Saṃyukta-Āgama (Taishō II, p. 342, Ch. 47, Nos. 1248-1249). An examination of the texts shows that Saṃyukta 1248 is identical with the Chullagopālaka-suttanta and Saṃyukta 1249 with the Mahāgopālaka-suttanta of the Pāli Majjhima (Nos. 34 and 33). To this latter correspond also the text translated by Kumārajīva and that of the Ekōttara. But I fail to understand why the Chinese sources, and after them the Japanese editors, think that the Chinese version of the Gopālaka-sutta is a different translation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*. Even a superficial examination of this text will show that it has no fundamental relation with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*.

Dr. Chakravarti has suggested a relation of the Nālandā text with the *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga* of the Pāli Saṃyutta, II, pp. 1 ff. The *Desanā* consists of two parts, *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *nirūṭha*. The first part of the *Desanā* which deals with the *Pratītya-samutpāda* is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Nālandā text but the portion dealing with the *nirūṭha* is not found in the Nālandā text. Besides, though the *Vibhaṅga* portion is fundamentally the same in both the texts, in the Saṃyutta text it is given in an inverse order beginning with the *jarā-maraṇa*. Moreover the *Vibhaṅga* portion in the Saṃyutta is much more amplified than that in the Nālandā text. The Saṃyutta text (including the *Pratītya-samutpāda*, its *nirūṭha* and its *vibhaṅga*) really corresponds with section 298 of the Chinese Saṃyukta (Taishō Ed. II, pp. 85 ff.) which was translated by Guṇalhadra in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The original text of the Saṃyukta had been brought to China from India by Fa Hien in 414 A.D.² The Sanskrit original of the *Desanā* (the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and *Nirūṭha* portions only) was discovered by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in a copper plate inscription found at Kasi (ancient Kuśinagara). It was published by Mr. F. E. Pargiter in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* 1910-1911, pp. 71 ff. A comparison of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the *Desanā* shows that the Sanskrit text was the original on which the Chinese translation was based. The formula, *yad-ut-āmin-est-idaṃ bhavaty-asy-ūtpādā-idaṃ-utpadyatē*, which occurs in the Kasi and Nālandā text is not found in the Pāli *Desanā* but occurs in the Chinese translation. The Chinese text of the Saṃyukta has on the whole greater affinities with the Nālandā and Kasi texts of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *Vibhaṅga* than with the Saṃyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga*.

¹ Nanjio 627, Taishō Ed. II, p. 546, English, *Le Canon Bouddhique* I, p. 193 "Sūtra on a pastor".
² See English, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, pp. 347 and 352.

It is however clear that the Nālandā text did not exactly belong either to the Saṃyukta or to any other Āgama. Though the translation of Hsuan Tsang is included in the Āgama volume of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, it does not precisely form part of any of the Āgamas there. It is printed there at the end of the Saṃyuktāgama. It probably shows that Hsuan Tsang himself as well as the later Chinese writers on the Tripiṭaka had some doubts about the canonical character of the text. As Vasubandhu in all probability flourished towards the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. and commented on the text, it must have been in existence before that time.

The *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula is mentioned in very ancient texts. The *Sūtrālamkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa, now preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva, narrates the story of the conversion of the Brahman Kauśika of Pāṭaliputra. This Brahman while searching sacred texts in the house of his relative came upon a Buddhist text called the "Sūtra of the twelve Nidānas," a study of which impressed him so much that he adopted the Buddhist faith.*

The chronology of the texts therefore stands thus :—

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Kurram text (<i>Pratītya-samutpāda</i>) ¹ | Circa 100 A.D. |
| Sūtrālamkāra Text (<i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i>) | Circa 100 A.D. |
| Chinese Saṃyukta text (<i>Pratī</i> ² and <i>Vibhaṅga</i>) translated by
Guṇabhadra in | 414 A.D. |
| Kaśī text (<i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i>). | Circa 450-475 A.D. |
| Nālandā text (<i>Pratī</i> ³ and <i>Vibhaṅga</i>) | Circa 500 A.D. |

This analysis, it seems to me, throws some light on the formation of the Canon. It shows that the Āgamas were still in the process of formation, even shortly before the time of Vasubandhu (fifth century A. D.). In that case we must assume that the formation of the Pāli Nikāyas had not then been completed, as the Saṃyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga* not only embodies all the elements of the texts just analysed (viz. *Pratītya*², *Nirōdha* and *Vibhaṅga*) but its *Vibhaṅga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text. The late date of at least parts of the Pāli canon, as established in this case, has also been hinted by other scholars.

I give below an English rendering of the Chinese text (No. 628 *Yuan li king* of Nanjio's catalogue) which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā.

The discourse on the chain of Dependent Production.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Śrāvastī and residing in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta forest with innumerable³ Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men. At that time the Lord said to the assembly of monks,—I will (O monks) promulgate to

¹ The text ran thus—"The ignorance produces the *saṃskāras*, the *saṃskāras* produce the knowledge, the knowledge produces *āśmavṛpa*, the latter produce the six senses, the six senses contact, contact thirst, thirst attachment, attachment existence, existence birth, birth old age, death, suffering and sorrow. If ignorance is suppressed, the *saṃskāras* are suppressed, the *saṃskāras* suppressed the knowledge is suppressed, the knowledge suppressed the *āśmavṛpa* is suppressed, the *āśmavṛpa* suppressed the six senses are suppressed, the six senses suppressed contact is suppressed, contact suppressed thirst is suppressed, thirst suppressed attachment is suppressed, the attachment suppressed the existence is suppressed, the existence suppressed the birth is suppressed, birth, death, suffering and sorrow, all are suppressed" (E. Huber, *Sūtrālamkāra*, Paris, 1908).

² For a Prakṛit text inscribed on the Kurram Casket, see Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, G. I. I., Vol. I, pt. 1, No. LXXX.

³ [The Skt. text refers to 650 monks, but not to "Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men."—Ed.]

you the meaning of the fundamentals¹ of the Pratitya-samutpāda and its different derivatives. You ought to listen to it and bear it in mind perfectly well.² I will explain³ it to you to-day.

The assembly⁴ of the monks expressed its willingness saying—' We shall all be happy to hear it'.

Buddha said—How many are the fundamentals of the Pratitya-samutpāda? This being, it becomes; this producing, it is produced.⁵ Nescience is the cause of constituents (saṃśīdā), constituents are the cause of consciousness (vijñāna); consciousness is the cause of individuality (nāmarūpa), individuality is the cause of six sense-organs (ṣaḍāyatana), the six sense-organs are the cause of contact (sparśa), the contact is the cause of sensation (vedanā), sensation is the cause of thirst (trishṇā), thirst is the cause of attachment (upādāna), attachment is the cause of existence (bhava), existence is the cause of birth (jāti), birth is the cause of old age and death (jāra-maraṇa). They produce sorrow, lamentation, pain, troubles and straits.⁶ This is called the origin (samudaya) of all that is suffering (duḥkha-saṃskāra).⁷ Such is the import of the fundamentals of the chain of dependent production.

How many are the derivatives⁸ of the chain of dependent production? We have said that nescience is the cause of constituents. How manifold is the nescience? It is nescience in the past, nescience in the future and nescience in both the past and the future; it is nescience inside, nescience outside and nescience both in and out; it is nescience in action, nescience in its maturation (vipāka) and nescience both in action and its maturation; it is nescience in the Buddha, nescience in Dharma and nescience in Saṅgha. It is nescience in pain, nescience in its origin, nescience in its annihilation, and nescience in the path (saṃyama). It is nescience in cause and nescience in its fruit (phala).⁹ It is nescience in all dharmas that are produced from causes. It is nescience in what is good and what is not good. It is nescience in what is offensive and what is not offensive. It is nescience in what ought to be practised and what ought not to be practised. It is nescience in what is low and bad and what is noble¹⁰ and good. It is nescience in what is black and what is white. It is nescience in different parts. It is nescience either in

¹ In Chinese we have a word which literally means "origin", "commencement", etc., which is regularly used for *śāli*. *śāli* is here used in the sense of "primaries" and *vāśāga* in the sense of "secondaries". *vāśāga* is translated in Chinese by "division", "classification", etc. It is here used in the sense of "secondaries". So I have translated the two words as "fundamentals" and "derivatives" respectively. Vāsanabandhu in his commentary already referred to explains *śāli* as *addhā* and *vāśāga* as *avāśāga*. The Kaśī text has *apavāśāga* instead of *vāśāga* as in that text the *avāśāga* is described instead of *vāśāga*.

² Chinese is also "to the highest point", "with perfection", etc., and *śāli* means "well", "good". The expression evidently translates *śāli* *śāli* *śāli* *śāli* *śāli*. Before *śāli* the Kaśī text has *apavāśāga* instead of *vāśāga*.

³ Chinese has literally—"To-day by making distinction I will tell you".

⁴ [This does not occur in the Skt. text from Nālandā.—Ed.]

⁵ This formula does not occur in the Pāli text of *Sāṃyutta*. The Chinese literally means: "(It) relies on its becoming, therefore it becomes. It produces, therefore it is produced". The Kaśī text has got the formula in the same form as it is found in the Nālandā text. Tucci (*J. B. A. S.*, 1930, p. 614) has collected a number of references to this passage. *Śālistambā* ap. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des deux causes*, p. 71; *Pratītyasamutpāda*, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor); *Malālanā*, Vol. II, p. 283.

⁶ The Nālandā text: *duḥkha-pariṇāma-duḥkha-samudaya-samutpāda*.

⁷ *Duḥkha* is used here in a collective sense, meaning "all that is comprised under *duḥkha*, i.e., suffering". The phrase *duḥkha-samudaya-samutpāda* with reference to the *Pratītya-samutpāda* is very common in Pāli. See *Pāli Dictionary* (Stede and Rhys Davids), *sub. verb.* The compiler translates the phrase as "origin of all that is suffering".

⁸ The Kaśī text has naturally *avāśāga* *apavāśāga* instead of *vāśāga* as what follows in that text is not the derivatives of the chain but means of their destruction (*avāśāga*).

⁹ [This is not found in the present *Sāṃyutta*.—N. P. C.]

¹⁰ [This pair of words stand for *āśā* and *prajñā* respectively.—N. P. C.]

what is produced from causes (*pratityasamutpāda*) or in the six sense-organs. It is *nescience* in the insight into real nature of things. Similarly wherever there is *nescience* in the real nature of things, wherever there is no observation and no introspection and wherever there is doubt, *nescience* and *obscurity* it is called *avidyā*.

How many are the constituents? The constituents are of three kinds—of body (*kāya-saṁskāra*), speech (*vāk*) and mind (*manas*). These are called the constituents.

How many are the elements of consciousness (*vijñāna*)? The collection of consciousness consists of six:—(i) eye consciousness (*chakṣur-vijñāna*), (ii) ear consciousness (*śrāvā*), (iii) nose consciousness (*ghrāṇā*), (iv) tongue consciousness (*jihvā*), (v) body consciousness (*kāya*), (vi) mind consciousness (*manā*). Such are the consciousnesses.

The consciousness is the cause of individuality (lit. name and form). How many are the names? They are four, having no aggregate of form (*rūpa-skaṇḍha*):—(i) aggregate of sensation (*vedanā-skaṇḍha*), (ii) aggregate of perception (*samjñā-skaṇḍha*), (iii) aggregate of constituents (*samsthāna-skaṇḍha*), (iv) aggregate of consciousness (*vijñāna-skaṇḍha*). How many are the forms (*rūpa*)? All that has form is so called—all the four great elements (*mahā-bhūta*) and all that is created by the four elements. The latter are the forms and, the former, the names which are put together, abridged into one and called *nāma-rūpa*. Such is the individuality or *nāma-rūpa*.

Nāma-rūpa is the cause of the six sense organs (*ṣaṣṭ-āyatana*). What are the six sense organs? The six internal (*adhyātma*) sense organs are:—(i) the internal organ of the eye, (ii) the internal organ of the ear, (iii) the internal organ of the smell, (iv) the internal organ of the tongue, (v) the internal organ of the body, (vi) the internal organ of the mind. Such are the six sense organs.

The six sense organs are the cause of contact (*sparsa*). How many are the contacts? The collection of contacts (*sparsa-kāya*) consists of six:—(i) the contact through the eye, (ii) the contact through the ear, (iii) the contact through the nose, (iv) the contact through the tongue, (v) the contact through the body, (vi) the contact through the mind. Such are the contacts.

Contact is the cause of sensation (*vedanā*). How many are the sensations? They are of three kinds:—Pleasant sensation, painful sensation and indifferent sensation (lit. not-painful and not-pleasant).

Sensation is the cause of thirst (*tṛṣṇā*). How many are the thirsts? They are of three kinds:—sensual thirst (*kāma-tṛṣṇā*), thirst relating to form (*rūpe*) and thirst not relating to form (*arūpe*). Such are the thirsts.

Thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*). How many are the attachments? There are four attachments:—(i) attachment arising from the sense desires, (ii) attachment arising from the visual sense, (iii) attachments arising from 'belief in rites', (iv) attachment arising from "belief in soul-theory".

Attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*). How many are the existences? They are of three kinds:—sensual existence (*kāma-bhava*), corporeal existence (*rūpa*) and incorporeal existence (*arūpa*). Such are the existences.

Existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*). How many are the births? When in particular classes of beings there is birth of particular beings, there is becoming and production,² there is becoming of the *skandhas*, there is acquisition of *dhātu*, *āyatana* and *skandha* and there is becoming of the faculty of life (it is birth (*jāti*)).

¹ [This is more or less a free translation of the Sanskrit text.—N. P. C.]

² Literally all arising from righteous conduct and religious observances.

³ (Note the four words *saṁjñā*, *saṁskāra*, *śābhinirvṛtti*, and *prāśarabha* in the Sanskrit text, cf. with this the inscription 'Bhagavato śābhinirvṛtti' the descent of Bhagavat, on the 'Bharhut pillar, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 225, No. 99—N. P. C.)

Birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-maraṇa*). Of what nature is the old age? It is the baldheadedness and decay, shrinking of the skin, gradual (*physical*) diminution and ruin, hunchbackedness, crookedness, spread of black spots on the body, quick respiration, body stooping on the front, leaning on sticks, mental trouble, mental debility, loss and diminution, decay of the sense of organs and their dissolution, rotting of the *sukakāras*, and demolition of the body organs. Such is old age. What is death? It is the falling off of particular beings in their respective groups. Death is complete dissolution and cessation from existence, it is the abandonment of life and (*vital*) fire, complete extinction of the faculty of life, dissolution of the *sāndhas*. Death is the arresting of the product of time. The latter is death and the former is old age both abridged together is called *jarā-maraṇa*.

Such is the meaning of the derivatives of the chain of dependent production.¹

No. 34.—ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN (II.); THE SIXTH YEAR.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., Ootacamund.

The stone inscription forming the subject of this paper was copied by me during the field season of the year 1928-29 at **Annigeri** (or more correctly *Annigere*) a village in the Navalgund Taluka of Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency and a Railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the M. & S. M. Railway. Though at present a small village, Annigeri appears to have been an important town from early Chālukya times down to the Muhammadan period. In the 9th century it was the chief town of the Belvola three-hundred district administered by Dīvanagayya, an officer of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I.² Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Hoysalas it continued to be known as the *vijayānti-pattana* or the capital town.³ Several other inscriptions of successive periods prove the importance of the place down to the time of Sultan Muhammad Shāh of Bijāpur in Śaka 1567.⁴ In Sanskrit records the place is called *Anvata-tāka*, obviously a Sanskritised form of the Kanarese name Annigere. The present inscription which is the earliest record at the place is engraved on three faces of a small pillar set up in front of the Banāśankari temple. As it refers to the construction of a *chēdiya* (Skt. *chaitya*) it may be surmised that this pillar does not belong to the Banāśankari temple.

The record is fairly well preserved except for the first two lines on its first face. But the king's name can be read in l. 1 as Kirtivarman and the rest, being the usual preamble can be supplied from other inscriptions. The alphabet is Kanarese of the 8th century A.D. written in a neat upright hand. Among initial vowels, the record contains *ā* in *āraṇyā* (l. 5), *ī* in *īdaga* (l. 10) and *o* in *ond* (l. 4). Medial *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circle denoting the *i* sign (cf. *geya-ī* in line 8 with *chēdiya* in line 9). Medial *u* is a hook on the right in *ku* (cf. *Kuppa* in line 11) while it is a U-shaped stroke at the bottom in other letters (cf. *Jābulagēri* in l. 7). The length in *ū* is marked by the addition of a downward curve to the *u* sign as in *ūḍa* of *gūṃṃḍā* (l. 8). The *e* sign is marked as in older inscriptions by a stroke to the left added to the *taḷekatta* as in *ne* of *āraṇyā* (l. 5). Among consonants the inscription has four of the test letters *kh*, *j*, *ḍ* and *ḷ* (*ś* alone being absent) all of which present early forms. *ḍ*

¹ (The concluding portion of the Sanskrit text is not evidently found in the Chinese translation.—N. P. C.)

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 100 and Vol. VII, p. 204.

³ See, for instance, Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29, Nos. 187 and 189.

⁴ Same collection No. 202.

is distinguished from *d* both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with *g* (cf. *ḍi* of *māḍiḍan*, l. 9 and *ḍū* of *gōmūḍū*, l. 8.) The Dravidian *r* is found thrice, in *ra* of *āraṇeyā* (l. 5) and *īra* (l. 10) and in *ri* of *nīriḍā* (l. 12); and final *a* is found in *nāman* (l. 14). The language of the record is archaic Kanarese. Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix *ān* (e.g., *chēḍiyamān*, l. 9) and the genitive suffix *ā* (*āraṇeyā*, l. 5) and the form of the verb *māḍiḍan* (l. 9). The orthography is free from any faults except for the use of long *ā* for the short in *gōmūḍū*. There is no distinction between short and long *e* and *o*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *chēḍiya*, i.e., (*chaitya* or Jain temple) by **Kaliyamma** who was holding the office of the headman of **Jābulagēri** and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain **Koṇḍīlāra-Kuppa** whose other name was **Kirtti-varmma-Gōṣāi**. The latter is clearly the name of his master (*prabbanūman*) as stated in the last line. The writer was one **Diśāpāla**.

The record is dated in the **sixth year** of king **Kirtti-varmma-Satyāśraya**. The title **Satyāśraya** affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early (Hālukya) dynasty of **Bādāmi** and as the epigraph is on paleographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A.D. **Kirtti-varmma** of our record must be the second king of that name. Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr. Fleet as 746-47 the date of our record would be **751-52 A.D.** Only two stone inscriptions and two copper-plates of this king have so far been published. Of them the **Paṭṭadakal** pillar inscription¹ and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged **Āḍūr** inscription² is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese. The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king.

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression **ond-uttaram** (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription. So far as I know this word is found only in two other **Bāḥ-ṭrakūṭa** records, viz., the **Nidagundi** inscription³ of **Amoghavarsha I** and the **Veṅkaṭāpur**⁴ inscription of **Krishna II**. Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental'. This supposed omission was in his opinion the word *aravattaneya* (i.e., sixtieth); for "with a cycle of sixty years actually in use an elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible," but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thirty-first, etc. According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, *ond-uttaram aravattaneya tavarṣa* meaning 'the sixtieth year increased by one' or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged. The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years. But the present inscription and the **Veṅkaṭāpur** record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of **Kirtti-varman (II)** and to **Saka 828** (which was the 29th regnal year of **Krishna II**). The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and *ond-uttaram* must therefore be interpreted in some other way. The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression *uttar-uttaram*, viz., in

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

² *Ibid.* *loc. cit.* Vol. XI, p. 68.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 212.

⁴ No. 82 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27. The name of the king is wrongly given as **Amoghavarsha** for **Akṣhavarsha (Krishna II)**.

conjunction with the word *śippa* or *rājyābhivṛddhi*.¹ *ond-uttaram* can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of *uttar-uttaram*, denoting 'progressively'.

Jēbujagēri mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Aupigere.

TEXT.

First Face.

- 1 Svasti (0*) Kirtti[va]rmma-[Satyā]śraya
- 2 śri-priṭhu[vi-vallabha] mahārāja-
- 3 dhīrāja paramōśvara bhāṭārāja
- 4 rājyam ond-uttaram-abhivṛddhi sa-
- 5 le śrāṇeyā varahaṁ prava-

Second Face.

- 6 rddamānam-śge Jē-
- 7 bujagērige Kali-
- 8 yamma gāmuṇḍū(h)-geyā-i
- 9 chediyamān-māḍisidon
- 10 idaṁ munda Kouḍi-

Third Face.

- 11 sulara-Kuppa Kirtti[va]rmma-
- 12 gūḍaśaya nīṛisidā
- 13 kirttana 6 Diāpūlasya li-
- 14 khitaṁ 6 Prahāṇāman 6

No. 35.—TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II; SAKA 805.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These two inscriptions¹ were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of Soratūr and Sirumija both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency. Soratūr (ancient Sarajavura), where a battle was fought between the Hoysala king Ballāja II and the Yādava king Bhīlāma has already been fully described by the late Dr. Fleet on p. 176, Vol. XIII of this journal. Sirumija which is three miles north of Soratūr does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at Soratūr, which I shall call A, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Venkateśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The Sirumija record, which is called B in this sequel, is on a hero-stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

The alphabet is **Kanarese** quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes—the earlier form of initial i consisting

¹ This will become clear by a comparison of the three records using *ond-uttaram* with some inscriptions where *uttar-uttaram* occurs:—(1) Aupigere Inscription: (rājyam ond-uttaram-abhivṛddhi sa); (2) Nidagandi Inscription: (ond-uttaram rājyam-avyast-ir); (3) Venkatapur Inscription: (rājyābhivṛddhi-ond-uttaram sa); (1) Mahākūta pillar inscription of Mahāśakti (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 18): (uttar-uttara-pravarddhanāṁ rājya-pādhanam-śri-varahā); (2) *śrīr.* Inscription of Amoghavaraha I (*ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 296): (pravarddhanam-sa-narddhanam-śrī-varahā); (3) *śrīr.* Inscription of the same king (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 186): (rājyam-ond-uttaram-abhivṛddhi sa); (3) *Hōy.* Inscription of the same king

No. 73 and 59 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN II—6th YEAR.

FIRST FACE.



SECOND FACE.



THIRD FACE.



26A

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.



of two curves with two dots below still persists (see *Indapayya* l. 4 of A); medial *v* is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the *tailaḥṣa* as in earlier records (cf. *mā* of *paramēśvara* in l. 2 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in *ge* of *Purigere* (l. 5 of A) and *de* of *Puḍe* (l. 4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial *a* and *ā* and *o* and *ō*. While in A, the later cursive form of *j* is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (cf. *ja* in *raja* l. 1 of A with *rāja* l. 1 of B). The letter *l* is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants *ṛ* and *ḷ* are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (e.g., *Purigere* and *ḷu* in l. 5 of A and *ṛigavdo* and *Puḍe* in l. 4 of B). The lingual *d* cannot be distinguished from the dental *ḍ* in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is **Kanarese prose**. Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb *nāḍayasa* (assemble) from the noun *nāḍu* which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is *gōśāsa* occurring in l. 7 of A. Dr. Fleet has suggested¹ that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gōśāṭha*. That the word is connected with Sanskrit *gō* (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the Soratūr record (A) the occurrence of the expression *stan-ābhayiddhi* (prosperity of the addressee) immediately after the mention of the gift of *gōśāsa* confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct for, it is not possible to derive *gōśāsa* from *gōśāṭha*; it is more probable that the word is an abbreviation or Kanarese rendering of *gō-sahasra*. This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kōṣigara Kōṭeyamma who is described as a *gōśāsa* in one of the inscriptions of Beṭāgi² in the Mysore State is described in another record³ of the same place as *gōśaharā-āḍam* (i.e., who was the manager or the keeper of *gōśahara*). The mention first of a gift of *gō-sahasra* and then of a *gō-sāsa* is not found in the Chinchli inscription⁴ as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnatak we have similar references to the gifts of *gō-sahasra*.⁵

As regards **orthography**, B is free from any errors except the use of *a* for *ā* in *suka* (l. 2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as *Paramēśvarā* for *Paramēśvara* (l. 2) and *Indapayyā* for *Indapayya* (l. 4) is very common in the record. *R* is used for the vowel *ri* in *pridura* (l. 1) and *viddhi* (l. 2).

The inscription **A** records the gift of a *gōśāsa* by a certain Chidaṇṇa made in the presence of the Fifty (*mukha-jana*) of **Saratavura** who had assembled together when **Indapayya** was governing the *nāḍu* district). As we are told that Saratavura was situated in the **Purigere-nāḍu** the district which Indapayya was administering was evidently Purigere. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred district or a district comprising 300 villages. Indapayya who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. B is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain Ereyamma in a cattle-raid at **Nivudi** and the setting up of the stone by Gurevamma, the younger brother of Puḍe-gāṇṇa.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of **Akālavarsha** and are dated in the Saka year 805 and A gives, in addition, Sōbhakṛit as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 883-84. Akālavarsha of the records whose proper name **Kannara-bhaṭāra** is also given in A is no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king **Kṛishṇa II**, the successor of Amoghavarsha I for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877-78. The earliest

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 235.

² Mys. Arch. Rep. 1923, p. 132, No. 79.

³ Ibid., p. 151, No. 72.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 235, l. n. 2.

⁵ See, for instance, No. 148 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27 and No. 11 of the same collection for 1928-29.

date hitherto available for Krishna II was A.D. 888.¹ The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amoghavarsha.

Of the places mentioned *Sarajavura* is the modern *Sarajūr* where inscription A was found. *Nivudī* has probably to be identified with *Nigudi*, a village about 8 miles south-west of *Dharwar*.

TEXT.

A

- 1 ॐ Svasti Śrī || * Akālavarishā(varaṣa) prithuvī(prithvī)-vāllava(vallabha)
mārajādī(mahārājādī)rājā]
- 2 paramēvara(a) śrīmat-Kannāra-bhaṭṭā[rara rājy-ābhivri(vrī)ddhi saluttum-ī-
- 3 re Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-ātita-sambā(va)tsaramgaḥ-enṭu-nūr-āyda(ayda)na[ya*]
80(80)-
- 4 bhakṣit sambha(ba) sambha(va)tsaraṇa pra(va*)rttise Indāpāyyam(Indapayyam)nāḍān-
ā[uta-i-
- 5 re Purigere-nāḍa Sarajavura-d-ā(a)yvaḍimbarum-ī[lu nāḍayise Māna-
- 6 āgura-āhidā(da)ṇṇa[uh*] gēṣā-
- 7 sam-ī[do[m]
- 8 stan-ābhivpiddhi[||*]
- 9 nama[h](ॐ)

B

- 1 Svasty-Akālavarsha śrī-prithuvī(prithvī)-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēvara
bhaṭṭāra[ā]
- 2 [sa]kala-rājy-ābhivṛddhiḥ saluttum-ire Sa(Sa)ka-varaṣam-enṭu-nūra
- 3 aydaneya varaṣam pravarttēnt-ire [Kadalekadhi]pāṇḍa Eṇṇamman Nivudī-
turuṅga[ol-kā-
- 4 di sattom|| I kalla Paḍide-gāvundā[na*] tamma Guṇṇamman nigrisido||

No. 36.—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III—THE YEAR 347.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJEE, M.A.

These plates were discovered, along with the plates of Siladitya IV of the year 387, at Jesar, a village in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāthiāwār. They were sent for inspection to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey in 1915 and his summary of the inscription will be found in his Annual Report for the year.²

The record is inscribed on two plates, of copper of equal size, the rims of which are slightly raised. There are two holes in each plate, through one of which is passed a long thick wire of copper. The ends of the wire are joined together by the seal of the Matrakas of Valabhi bearing the bull couchant and the ancient legend *Śrī-Bhadrakāḥ*. The second ring is missing. The plates measure 15" × 11½" and are now preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhāvnagar. As the impressions taken in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's time were not legible, these plates were obtained on loan

¹ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 189.

² This letter *en* which is much smaller than the *re* was omitted first and inserted later.

³ P. E. A. S. F. C., 1915-16, p. 65, para. 10.

from the Bhāvnagar State through the Honourable Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kāthiāwār.

There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing on these plates which are evenly distributed. The average height of letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate. The characters of the inscription show unmistakable influence of the south, especially in the forms of *k* and *l*. Two forms of *l* have been used side by side: (1) the northern angular form with the base line and (2) the round southern form in which the base line is no longer existent. The base line of *k* also has disappeared. The text is almost an exact copy of the usual text used in other later Valabhī grants such as the Alina Plates of Śilāditya VI¹, without any variation and does not contain any additional historical information.

Like other later Valabhī grants this record also mentions Bhaṭārka but passes over his sons. The next descendant of Bhaṭārka, mentioned in the text, is Guhasāna, the son of Bhaṭārka's fourth son Dharapatta. Then comes Guhasāna's son Dharasāna II, his sons Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I. The latter was succeeded by his son Dharasāna IV. The succession then devolved upon Dhruvasāna III, the son of Dharabhaṭa who was one of the younger sons of Śilāditya I. Dhruvasāna III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II. This prince was succeeded by his elder brother's (Śilāditya II's) son Śilāditya III, the donor of the present grant. The genealogical portion occupies the first forty-six lines. Unlike the text of the Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV, the text of this inscription is almost free from mistakes.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred *pādāvaritas* of land in the village of Kukkapadra in the *pathaka* of Kalāpaka in (the country) of Surāshtra to a Brāhmaṇa, with two names Śaggala and Prakāśa, who was a Dīkṣita, an inhabitant of Valabhī and an immigrant from Pushyaśāmbapura. He was the son of Sāmbadatta, belonged to the Kauśika-gotra and was a follower of the Yajurveda. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three *pādāvaritas*. The piece lay towards the western boundary of the village and its boundaries were:—On the east the *Brāhmadēya* field of the Upādhyāya or preceptor, on the south the three royal wells, on the west a field named or belonging to Bhāṣaiyaka and on the north the Vāṇśatikā river. A new word *prachchikā* which is also met with in other Valabhī plates* occurs in connection with the above mentioned three wells, and apparently denoted 'a field irrigated by a well'.

The boundaries of the second piece, known as Bappula which consisted of twelve *pādāvaritas* of land and which was situated on the south western (boundary of the village), were:—On the east the field of the Brāhmaṇa ghaṇḍaka, on the south the field of the Brāhmaṇa Tatta, on the west the field of the Brāhmaṇa chaṭṭa, and on the north the rivulet (*Sāringī*). The third piece was called Lusaṇikā. It was situated on the eastern boundary (of the village) and consisted of fifteen *pādāvarita* measures of land. Its boundaries were:—On the east the boundary of the village of Kappasūmika, to the south the *prachchikā* of the well called Śirūdayaka, on the west the *prachchikā* of the well called Dhōraka, and on the north the river Vāṇśatikā. The grant also contained the well called Dhōraka extending over twenty-five *pādāvaritas*. The boundaries of this well were:—To the east the piece of land called Lusaṇikā, to the south the *prachchikā* of the well called Śirūdayaka, to the west the *prachchikā* of the well called the Pippala and on the east the crest (*śikhara*) of the village (i.e., the mound on which the village was situated). The *Dātaka* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputra*) Dhruvasāna. It was written by the chief scribe (*Dicirapata*) Anahila son of the chief scribe, the *Sandhi-*

¹ G. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 173 ff.

* Cf. the unpublished Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV and J. R. B. R. A. S. (N.S.), Vol. I, p. 74, l. 49, and above, p. 184.

regisādhikṛta the illustrious Skandabhāṭa. The date of the grant is the (Gupta) year 347, the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha corresponding to 666-67 A.D. The donor Śūlāditya III is the brother's son of his predecessor Kharagraha II. With the exception of Valabhi and Sūśāstra, which are represented by modern Wāḷā and Sorath in Kāthiawār, I am unable to identify any other locality mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is edited from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Om¹ Svasti[*] Vijaya-skandhāvāra[*] Pundhikapaka-vāśakā[*] prārabha-pranot-
āmitrāgāh Mastrakānām².....

Second Plate.

- 47 mūhgaṇa-abhikṛtānām-āyudhā dvishatām Paramamūhā-
varah³ śrī-Śūlāditya-kulālī sarvān-eva samāhāpayaty-astu vas-sadividdatā
48 yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyānāya Puṣhyāśāṃhapura-vinirgata-tach-
chāturvidyā-sāmānya-śrī-Valabhi-vīṣṭavya-Kaṇṇaka-sagōtra-Adhvaryya-abrahmachārī-
49 Brāhmaṇa-Sūmbadatta-putra-Brāhmaṇa-Saggaḷa-Prakāśa-dvīnāma-Dhōshītāya Sūśāstrā
Kaḷāḷapaka-puthukō Kukkapaṇḍra-grāmē bhū-pādāvarita-sata-parimāṇam
50 tri-khaṇḍ-āvāṣṭitam kabhōtraṃ yatra prathama-khaṇḍam apara-sīmā tri-saptati-
bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇam yasy-āghōṣtanāni pūrvvataḥ upādhyāya-brahma-
dēya-kabōtraṃ dakṣiṇataḥ
51 rājakiya-vāpi-traya-prachēhīḥ aparataḥ [Bhōḍiyaka]-kabōtraṃ uttarataḥ Vādha-
jikā nadi tathā dvitīya-khaṇḍam apara-dakṣiṇa-sīmā Bappala-samjñitam
dvādasa-bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇam
52 yasya pūrvvataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Ghaṇṭhaka-satka-kabōtraṃ dakṣiṇataḥ Brāhmaṇa-
Tatta-kabōtraṃ aparataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Chajja-satka-kabōtraṃ uttarataḥ sīmā
tathā pūrvva-sīmā
53 tri(tri)ṭīya-khaṇḍam Lāsāṇika-samjñitam pañchadaśa-bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇam yasya
pūrvvataḥ Kaṇṇasāṇaka-grām-sīmā dakṣiṇataḥ Śirāḍaṇḍaka-samjñita-vāpinā
prachēhīḥ
54 aparataḥ Dhōrika-samjñita-vāpi-prachēhīḥ uttarataḥ Vāṇajikā nadi tathā
mat-sīmā-eva Dhōrika-samjñitā pañcha-vīṣṭati-bhū-pādāvarita-parisārī vāpi
55 yasyāḥ pūrvvataḥ Lāsāṇikā-samjñita-kabōtra-khaṇḍam dakṣiṇataḥ Śirāḍaṇḍaka-
samjñita-vāpinā⁴ prachēhīḥ aparataḥ Pippala-vāpi prachēhīḥ uttarataḥ
56 grāma-ākhara evam-īdam-āghōṣtanā-vīṣṭitām vāpi-kabōtraṃ sōṭrangam sōparikaram
sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāyāḥ sa-dhānya-hiranyā-dēyāḥ sa-dasāparīkṣitāḥ sūpadya-
māna-vi-
57 shtikam sarvva-rājakiyānām-akasta-prakāśāya(pāṭīyāya) pūrvva-pratta-dēya-brahma-
dēya-rakṣitam bhūmi-cakṣhītra-nyāyānāśchandr-ārkk-ārṇava-bhūti-satī-parvata-
sūma-kāṣṭham pa-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² The portion of the text (lines 1 to 47) omitted here is in common with other grants of Śūlāditya III. cf. for example, Lamsāḍī plates, above, Vol. IV, pp. 76 ff.

³ The termination *sa* after *vāpi* may either be taken as a corruption of Sanskrit *śa*, in which case *śa* and *Dandaka* may be two separate wells; or more likely a precursor of the modern Gujarati possessive term *saṅga*—Ed.]

- 58 tra-paṇṭr-āṇvaya-bhōgyam-udak-āṇisaggūṇa¹ dharma-dāyā nīṣṭhāḥ yaśo-sy-
 ōchitayā brahmadēya-athityā bhūjastāḥ kṛtastāḥ karṣayataḥ pratidīṣatō
 vā nā kailāchid-vyāsāḥ
- 59 vartitavyam-āgūṇi-bhadra-nṛpatibhir-apy-asamā-vānā-jair-ananyir-vvā anityāny-
 kīṣvāryāny-asathirāṇi mānasyāṇi sāmānyāṇ-cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avagach-
 chadibhir-ayam-asamā-dāyō-nūmantavyaḥ paripālāyitavya-
- 60 =ch-ēty-uktāḥ=cha[[*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājāḥ[=]-Sagar-ādibhi-
 [h[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā phalam] Yān[tha
 dāritya-bhayān-narāṇḍair-dīhanāni dharm-āyatani-kṛtāni [h[*] nirbhukta-
 māṇya-pratimāni tāni kō nā-
- 61 ma sādhu-puṇaḥ-śāḍṛṣṭa || Śhaṣṭi[ḥ] varṣa-sahasrāṇi avarggō tishṭhātī
 bhūmīdāḥ [h[*] śechhīṣṭā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakō vāsāt [h[*]
 Dūtākō-tra Rājaputra-Dhruvasēnāḥ]
- 62 Likhitaṁ-īdāṁ Sandhivigrah-śāḍṛṣṭa-Diviraputī-āri-Skandabhāṭa-putra-Divirapati-
 Śrīmad-Anahīṣṭa-ēti || Śaṣṭi 100 40 7 Valśūka-va 15 Sva-hastō mama ||

No. 37.—SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

BY DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GOKULY, M.A., Ph.D., BENARÉS.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of Lakshmanasena, the fourth king of the Sena dynasty, who held sway over Bengal during the latter part of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century A.D. The other grants of this king, already known to us, are the Anulla copper-plate, the Govindapur copper-plate, the Tarpandighi copper-plate, and the Madhainagar copper-plate, all of which have been included by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his book entitled "Inscriptions of Bengal", Vol. III. The same book also refers to a short inscription of Lakshmanasena's reign, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chandi, in the city of Dacca.

The new copper-plate was lying in the house of late Mr. Siva Chandra Chatterjee, in the village of Saktipur, in the Sadar-Subdivision of the Murshidābād District, Bengal, where it is said to have been worshipped for a long time by a widow, now dead. It is now lying in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat who obtained it through Mr. Satkari Chatterjee. The inscription was first edited by Mr. Ramesh Basu in the Bengali magazine conducted by the Sahitya-parishat (Vol. XXXVII, pp. 216 ff.). Mr. Basu's paper embodies the transcript of the inscription with some introductory notes. As there are some gross errors in his reading, I re-edit this inscription with the kind permission of the authorities of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat.²

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides, and measures 1' 6½" long and 1' 2" broad. A seal representing an effigy of Śaḍṛṣṭa is attached on the top of it with nails. The plate contains altogether 58 lines, 29 on each side. The letters are quite distinct and hardly offer any difficulty in reading. There is some vacant space in line 26 after *yathā*, and in line 55 after *viś-
 ṭhāpāṣā*, each of which can provide a letter. There is also some vacant space in line 54 after *craṣṭi*, which can accommodate two letters. The first three letters of the word *anumayāna* in line 46 are indistinct.

¹ Read *śāṇḍṛṣṭa*.² Read *east*.³ I acknowledge my gratitude to Mr. N. K. Bhattachāṇḍī, M.A., and Mr. R. G. Bhāṣā, M.A., for the help they have rendered me in writing this article.

The characters are proto-Bengali of the type found in Lakshmapasēna's grants. *ṣ*, *t*, *n*, *m*, *y*, *r* and *ś* have already assumed the forms of the modern Bengali characters. The forms of some individual letters call for special remarks. *V* is not always uniformly written (cf. ll. 7 and 9). Sometimes *p* and *y* (ll. 5 and 7), *v* and *r* (ll. 7 and 9), and *r* and *c* (ll. 4 and 11) are indistinguishable. The forms of the letters in this inscription and that on the Anulia plate are not always identical. Special attention is drawn to the conjunct letters *śṣ*, and *tā*.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written both in verse and in prose. Lines from 1 to 17 and from 50 to 58 are in verse, with the exception of *śaśanab*, etc., at the commencement, the date at the end and the lines 17 to 50 which are in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. The word *duḥkha* is written as *dukha* (l. 3) as in the Anulia plate. *Tripurārinātha* is written as *Tripurārinātha* (ll. 57-58). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *svargga*, **r-vaṇḍhā* (ll. 51, 52, 54), etc. The words *buddhā* and *dattā* are respectively written as *buddhā* (l. 56) and *dattā* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of Lakshmapasēna, the son of Vallālasēna, grand-son of Vijayasēna, and the great-grand-son of Hēmantasēna. The Deopara inscription¹ of Vijayasēna tells us that Sāmantasēna was the father of Hēmantasēna. Hēmantasēna was the first king of the family. The same inscription² mentions Hēmantasēna's wife as Mahārājñī (the great-queen). The Baranagar inscription³ of the same king designates Hēmantasēna as Mahārājādhirāja. Nothing is known from our inscription regarding the military achievements of Lakshmapasēna. But the Madhainagar copper-plate⁴ of the king records that when he was a crown-prince, he seized the fortune of the King of Gaurā, defeated the Kings of Kaliṅga, and Kāśī and subdued Kāmarūpa.

The object of the inscription is to record that King Lakshmapasēna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted to a Brāhman named Kuvēra 89 *drōṇas* of land, comprising a part of Nimāpātaka, and the whole of the five *pāṭakas* of Rāghavahatṭa, Vārahakōṣā, Vālihitā, Vijahārapura, and Dāmaravaṇḍā, all situated in the Kumārapura-chaturaka, in the Madhugirimandala, attached to Kuṇḍīnagarata, in the Dakṣiṇāvīthi of Uttara-Rāgha, in the Kāśīkagrāmabhukti. The lands comprising Vārahakōṣā, Vālihitā, Rāghavahatṭa, and part of Nimāpātaka were contiguous, and were bounded in the east by the extensive lands of Mālikūpājā along with Aparājñī; in the south by Bhāgaḍikhaṇḍakabhēta, in the west by the cow-track of Achchhamā and in the north by the Mōra river. The two *pāṭakas* of Vijahārapura and Dāmaravaṇḍā which were off from the above lands, were again contiguous. They were bounded on the east by Chāka-bijājñī; on the south by Vipravaddhājñī, on the west by Lāṅgalājñī, and on the north by the cow-track of Parajāṇa. The income of all the lands granted was five hundred (*Kapar-daka-parāṇas*).⁵ The inscription tells us that the above grant was made in exchange of Kāśītrapātaka, which yielded five hundred (*Kapar-daka-parāṇas*), and which had been given by King Vallālasēna to the Gayā⁶ Brāhman Haridāsa on a previous occasion. It appears from this that on the aforesaid day of the solar eclipse the king, through mistake, gave Kuvēra the Kāśītrapātaka. But shortly after, when it was brought to his notice that the latter had already been given by his father to Haridāsa, he annexed to Government (*śāśāhikraya*) the above-mentioned six *pāṭakas*, which were of equal value with the previous grant and made them over to Kuvēra in exchange of the Kāśītrapātaka.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 306 ff. and *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵ Though not specified, this unit of money may be supplied from other inscriptions of the period.

⁶ [The priests at Gayā are still known by the name of Gayā or Gayānt Brāhman.—Ed.]

The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal. In the early times, modern Bengal was divided under four geographical units, viz., Varāndrī, Rājha, Vaṅga, and Samatāṣa. Varāndrī represented North Bengal or the modern Rājshāhi Division and Rājha comprised South-west Bengal. Rājha or Rājdhā was further divided into Northern and Southern Rājha. The former was bounded by the Ajaya in the south, the Bhāgīrathī in the east and the north, and the Santal Pargana in the west. This comprised the whole of the present Birbhūm District, and part of the Murshidābād District.

The highest administrative unit was a *bhukti*, which was divided between *maṇḍala*s and *vishaya*s. The exact relation between a *maṇḍala* and a *vishaya* cannot be fixed, the evidence on the subject being of a conflicting nature; most of the inscriptions from Bengal, however, refer to *maṇḍala* as a subdivision of *vishaya*. The divisions of a *maṇḍala* were *khaṇḍala*s¹ and *vīthi*s.² The Nālandā³ plate of Dēvapāla states that Kumudāsūtra-vīthī was within the Gayā-vishaya. The Nāhati plate⁴ of Vallūlasēna refers to a vīthī which was within the jurisdiction of a *maṇḍala*. This suggests that vīthī was a division of a *maṇḍala* and a subdivision of a *vishaya*. The relation between *khaṇḍala* and vīthī is not known. The division of vīthī seems to have been a *khāṣikā*. The Khalimpur plate⁵ of Dharmapāla mentions a *khāṣikā* named Vēsanika. The Govindapur plate⁶ of Lakshmaṇasēna refers to a *khāṣikā*. Between *khāṣikā* and *chaturuka* was a unit called *vr̥tta*. *Vr̥tta* was divided into *chaturuka*,⁷ *chaturuka* into *grāma*s⁸ and *grāma* into *pāṭaka*s.⁹

From the records of the early Sēna kings, we know of only two *bhuktis* in Bengal, viz., Paṇḍravarādhana and Vardhamāna. During the period of the Guptas and the Pālas the Paṇḍravarādhana-*bhukti* comprised only the Rājshāhi Division,¹⁰ but during the Sēna period it included a number of other territories within its jurisdiction such as Vaṅga (approximately the Duca Division), and the Presidency Division¹¹ east of the Bhāgīrathī. The Vardhamāna-*bhukti* originally comprised parts of the District of Murshidābād west of the Bhāgīrathī and the whole of the Districts of Birbhūm, Burdwan, Bankura, Hughli, and Howrah.¹² The Nāhati plate of Vallūlasēna,¹³ issued in the 11th year of the king's reign (circa 1171 A.D.), states that Uttara-Rājha formed a *maṇḍala* within the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. But the present grant of Lakshmaṇasēna, issued in the 6th year (circa 1183 A.D.) of his reign, refers to Uttara-Rājdhā as situated within the Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti*. This suggests that some territorial re-arrangements must have been effected during the intervening period, probably early during Lakshmaṇasēna's reign. The Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* which is known for the first time from this inscription, must have been of recent formation and it is probable that the conquests of Lakshmaṇasēna in the direction of Bihār must have made this an administrative necessity. It seems to have taken over the Northern Rājha tract from Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, although we know from the Govindapur grant, that the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

² The *Dāyapūrāṇa* describes Māthurā as a *vīthi* (Chapt. LXVI, V. 72).

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 321.

⁴ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74, l. 39.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 253.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 80, l. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112, l. 40; p. 146, ll. 48-49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170-171.

⁹ *Gauda Lakṣmīnāṭa*, p. 135, V.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XV, p. 140; *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 137.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 97.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.

latter *bhukti* was in existence in the 3rd year of Lakshmanasena. The Ajay river, in the boundary between northern and southern Rājha must then have been the boundary between the two *bhuktis*. The *Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti* appears to have extended into the Santal parganas and Bhāgalpur on the north-west of Uttara-Rājha. On the north-east it could have extended very little beyond the river Ganges.

[The place *Kaṅkagrāma* from which the *bhukti* took its name can be identified with Kāṅkajol (24° 48' N. Lat. 87° 45' E. Long.) just beyond the northern limits of the Murshidābād and Birbhum Districts of Bengal. Cunningham calls it 'an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājshahi and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank.' Its situation 'on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges' must have given it a strategic importance. According to Cunningham, 'the province in which it is situated was called Rājha by the Hindus'. But as northern Rājha formed part of the southern subdivision (*silha*) of the *Kaṅkagrāma* territory (*bhukti*), the latter appears to have overlapped Rājha. Besides the antiquities noticed by Cunningham, there are other important antiquities at Kāṅkajol in the neighbourhood of Kāṅkajol, which indicate that the place was of considerable importance in the pre-Mohammedan period. There can therefore be little doubt about the proposed identification.]

The name of the ancient *Madhugiri-sayadala* may be recognised in the present Mahānadi, an isolated hill, in Santal Parganas rising to a height of 1,557 feet above sea level and situated about 23 miles to the south-west of Kāṅkajol and 30 miles north-west of Kumhira.—Ed.]

Of the other localities mentioned in the inscription, *Kumbhānagara* may be identified with the modern Kumhira, in the Rāmpurhāt P. S. of the Birbhum District. The river *Mōra* is the modern Mor (also known as Mayūrākehi) which flows through the Birbhum District. *Kumārapura* still retains its ancient name and is situated in P. S. Maureswar about 3½ miles north of the Mor. *Vārahakōpā* is the modern Barkunda in P. S. Suri, about ¼ a mile north of the Mor and 1½ mile from the Sainthia railway station of the E. I. R. Loop line. The words *kōpā* and *sayadā* are changeable according to the usage in the Birbhum District. The modern village of Baharpur in the Labpur P. S. of Birbhum District probably represents the ancient *Vijahārapura*. Mr. N. K. Bhattacharya identifies *Nimā* and *Vālihitā* with the modern villages of Nima and Baluti in P. S. Maureswar, on the north bank of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Sainthia and 5½ miles west of Kumārapur. He also identifies *Achchhamā* with the modern village of Amma in P. S. Suri, ¼ a mile north of Sainthia and *Parajāna* with that of Palijana, a village on both sides of the Mor, in P. S. Labpur and P. S. Maureswar, about 5 miles north-west of Baharpur. The villages of Barkunda, Nima and Baluti are now on the north bank of the Mor when the inscription tells us that they were to the south of this river. This shows that the Mor, which is a restless river constantly shifting its sandy bed, has since changed its course. The dried-up bed of the modern *Kiṇā* river, passing north of Nima and Baluti, was most probably the ancient course of the Mor during the Śāna period. [Bārakōā would be a better equivalent of *Vārahakōpā* and a well-known ancient locality exists under this name close to Panchthupi in the Kandi Subdivision of Murshidābād. In the vicinity are also to be found Nima and Baluti, and the river Mor drags on its course at some distance to the south.—Ed.]

The Saktipur inscription refers to the land measurement of *drōya*.¹ From the other records of the Sena kings we know that several *drōyas* made one *palaka*. *Drōya* was again divided into *ādhaka* or *ādhacūpa*, *ādhaka* into *unmāna*, and *unmāna* into *kāka* or *kākinika*.² *Drōya* is still used as a land measure in Bengal. All these measurements were governed by a linear standard known as "nala". The standard of the measurement of *nala* was not uniform all over Bengal, and differed according to the custom and practice of a particular locality. The present grant makes mention of *Vṛishabhasthānaka-nala*. *Vṛishabhasthānaka* being an appellation of Vijayasena,³ the *nala* used in this inscription might have been introduced by and named after him. The Barrockpur grant of Vijayasena refers to *Samatattya-nala*.⁴ The Govindapur copper-plate⁵ of Lakshmanasena which records the grant of a village in the *Vardhamāna-bhukti*, refers to a standard of *nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region.

The donee Kubera was the son of Ananta, grand-son of Prithvīdhara and great-grand-son of Anuraddha. From an early dynastic calendar used by the *ghaṭakas* (match-makers),⁶ we gather that there were in the time of Lakshmanasena three brothers⁷ named Dēvala, Vāmana and Kuvēra, sons of Dharmārthā, grand-sons of Pūhō and great-grand-sons of Anuraddha. If Pūhō is a contraction of Prithvīdhara⁸ (as is very likely) and Ananta is taken to be another name of Dharmārthā, the Kubera of the present record may be identical with the youngest of the three brothers. The other two, Dēvala and Vāmana are said to have received honor as "Kulin" (High class Brāhmanas) from Lakshmanasena but Kuvēra is said to have forfeited this privilege, owing to his marriage with the daughter of Hārya Gāṅguli, a degraded "Kulin" who had accepted the gift of a golden cow from *Vallāhasena*.⁹ The loss of "Kulinism" does not however seem to have prevented the Brāhman from receiving gifts at the hands of the king.

The date of the inscription was read by Mr. Basu as Sati 3, the 2nd day of Śrāvana. Mr. Bhattacharya (with whom I concur) corrects it as Sati 6, the 7th day of Śrāvana.¹⁰

[The supposition that the king first granted by mistake some land already in the enjoyment, of another donee, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, and subsequently exchanged it for another seems to be corroborated by the fact that except in 1163 A.D. (which is too early for Lakshmanasena) there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of (solar) Śrāvana, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In 1183 A.D. the seventh day of Śrāvana fell on Sunday the 3rd July, while a solar eclipse occurred on Monday the 23rd May. The intervening period of about six weeks can be explained by the supposition that the mistake took some time to be detected, reported to the authorities concerned and rectified. In 1185 A.D. a solar eclipse occurred about two months before the 7th day of Śrāvana and in 1189 A.D. over three weeks after the date. The year 1183 is thus the most plausible equivalent of the present date, which corroborates the conclusion

¹ *Drōya* is the same as *drōmāpa* of the Gupta period plates in Bengal, cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 61. The *palaka* of the Sena period was however a larger unit than the *drōmāpa* of earlier plates, as the former equalled at least 10 *drōyas*, while the latter was made up of 8 *drōmāpas*.—Ed.]

² *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 78, 90, 104.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 136, l. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97; *sat-dātya-samratavahara-shatpaichāśat(t)-kaka-parimita-kullina*.

⁶ *Enquête dātya Itihāsa*, by N. N. Basu, *Brāhmanakhande*, p. 140.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁸ [Cf. *Pithura* for Prithvirāja.—Ed.]

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. Snodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Manuscript department, Dacca University, for drawing my attention to this passage, contained in an early match-maker's calendar.

¹⁰ Cf. the numeral "3" in the Amala plate, l. 56, and in *Sāhitya-parīkṣā* copper-plate of Vṛhaspati, l. 65, and the numeral "6" in the latter l. 50.

that the date of Lakshmapasēna's accession was 1178 A.D. arrived at from the date of Śridhara's *Sadukti-Karyāṇṛita*, which is stated to be Śaka 1127 and the 27th year of Lakshmapasēna's reign.—Ed.]

The *date* of the grant was the *Sādhānigraha* Tripurārinātha. The Govindapur plate,¹ dated Sam 2, the 28th day of Bhādra, the Anula plate,² dated Sam 3, the 9th day of Bhādra, all belonging to Lakshmapasēna state that the *Sādhānigraha* Nārāyaṇadatta was the executor of these grants. Apparently he was succeeded in that office by Tripurārinātha between the 3rd and 6th years of Lakshmapasēna's reign.

TEXT.

Observs.

- 1 सिद्धम् [१*] ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्यु(द्य)त्र भणियुतिः फणिपतेर्ध्या(र्द्धा)-
लेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वारि स्मर्त्तरत्निनी मि-
- 2 तगिरोमान्ना व(व)जावावलिः [१*] ध्यानाभ्यास[स*]मीरणीपनिहित(तः) ज्योद्गुरोद्भूतये
भूयादः स भवार्त्तितापमिदु-
- 3 रः गम्भीः कपर्दीसु(स्म)दः* ॥[१*] ध्यानन्दोसु(स्म)निधौ चकोरनिकरे दुर्ध-
च्छिदाखल(न्ति)को कङ्गारे हतमो-
- 4 हता रतिपताविकोहमेवेति धीः [१*] यस्यामी अमृताक्षनः समुदयन्याय प्रकाया-
ज्जगत्-
- 5 त्रिध्यानपरम्यरापरिणतं ज्योतिस्तदास्ताभ्युदे* ॥[२*] सेवावनमनूपकोटिकिरोट-
रोचिर-
- 6 सु(स्म)त्तसत्पदनखद्युतिवल्लीभिः [१*] तेजोविषज्वरसुषो दिपतामभूवन् भूमीभुज(जः)
स्फुटमधौष-
- 7 चिन्ताधर्वशे* ॥[३*] आकौमारविकस्त्रैर्हिशि दिशि प्रस्यन्दिभिर्होयंशः-
प्राप्तियैररिराजं वल्लनलि-
- 8 श्रुानीः* समुन्मोलयन् [१*] हेमन्तः स्फुटमेव सैनजननचोत्रस्य* पुष्पावलीशालि-
ज्जाध्यविपाकपीव-

* *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 103.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 172 and 91.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Metre: *Sādhānigraha*.

* Metre: *Sādhānigraha*.

* Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

* *Ripurtja* in Anula and Govindapur plates.

* Read *salina-millat*.

* *Kakir-angha* in Anula and Tarpanlight plates.

- 9 रगुल्लोपामभृङ्गजः¹ ॥[8॥*] यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजः स्फुटं सङ्घचरैर्योभिः
शोभन्ते परिधि-
- 10 परिणडा इव दिगः [1*] ततः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुराश्वोदिलहरीपरीतीर्षोभर्ता²
जनि विज-
- 11 यसेनः[*] स विजयी³ ॥[५॥*] प्रत्युक्तः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदायनेकाध्वगः
संचामः चितजङ्गमा-
- 12 कतिरभृद्वज्रालसेनस्ततः [1*] यद्येतोमयमेव शौर्यविजयी दत्तौषधं⁴ तत्क्षणा-
दक्षीणा रचयाच्च-
- 13 कार वगगाः स्वस्मिन् परेषां त्रियः⁵ [६॥*] संभुक्तान्यदिमङ्गनामणगुणाभोगप्रलोभादि-
शामिशैरंश-
- 14 समर्पणेन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभावस्फुटैः [1*] दोषाश्चपितारिसङ्गररसो⁶ राजन्यधर्माश्चयः
श्रीम-
- 15 ब्रह्मणसेनभूपतिरतः सौजन्यसीमाजनि⁷ ॥[७॥*] शम्भुद्व(इ)भययादिसुक्तविषयास्त-
न्मात्रनिष्ठीकृत-
- 16 स्वान्ता यान्तु कथं न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाज्ञयम् [1*] यैरात्मप्रतिविम्बि-
(विम्बि)तेपि निपतत्यत्रेपि⁸ चञ्चत्-
- 17 वेपथ्वैतेन यतस्ततोपि संपरो देवः परं वीक्षते⁹ ॥[८॥*] स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-
समावासितश्रीम-
- 18 जयस्कन्धावारात् - महाराजाधिराजश्रीवज्रालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात¹⁰ । परमेश्वरपर-
- 19 मभट्टारकपरमवैष्णवमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमब्रह्मणसेनदेवः कुमली । समुप-
- 20 गताशेषराजराजन्यकराक्षीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितम-
- 21 हाधर्माध्यक्षमहासांख्यविराजिकमहासेनापतिमहासुद्राधिकृतध¹¹ न्तरङ्ग-
- 22 द्व(इ)ष्टदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहा-

¹ Motto : Śāṅkṣarīśrīṣṭha.

² Read bhṛṅga-tīja- as in other inscriptions.

³ Read chatur-ambhōdhi.

⁴ Metre : Śikharī.

⁵ Read datta-anahadham.

⁶ Metre : Śāṅkṣarīśrīṣṭha.

⁷ Kavyāthi in the Govindapur plate.

⁸ Metre : Śāṅkṣarīśrīṣṭha.

⁹ Mr. Basu remarks that the word *apān* is missing. But the word is clearly engraved.

¹⁰ Metre : Śāṅkṣarīśrīṣṭha.

¹¹ Danda unnecessary; read *dhya*.

¹² Read *krīṭa*.

- 23 गणस्यदौःसाधिकचौरौहरणिकनौषलहृष्यगोमहिपाजाविकादिव्याधृतकगौक्षि-
 24 कदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविषय*]पत्वादीन् धन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोध्यच्च
 प्रचारो-
 25 ज्ञानिहाकीर्तितान् चहभट्टजातीयान् चैवकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्
 यथाहं मान-
 26 यति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् यथा श्रीमधुगिरिमण्डला-
 वच्छिन्नकुम्भीनगर
 27 प्रतिवहः काङ्ग्यामभुक्त्यन्तःपातिदक्षिणवीथ्यामुत्तररादायां कुमारपुरचतुरके पूर्व
 अप-
 28 राजौलीसमेतमालिकुण्डापरिसरभूः सीमा दक्षिणे ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्थलीयभागडीसखसेच
 सीमा
 29 पश्चिमे चच्छमागोपयः सीमा उत्तरे मौस्तदीसीमा इत्यं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः
 यट्चिंश[द्]द्रोणात्मक[*]

Reveram.

- 30 सम्बत्सरेण सादृशतद्वयोत्पत्तिकः वारहकीणावाग्लिहितानिमापाटकसम्ब(स्व)न्निभूद्रो-
 31 णचतुष्टयोपेतपाटकद्वयसमेतराववहृपाटकस्तथाचतुरके पूर्व चाकलियाजो-
 32 लीसीमा दक्षिणे विप्रवदाजोलीसीमा । पश्चिमे ब्राह्मणजोलीसीमा । उत्तरे
 परजान् •
 33 गोपयः सीमा इत्यं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नपञ्चागद्द्रोणात्मकः सम्बत्सरेण सादृश-
 34 तद्वयोत्पत्तिको दामरवडासमेतविजहारपुरपाटक एवमेतद्व(ह)यविलिखित-
 35 नामसीमं स्वसीमावच्छिन्नं देवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणादिभूव(व)त्ति[*]गोपयाद्यभूः वास्तुभू-
 मन्ति/वृषभग-
 36 इरनलन उ(ज)ननयतिभूद्रोणात्मकं सम्बत्सरेण पञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकं राघवसद-
 वारह-
 37 कोणानिमावस्थितखण्डलेचभूद्रोणचतुष्टयात्मकवाग्लिहितापाटकदामरवडा-
 38 पाटकसमेतविजहारपुरपाटकमेतत् यट्पाटकं सभाटविटपं सजलखलं सग-
 39 त्तोपरं सगुवाकनारिकेलं सज्जदशापराधं परिहृतसर्वपोडं चचहभट्टप्रवेश-
 40 मकिञ्चित्प्रगाष्टं टणपुतिगोचरपर्यन्तं । पनिरुद्धदेवगम्येणः प्रयोचय
 41 पूज्योदरदेवगम्येणः पौचाय अनन्तदेवगम्येणः पुचाय शाण्डिल्यसगोचाय शा-

* (Cf. *Dakṣiṇāyana-sūtra* in the *Paṭharpur* plate, above Vol. X, p. 61.—Ed.)

* Probably we have to read *gopoth-ady-antara-bhū-bhāṭika*. [Cf. A. 26 of *Tarumadighi copper plate*, *Asiatic* p. 102.—Ed.]

REVERSE.

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30 अथवापिमादिनाहं कृष्णानि कः तापना तापाविहता विमायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 32 तापनायाहं विमायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 34 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 36 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 38 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 40 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 42 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 44 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 46 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 48 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 50 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 52 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 54 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 56 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि
 58 तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि तापनायाहं तन्निमित्तं कि

- 42 ण्डिवांसितदेवलप्रवराय सामवेदकौमुदमशास्त्राचरणानुष्ठायिने आचार्यश्री-
 43 कुवेरदेवशर्मणे पुण्ये षड्नि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन् श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टा-
 44 रकमुद्दिश्य मातापितृराजन्य पुण्ययोगोभिष्टयै । श्रीवज्रालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-
 45 मयालवा(वा)क्षणहरिदामेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकक्ष(से)चपाटकाभिधानशास्त्र-
 46 नो(न)विनिमयिन एतद्राजवह्नादिषट्पाटकस्मल्लेकमुपरिलिखितप्रमाणं पञ्चशतो-
 47 तोत्पत्तियोष्यं क्से(से)चपाटकं कोठीकृत्य यच्च पुनर्व्या(व्या)ख्याय श्रीकुवेराभिधानाय
 सूर्ययज्ञे
 48 एतन्ममकुम्भ्याचन्द्रार्कं तितिसमकालं यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायिन ताम्बशासनोक्त्य दत्त-
 49 मस्माभिस्तद्वद्विः सर्वैरेवानुसन्तव्यम् [1*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे
 नरकपात-
 50 भयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयं [1*] भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः
 शोकाः । भूमिं
 51 यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नियतं
 स्वर्गशामिनौ ॥[८॥*]
 52 व(व)ह्मिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 [तस्य] तदा फलं(लम्)^३ ॥[१०॥*] आस्कोट-
 53 यन्ति पितरो वल्गायन्ति पितामहाः[1*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नखाता
 भविष्यति ॥[११॥*] षष्टिं वर्ष-
 54 सचक्ष्माणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आपेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं
 व्रजेत् ॥[१२॥*] स्रदत्ता
 55 परदत्ताम्ना यो हरेत् वसुधरां [1*] स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह-
 पचते ॥[१३॥*] इति कमल-
 56 दलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [1*] सकलमिदमुदा-
 हृतञ्च बुधा न हि
 57 पुरैः परकीर्तयो विलीप्याः ॥[१४॥*] श्रीमन्नारायणसेनचोणीन्द्रः सान्निविप्रहि-
 कम् [1*] क्षिपुः-
 58 रिनाह(व)मकरोत् कुवेरकस्य शासने दूतम् ॥[१५॥*] सं ६^{१०} चावणदिने ७^{११}
 श्रीनिमहामांनि [1*]

^१ This is redundant.

^२ Metre : Anushtubh.

^३ Read *phalāni*.

^४ Basu reads 3.

^५ Metre : Anushtubh.

^६ Metre : Anushtubh.

^७ Metre : Paśyatiśr.

^८ Basu reads 2.

^९ Metre : Anushtubh.

^{१०} Metre : Anushtubh.

^{११} Metre : Upagiti.

No. 38.—THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., COIMBATORE.

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far; it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now; it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated; it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel; above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vishnu temple of Venkajēśa-Perumāḷ at Tirumukkūdal in the Maṣṣuratakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16.¹ There is a notice of it in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year.² The village of Tirumukkūdal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Palūr with two of its tributaries, the Vāḡavattī and the Cherrār. The word 'tirumukkūdal' means 'the confluence of three sacred (streams)'. The temple of Venkajēśa-Perumāḷ is picturesquely situated on a prominence on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually combined in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkūdal is about two miles from Palaiya-Sivaram, a small station next to Walajabad in the Conjeevaram-Chingleput section of the South Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vishnu temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeevaram and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name Tiruvēḷkaṭamalai.

The temple of Venkajēśa-Perumāḷ is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nripataṅga-vikramavarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure.³ According to this inscription, the god is called **Vishnu-Bhaṭṭāra**. It was known by the name of Tirumukkūdal-Āṭṭār and Mahā-Vishnu during Chōḷa times,⁴ while a later epigraph calls it by the name Venkajēśvara-svāmī.⁵

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 540 square feet. The record is written in the **Tamiḷ language** and alphabet, and the characters belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Grantha letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, para. 4 on page 4.² *Ibid.*, pp. 1182.³ No. 179 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.⁴ Nos. 189 and 182 of the same collection.⁵ No. 457 of the same collection.

gift. Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 *kalasāṇḍu* and 9 *mañjāṇḍi*. The income on this, at the rate of 16 *kalam* of paddy by the *rājakṣari* measure, per *kalasāṇḍu*, amounted to 2352 *kalam*, 1 *padakkā*, 3 *nāḷi*, 1 *ūḷakkā* and 3 *śevuḍu*¹. This when converted into *arumoliddam* measure gave an excess of 884 *kalam*, 2 *ūḷi*, 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *ūḷakkā* after providing for *kālāḍi*, *kāḷāṇḍu-kālā* and *korraḷam-cālā*, calculated at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *ūḷi* and 1 *nāḷi* of *arumoliddam* for each *rājakṣari kalam*. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 *kalam*, 2 *ūḷi*, 1 *padakkā*, 6 *nāḷi*, 1 *ūḷakkā* and 3 *śevuḍu*. The third item (No. 2) amounted to 216½ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā*. It was made up of 36½ *kāṣu* obtained by converting 11 *kalasāṇḍu* of gold derived from the taxes or fees *śrī-kalasāṇḍu* (=1 *kalasāṇḍu*), *kumara-kachchāṇḍu* (=1 *kalasāṇḍu*), *maṇi-pōḷḷam* (=3½ *kalasāṇḍu*) and *śīḥrai-pōḷḷam* (=5½ *kalasāṇḍu*) together with the incomes of 28½ *kāṣu* and 4 *mā* from *dāraṇḍam*, 25½ *kāṣu* and 3 *mā* from *maṇḍakkālā*, 3 *kāṣu* from *maḍal-śāṇḍu*, 1½ *kāṣu* from *vaṇṇakkālāḷi*, ½ *kāṣu* from *tarippaḍarai*, 1½ *kāṣu* from *tiṅgal-mēṇḍu* and 118 *kāṣu* from *vāḷikkāṣu*.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd *kalam* of paddy and 216½ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā* of money. The table appended hereto² will indicate how the incomes of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vedic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Ālvār, three times daily—morning, noon and night,—for offerings to be made to the deity Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin, i.e., Rāma at noon (nearly 601 *kalam*); for sandal-paste and its ingredients *karpūra* and *kuṇḍuma* and for lamps (68½ *kāṣu*); for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aippasi, Māsi, Kārttigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantīyāṣṭami (the birth-day of Kṛishṇa) (28 *kalam*, 1 *kurugi* and 5½ *nāḷi*); for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism *Āśāḥa* in the month *Āvaṇi* (6 *kalam*, 5 *kurugi* and 2 *nāḷi*); for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (*Pūṇḍam* in the month of Kārttigai) of the **Vaiśya Mādavaṇḍa Dāmayaṇ**, who built the *Jananātha-mayajapa* in the temple (6 *kalam*, 5 *kurugi* and 2 *nāḷi*); for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity *Vaṇṇakkūṭṭāḷvāṇ*, i.e., Kṛishṇa in procession on the day of *Tiruvōḍam* in the month of Pūṇḍam of every year (5 *kalam*); for meeting the expenses of feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on various festive occasions (88 *kalam*, 11 *kurugi* and 4 *nāḷi*); for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the *tiruvōḍam* hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of *Viraśōḷaṇ*, the *Vaikhāṇasa-dēvakaymā* (priests worshipping the deity according to the *Vaikhāṇasa* mode), accountant, potter and washerman attached to the temple (382 *kalam* and 6 *kurugi*); for repairs to be executed annually in the *tiruchchurumāḷigai*, i.e., the inner enclosure (49 *kalam*) and for purchasing cloth for various servants (13½ *kāṣu*).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a Vedic college in this temple. One teacher taught the Rīg-Vēda and received annually 60 *kalam* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu*; another taught the Yajur-Vēda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhaṭṭa expounded Vyākaraṇa and Rūpavātāra:³ he got annually 120 *kalam* of paddy and 10 *kāṣu*, i.e., a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vedic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmins who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and students who studied the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpavātāra and 10 Mahā-pāṇcharātra, 3

¹ The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here:—1 *kalam* = 12 *kurugi* or 2 *ūḷi* or 6 *padakkā*; 1 *kurugi* = 8 *nāḷi*; 1 *nāḷi* = 2 *ūḷi*; 1 *ūḷi* = 2 *ūḷakkā*; 1 *ūḷakkā* = 2 *śevuḍu* and 1 *śevuḍu* = 5 *śevuḍu*.

² See p. 229 f. below.

³ On *Rūpavātāra*, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.

Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Vaiṣṇava and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *kalam* and 6 *kuṟuṁ* of paddy and 37½ *kāṣu*. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the R̥g-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpavatāra but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñchāttra,¹ Śiva-Brāhmaṇas and Vaiṣṇava, it may be inferred that the āgamas and tantras—such as the Pāñchāttra, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava—were also taught.

The word *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa*² occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion; but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the 'Śaiv-Āgama' referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallūr belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1013 to 1045) registers a gift of land as *Pavaiya-kūṭappuram* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda.³ Another inscription of the same time⁴ registers a similar gift of land as *Tattiriyā-kūṭappuram*, i.e., for teaching the students of the *Tattiriyā-Sākhā*. In the temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the *Vyākaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa* wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (*Vēda-vṛtti*, *adhyāyana-vṛtti* and *Bhāṭṭa-vṛtti*), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sāmavedhānta, Prabhākara and the Mīmāṃsā (Apūrvas). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions, existed in the 11th century A.D. at a place called Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the maintenance of a hospital wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 90 *kalam* of paddy and 8 *kāṣu* in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Virarājya, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vēdic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 30 *kalam* of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 *kalam* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu*—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines,—two nurses who received 30 *kalam* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu*, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

¹ The Pāñchāttra was so called because it had five Samhitās, viz., Pāraṣarīvara, Sātvata, Viṣṇuśaṁsa, Khagīrvara and Śrī-Panahkara. According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa* the persons eligible to study *Pāñchāttra* are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being *Vēda*, *bhakti* and *gajāna*.

² *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa* and *gaurāṅgā* are terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.

³ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, No. 312. *Kūṭa* in Tamil means a teacher and *maṇḍapa*, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with *Bakṛiṭṭi*. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the R̥g-Vēda.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 316.

barber who received 15 *kāṣa* of paddy probably for performing minor operations in addition to his professional duties. The sick ration consisted of 1 *śāṭi* of rice per head per day. Besides the above, a provision of 2½ *kāṣa* for a lamp to be kept burning in the hospital during nights, 15 *kāṣa* of paddy for the water-man and 40 *kāṣa* for stocking medicines was also made. The medicines stored in the hospital were :—

- (1) Brāhmyam-kāṣumbūri, (2) Vāsā-haritaki, (3) Gō-mūtra-haritaki, (4) Dāśa-mūla-haritaki, (5) Bhallātaka-haritaki, (6) Gaṇḍīra, (7) Balākāṣṇḍa-taila, (8) Pāṇchāka-taila, (9) Lakṣmādy-āraṇḍa-taila, (10) Uttama-karṇādi-taila, (11) Śukla-sa-ghṛita, (12) Bīlvādi-ghṛita, (13) Maṇḍāka-vaṭika, (14) Dravattī, (15) Vimala, (16) Sāṇḍī, (17) Tāmṛādi, (18) Vajrakalpa, (19) Kalyāṇaka-lavaṇa and (20) Purāṇa-ghṛita.

Of these medicines, No. (1), if it refers to Brāhmya-rasāyana, is described in verses 38 to 54 of *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, chapter I, and *Aśtāṅgahṛidayā*, chapter XXXIX, verses 15 to 23. The ingredients that enter into the composition of this medicine are 44 in number. The preparation is as follows—1,000 *chebulic myrobalans* and 3,000 fresh *embellie myrobalans* together with 250 *palas* of the five *pāñchamūlas* (i.e. of 25 roots) are boiled in 10 times the quantity of water till the whole is reduced to one-tenth. The liquid is then strained and the decoction taken. In it the powder of myrobalans without the nuts is thrown. To the mixture is added the pulve of 4 *palas* of each of *maṇḍūka-paṇḍa*, *peppali*, *śaṅkhāpūṣkpi*, etc., and 1,000 *palas* of sugar-candy together with 2 *śāḥakas* of oil and 3 *śāḥakas* of ghee and the whole boiled in slow fire until it reaches the consistency of an electuary. 320 *palas* of honey are then added and the whole well churned. This medicine, says the author, sharpens the intellect, removes fatigue, improves memory and gives longevity and strength. As these are the essential requirements of a student, it naturally heads the list of medicines intended mostly for them.

No. (2) of the medicines is noticed in the 67th verse of chapter IX of *Charaka* and in chapter VI of *Sūtrāṅga-Saṁhitā*. From the text we gather that *Gō-mūtra-haritaki* is simply *chebulic myrobalans* soaked in cow's urine for one night. *Sūtrāṅga* states that if it is taken with honey in the morning, it will cure internal piles. It may also be noted that in the treatment of *Pāṇḍu-rōga*, *Vārbhata* (chapter XVI) says that *haritaki* taken with cow's urine removes jaundice. The text giving this information is adopted from *Charaka*.

No. (4) is described in the *Aśtāṅgahṛidayā*, chapter XVII, verses 14 to 16, which state that the medicine is prepared by taking the decoction of the *daśamūla* (ten roots), putting in it 100 *chebulic myrobalans* and one *tulā* of jaggery and boiling the whole into a *lāḥya* and mixing with it the powder of *triṣṭā*, *triḥṭā*, and a little of *yava-sāka* and when cooled adding half a *prastha* of honey. This medicine is said to be capable of curing dropy, fever, diseases of urinary organs, tubercles, rheumatism, hemorrhages, colour in the urine, wind, sperm disease, lung disease, distaste for food and enlargement of the spleen.

If by No. (6) is meant *Gaṇḍīrādya-śiṣṭha*, it is described in verses 27 to 29 of *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, chapter XVII. The ingredients that enter into the preparation of this medicine are (1) *gandīra* (*solanum verbascifolium*), (2) *bhallātaka* (*semecarpus anacardium*), (3) *chitraka* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (4) *vyāḥa* (*pepper*, *piper longum* and dry ginger), (5) *brhātī-dvaya* (*solanum indicum* and *solanum xanthocarpum*), and (6) *śāḥaṅga*. Two measures of each of these are taken and cooked with 8 measures of *kāṣhika-māṣu*, i.e., water taken by straining curdled milk in the fire of cow-dung. When reduced to a third and cooled, the liquid has to be strained and mixed with 8 measures of *prāṇīka-māṣu* and 100 *palas* of sugar-candy, *plumbago zeylanica* and *piper longum*.

* For some of the references to chapters and verses relating to Indian medicine, which are incorporated in this note, I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Ramaswami Aiyer of Gopichettipalayam.

and then to be used after keeping it for ten days. This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, hemorrhoids, *krimi* (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hiccough.

Pañchāka-taila (No. 8) may be identical with *Taila-pañchaka* described in Charaka under *gulmas*. The five ingredients of this medicine are gingely oil, liquor, cow's urine, vinegar and *yavāgraja*. By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water. This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercules.

Bilvadi-ghrita (No. 12) is dealt with in the chapter on *Grāhāṇī-chikitsā-prakaraya* of *Yōgarat-nākara*. The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) *bilva* (*aegle marmelos*), (2) *agni* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (3) *chavya* (*peper chaba*), (4) *śrīdraka* (ginger), (5) *śrīnga-bēra* (a variety of double ginger), (6) ghee and (7) *chhāga-dagḍha* (goat's milk). The first five are subject to the process of *twāṭha* and *kalka* and mixed with (6) and (7) and cooked. This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and *grāhāṇī*.

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of *Aśhāṅga-hridaya* deal with *Mañḍūkara-vaṭika* (No. 13). The drugs that compose the medicine are *triphalā*, *triṣṭhāṇa musta*, *vēḍaṅga*, *chavya*, *chitraka*, *dāru*, *śrang*, *māksika*, *granthika* and *dēva-dāru*. Two *palas* each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of *māṣṭhā* equal to double the quantity of the other *chūrṇas* are added and pills made of the size of *udambam* (*ficus glomerata*) and taken with butter-milk. This medicine cures anaemia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or hemorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen.

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose *Vimula* (No. 15) are *śaṅkha*, *priyāṅgu*, *nēpālī*, the *trikatu* and the *triphalas*. Another gives the ingredients as *mathuka*, *maricha*, *pippali*, *lōḍhra*, *taru-rajani* and the *triphalas*. This medicine is said to remove from the eyes *timira*, *patala*, *lōcha* and *kaṇḍu*.

The preparation of the *varti* known as *Sunṭri* (No. 16) is described in the *Sahasraṅgā* under *nētraśyāgopakaraya*. A large number of drugs such as the three acids, the three fruits, *plumbago zeylanica*, *almus integrefolia*, *emelia ribes*, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, *achorus calamus*, *guirika*, the two kinds of sandal, *lāksha*, *lōḍhra*, copper sulphate, *pīlā-roḥini*, enter into the composition of this medicine. It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as *lōcha*, *pūṣṭya*, *patala*, *vraṇa*, *dāha*, *rāga*, *kaṇḍu*, *timira*, *kukkima*, and *aśhimāṇa*.

The preparation of *kalyāṇaka-lavaya* (No. 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on *Aśa rōga* in the *Vrindamādhava*. The ingredients are the *Bhallātaka* group, the three fruits, *danti* and *chitraka*, i.e., *plumbago zeylanica*, in equal parts with twice the quantity of *Saindhava* salt.

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's exploits in the island of Ceylon, besides the facts known from other inscriptions¹. The historical introduction of Virarājendra's inscriptions begins in three different ways. In two sets of records it commences with the words *tiru vaḷar*, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words *tiramē tūnai* in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief. A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations. In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones. A study of all the records of Virarājendra so far known would

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 32 ff. and 103 ff. where Dr. Hultzsch has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Virarājendra's reign.

show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle field of **Kāḍal-Saṅgama**. Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of **Gaṅgavāḍi**, **Vōṅgi** and **Kūḍal-Saṅgama** find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn.¹ It is therefore fairly certain that in this very year his elder brother **Parakāśarivarma** **Rājendradēva** died which gave the occasion for **Vīrarājendra** to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen **Ulagamuluduṣaiyā** as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have been begun by **Rājendradēva** and completed by **Vīrarājendra** after the former's death. King **Vīrarājendra** started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations: **Vīrarājendra's** dealings with **Pottappi**, an unnamed **Kōṛala** king, as well as the younger brother of **Jananātha**² and **Virakāsari**,³ the son of the **Pāṇḍya** king **Srivalabha** are mentioned in a record of his fourth year,⁴ and as such might have taken place in about A.D. 1065. About the same time the Chōla king being invited to fight a combat by **Aḥavamalla** through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the **Vōṅgi** country, he directed his arms to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother's desire,⁵ and then had his appointment of victory performed.⁶ The **Vōṅgi** country was first invaded by **Rājendra-Chōla I** (1013 A.D.) and was again overrun by **Rājendra-Chōla II**, but it appears that his successors **Rājadhira** I and **Rājendradēva** did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part to hold the reins tight in the **Vōṅgi** country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōla yoke. **Rājendradēva** seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōlas but he died without effecting it. The **Kanyākumārī** inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōlas, won back by **Vīrarājendra**. It says:—

भ्रातृभ्यां समुपेक्षितं वनपटं वंशसमाश्रयगतं कात्वं वैरिमहिचरैरतिवलेष्येडोन्मल्लिङ्गनपि ।
 लिखा यन्पुर्परामतिवचां लिखा च भोतामहन्वृत्तामहन्मल्लिङ्गनपिः तमेव तं सोमयात् ।
 Before 1067 A.D., the Chōla sovereign burnt the city of **Kampili**, set up a pillar of victory at a place called **Karaḍikal** (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the **Tungabhadra** as reported in our inscription), gained victories at **Bezvada**, got back **Kannakuchchi** (**Kanyakubja**), took the head of the **Pāṇḍya**, levied tribute from the **Chēra**, defeated **Vijayabahu** and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at **Sōttakkal**, gained victories at **Chakkarakōṭṭam** and **Kāvi** and destroyed the **Kalinga** country.⁷

¹ See for instance *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. V, No. 976.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 33 and also No. 976 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ **Jananātha** has been taken to be the king of **Dhārā** for which there is no warrant.

⁴ By considering **Vīrakāsari** as the son of **Srivalabha**, I differ from Dr. Hultzsch. The achievements noted in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of **Rājendradēva's** reign. (See No. 29 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 336.

⁷ These additional facts are recorded in No. 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1892. See also No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, and Nos. 98 of 1892 and 122 of 1902.

⁸ That the king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the **Uttarapatha** is recorded in an inscription of **Rājadhira** I found at **Epāyṭṭam** (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1918, p. 145).

⁹ *Tamilnad Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

¹⁰ These achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 6th year of the king's reign. See for instance the present record and No. 82 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1892.

Regarding the location of Virarajendra's pillars of victory in the Chālukya country, Karadikal is referred to in a Namārese inscription¹ from Uchchagidrug in the Bellary district as Karadikal-nāṣṭu of which the village of Nandavādige is said to be the face. Nandavādige and Karadikal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavādige and Karadi, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijapur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Kṛṣṇā river. They are only at a distance within 5 miles of each other.

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that Virarajendra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Sinhalese army; and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukulattaraiyan and other feudatories fell in the field, king Vijayabāhu ran away and the Chōla king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Lankā his own. This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A.D. 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length. According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabāhu was assumed by Kitti² when he became sub-king. Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chōla sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills.³ He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramañña country and to have dwelt at Tamalagāma. About the fifth year of his reign the Sinhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Chōlas and vexed the Chōla officers of revenue. And when the Chōla king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon. The general landed at Mahātittihā, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection. Vijayabāhu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chōla general and proceeded to Pulatthi with a large army. When the Chōla king was informed of these tidings, he desired to take Vijayabāhu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island. The lord of Lankā, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Anurādhapura and fought a great battle. But many of Vijayabāhu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chōla side. Thereupon Vijayabāhu left the city of Pulatthi and fled away to Villikahana. When he was told that the governor of the Chōlas pursued him even there, he went away to Vatagiri, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils.⁴

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabāhu with the Chōlas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Virarajendra as having been fought with him in about A.D. 1066. Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records. It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parakṣarivarman Rājendradēva, the predecessor of Virarajendra, in A.D. 1056. Rājendradēva's inscriptions state that he despatched a war-like army into the southern region, seized on the battle-field the two sons of Mānabharāṇa and captured Lankā. Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabāhu's accession took place in about A.D. 1055, that he fought with Rājendradēva in that very year and that in A.D. 1066 he had to meet Virarajendra's forces. From the Sinhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action. Except these two wars, Vijayabāhu had no further encounter with the Chōlas till late in his reign, i.e., in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1085 when Kulōttunga was the Chōla ruler.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VI, p. 107.

² He is said to be the eldest son of Megalana. It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord". He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitation of many lasting virtues.

³ Wijesinha's translation, Ch. LVIII, pp. 97 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal-paste, *karppūram*, *kuṇḍumam*, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one *kāṣṭh* was 8 *palams* of sandal, 576 *palams* of sugar, $\frac{1}{4}$ a *kaṣṭh* of *kuṇḍumam*, 2 *nāḷi* of honey or 200 *palams* of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 *nāḷi* per *kāṣṭh*; 10 *palams* of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 *nāḷi* of paddy; and 1 *kāṣṭh* fetched 576 *palams*.

Cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumin were highly prized and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Un-husked green pulse exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded pulse required 4 times the quantity of paddy. To get a certain measure of rice, $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning.

Betel-leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and coconuts were sold by number. A bundle of 80 betel-leaves formed a *kaṭṭu* or *parṭu* and its price was 2 *nāḷi* of paddy. A *nāḷi* of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca-nuts or 2 plantain fruits; and 1 *karuṇi* of paddy was exchanged for 3 coconuts.

The geographical names that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. *Gaṅgapāḍi* (l. 1) is the Western Gaṅga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakkāḍ or Talakkāḍu. *Vēṅgai-nāḍu* (l. 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chālukya kings. *Tuṅgapattirai* (l. 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tuṅgabhadra. *Kōḷal Saṅgama* (l. 1) or *Kōḷal* (l. 4), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, is a place at the confluence of the river Kṛishṇā and the Pañcha-Gaṅgā.¹ *Kōsalai* (l. 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōsala. *Gaṅgaimānagar* (l. 4), *Gaṅgāpuri* (l. 7) or *Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram* (l. 10) is identical with the last-mentioned place in the Udaiyarpalayam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājendra-Chōla 1 (A.D. 1010-1015) and made the capital of the Chōla dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Tanjore built by Rājārāja 1 (A.D. 985-1013). *Irattapāḍi* (l. 5) or *Rattapāḍi*, $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, is the country of the Rattas. *Karandai* (l. 5) has been identified with Inchal-Karañji, in the neighbourhood of Kōḷal-Saṅgama.² *Kuntaḷa* (l. 5) is certainly the Western Chālukya territory.³ *Viṇaiyavāḍai* (l. 6) is undoubtedly the modern Bezvada. The seven *Kaliṅgas* (l. 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Vēṅgi, ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgas. *Ṭāmi* (l. 7) or *Ṭāṅgai* is Ceylon. *Chakkarakkōṭṭam* (l. 9) has been identified with Chakkakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace *Sōnaiyanagar* (l. 9) and *Kāvi* (l. 10). *Imaiyam* (l. 10) is another name for the Himālayas and *Sētu* (l. 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmdevaram. *Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam* is no other than Madhurāntakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumukkūḍal, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. *Jayaṅgondachōla-maṅḍalam* is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Toṇḍai-maṅḍalam during the days of Rājārāja 1, who bore the designation of Jayaṅgondachōla. *Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam* is one of the 24 districts of it. The village of *Vayalukkāvēr* (l. 11) and *Ālpākkam* (l. 43) are very near Tirumukkūḍal. *Minaṅkuḍi* in *Idaiyāḷa-nāḍu*, a sub-division of *Vijayarājendra-vaṇaṇḍu* in *Sōḷa-maṅḍalam* (l. 52) *Ayaṅḍampākkam* in *Āṇuḍi-nāḍu*, a sub-division of *Puḷar-kōṭṭam* in *Jayaṅgondachōla-maṅḍalam* (l. 53 f.), *Rājasundari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam* in another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

¹ Above, XII, p. 298.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Details of Expenses.

| No. | Item. | Rate. | | | | Total expenses for the year. | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-------|----|----|----|------------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| | | Kal | ku | na | ul | Kal | ku | na | ul | to |
| Daily expenses. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Sirkālai-sandi | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Akkāradalai | 0 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 171 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Night, Pāl-pōṇagam | 0 | 9 | 3 | 0 | 283 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | For Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 93 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 0 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 52 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Special occasions and festivals. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Aippaī festival | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Māī festival | | | | | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | Hunting festival | | | | | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 8 | Jayantyastami | | | | | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 9 | Kārttigai-Kārttigai | | | | | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | King's Birthday | | | | | 3 | 11 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 11 | Birth-day of Vaiṣya Mādavaṇ Dāmayan | | | | | 6 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 12 | Purattāī Tiruvōgam | | | | | 9 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | Feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇava on Amāvāsyā days | | | | | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 14 | Do. during Procession to Tiruvēṅgadamalai | | | | | 19 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | Do. during Procession from Tiruvēṅgadamalai | | | | | 8 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 | Do. during Purattāī Tiruvōgam | | | | | 8 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | Do. during Aippaī festival | | | | | 8 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 18 | Do. during Mārgaī festival | | | | | 17 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 19 | Do. during Māī-Makham | | | | | 8 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | 17 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | 134 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Services. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | Tiru | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | Tiruvāymoī Songster | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | | | | | |
| 22 | Gardeners | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| 23 | Special Tiru | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| 24 | Vaiṭṭānnaṭ Deṭṭanma | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| 25 | Accountant | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| 26 | Potter | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| 27 | Washerman | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| 28 | Tirumukkūḷai Pērayan | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | | | | | |
| | | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 382 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 29 | Repairs | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 80 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| School. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | Rig-Vēda teacher | | | | | | | | | |
| 31 | Yajur-Vēda teacher | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| 32 | Vyākaraṇa teacher | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| | | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 240 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 33 | Hostel Expenses of 60 Students | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | Hospital | 3 | 10 | 6 | 0 | 1,402 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 35 | Waterman | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 393 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 36 | Dāmasabham and cardamom | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 37 | Dakṣiṇā, betel-leaves, etc. | | | | | 20 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| | | | | | | 3,243 | 8 | 6 | 1 | 3 |

5 āvarum-ariyav-ejūdiya śapadamō varum-ōlai viḍaiyōḍu-kujuttu Irattappāḍi¹-pipirattarū mē-taṅu Gaṅgā[ā]-kko[ī]ṭṭaiy-ēva āṅ-avan vand-aḍi vaṇḍaiy-a-vvāchakanum-uraittalū-chindaiy[ū]m²] mugamun-tiru-ppuyam-irayḍum īnd-ē[il]-uḡav-iyō³-iru-maḍaiyū puliya-ppōnd-ay-pōr-kalam pu[ḡ]uḷu Karandaiyil Vallavar-[k]ōḡai [va]ravu kūṇāḍ-avan kolliya nā[ḷ]-mēlum-oru-tiṅga[ī] pāṇi-īṇḍ-iranda-piṅṅai pōrti-avan kō[ī] keḍav-ōḷi mēl-kaḍai[il]-ōḷitalun-Dēvanādanā-Chittiyū-Kōṭṭiyum mūvarum-tani-ttan muduḡiḷa-ppāv-arum Irattappāḍi ēl-ara[ī] ilakkamum mura-ttō[il]-aḍakki molaṅ-eri [mū]ṭṭi vāḍ-kada⁴-ppūiy-ēgi viyandu viḷaiyāḍa-tTuṅapattirai-kkarai Jayabattira-itūṅ pāṇi[ā]m pa[ra]ḷa[ā] nāṭṭi mēnā[ī] vaḍav-a-ppirattāḡai Vallavan-ākki-[ch]ōḷundara-kkaṇḍigai sūṭṭi⁵ a-kKunta[ā]t⁶-aruman[ū]m⁷] makka[um] ai-nimaḍi aḷḷi-ttan⁸

6 puraiḷai-yāḡaiyir-pu[ai]-kkaiyir-piḷait-ivv-ulag-elām-ariya ḍiḷya-pari-oru-palagaiyir-pa[ḷ]ud-urav-e[ḷ]ud-chchāṭṭi[ga]ṭ-araiyū-Cha[ḷ]ukki padamum-ērra pūṭṭa[ā]-māvoḍu-ppuṭṭil pōrtun-tāḷ-kai-kkoṇḍa [V]ōḡ[ai]-nan-[n]ḷu¹ mūṭṭukkoṇḍ-āl[il] mūḷḷaḷ-keṭṭiṇi vallav-āḡi vundu kāk-aruṇ kolli-ēva-chchōḷliya pōkki ellaiy-aḡ-ajuttav-a-ttāḡai ē[il] Vijayavāḍaiyōḍ-ādutta pēr-ār-ivandu āṅṅ-ittāḍutta Jananāḷaiyū[ḡ]m Tippa[ra]ḷaiyū[ḡ]m²] mudalāḡav-ūḍaiyav-a-pperu-chchōḷaiyāi aḍaviyir-pāchchi-kKōḍāvi[riy]i[ḡ]-ran pōḷaḡa nīr-ūṇṇa-kKaliṅgam-ēḷu-kadand-a-ppuḷi-vaḷam-pōṇṭa-maiya-Mahēndiratt-ajavu[ḡ]m³] mē-varu-tāḡai-ttāvaḍi sūṭṭi-ttan pūn-ka[ḷ]ark-aḍaikkalam-puḡunda pāḍaikkala-ttāḷ-kkaiy Vijayāḍittark-ara[ī] viḷaiyōḍa mūḷu viṭṭa kaiyūm

7 pūḷḍa jaya-ttiruvōḷu-Gaṅgāpuri puḡund-aruḷi aṅḡō Rājādūrajān Rājātājan-ēva-ttarāpadiyar-āḡa-ttama[ḡ]yati-iyarri a-ppaḍi-maṅṅar-aḍi toḷud-ēna iḡa-maḡi-pphāḷa-irutti mu[ḡ]aiyōḷi Vēṅḡai-paṇ-pāṭṭiḍai-[k]koṇḍa iru-pedi-ppirakkam variḷaiyir-kāṭṭi āḷiy-mūḷaḷum-kalārri āṅ-avar vāḷiya viradamum-anṇi ṭa-ttāḷi kaḍal-aḍaiyāḍu paḷa-kalaḷ-chch[ū]ṭṭi¹] mā-pperu-ttōḡai-ērra-kkāppuḷai-kka[ḷ]a[il]-vaḷaiy-arapattu vē-ṣaman-tuḍaṅḡiy-a-chChūṅḡa-chchēṇai maṅḡa-ppaiḷ-kalār-Kurukulattariyāḡum-um-ēva-pporu-ṣipattu-tā[ḡ]r²] sūmantarūm paṭṭu-viḷa-kkeṭṭ-ūḍaiṇḍ-āṅḡāḍ-ōr-ōḷai-ttaraiyir-ōḷa-ttarāpadi Vijaiyabāhuvuṇ-tiḷai-keḍav-ōḷa [ma]ḡḡ-avan dēviyai-pparri vōḷu mudalāḡiya aḷ-pperu-kula-dan-maḡi-ṇam mudiyōḍum vāri-ēṭṭi-maḷi-ḷaṅḡaiyūn-taḡaḍē-ākki

8 Teṅḡagan-tāṇḍi-kKoṇḍaiyil mūḷum-a-chChāḷukki paṇḍaiyil irattī paḡattoḍum viḍu tōḍuttu kaṇḍāṇil mādi-Nāḡaiyan Mārayan Manumikkandayan kattāḷ-ḡiḷa kkoṭṭu kavadiḡai-kKāmayan Koṇḍayan Aechchidaran parkollu mūyattī-kko yan mudalāḡar mada-ma[ḷ]i[ḡ]y-pporun-ēḷi mudukittu vāḷiy-ōḷa-kko ottunāḍaiyan mudalāḡar pāḍa-sāmantarōḷ-aiyā-kkaṭṭ-ēḷaḍ-ōḷa ḷaḡ-purav-ēḷa-kariyūm-arivaiyar-kūḷittōḍum-aḡappāḍ-ēḷaḍ-ppaṇḍu pōḷa-puḡar-ēḷaḍ-kōṇḍu yōḍaiyūm paḍaiḡi-ḷuṇ-taṅḡu Sūṅḡan āḡaḡanil chāḷukki tan viḷa dandāḡayakar ttiṇḍ-eri Sōḷiyavaraiyūn-aru ēl-pari-yāḡai mūkkum-antara-ēḷa pūḷḷi

9 gal Pulī-Śaṭṭukkalir-iyastamba nāṭṭi-ē 100 mūḷi sūmantarai-ch[Ch]akkara-kōṭṭaṭṭa āṇai-kKaliṅgam-ēḷaiya

¹ Read -ppi.

² Read -pōḷ.

³ Read -ēḷaḍ-ēḷaḍ.

⁴ The passage from which this is taken is in No. 20 of South-Ind. Ins., Vol. III.

⁵ The letter -ai is in fact -ā, as is shown by the strength of.

⁶ -ā is the reading in No. 20 of South-Ind. Ins., Vol. III.

⁷ No. 20 of South-Ind. Ins., Vol. III, reads *kaṭṭi*.

paḷai-kkaḍal-ēvi vaḍa-tiṣai-chChakkarakōṭṭattu mikk-udaṅṅ-eḷunda Chaḷukkiyan-
 āṇaiyai¹-kkana[ī-eri] pūri-chChōṇai[ya]nagar aḷai-chChōmayan Eṇṇiyan vāma-
 vē-Adittapanman-rām-ivar kuraḷ-talal-kku[āṭṭoṇṇ-kunippa-ttaṇai] . . . ād-
 aḷeḷa pa² Maliyūṇ Śāḷaiyan pūm vach-
 chira-ppaim-pūṇ-Manumanu³ [Vai]dumbanun-īṇvānāḍanun-Dēviko⁴ . . .
 nūḡaḍam-eṭṭum paḡudiyum oṭṭaḡa-ttōḡudiyum . . . *riḡala-ppariṣandi-
 ppagudiyum variṣaiyir-kōḷaiyil kū patt-u-

10 *ḷaḷind-ōḷu- nāḍaṅ-dēvi **Kāviyil** vāḷi-maṅ-ṇaḍuḡa Kāḷiyappa-
 iyun-tambiyu vichchada mudal tumbayavadi-
 kuḷun-tōḡaiyar-iṭṭamum mā-kkaḷatt-ḡaḡṇaḍa-ppidittu ti kurra lamayan
 makkaḷaiy-ōḍukki eḷai kaḍandu mḷaiy-iṭṭu-kkaḷaḡ-ppiliy-irudat-kiḍanda vaḍa-
 tiṣaiy-imaiyattoṇṇ-kiḍanda Sētu varambāḡa-chcheṇṇōḷ ṣeluttā⁵
 vēda-nidiyai viḷakki mīd-uyar vira-ttaḡi-kkoḍi tiyāḡa-kkoḍiyōḍum-
 ēṇṇavar varuḡ-euru niṇṇa-kkōṭṭōḷi-urimaiyin-eydi araiṣu vīr-irundu mē-varu-Manu
 pēri viḷakkiya kōv-**Irājakēsarivanmar-āna** *m[ū]ḷaiyār āri-**Virarājēndradē-**
varkku yāṇḍu aṇḷāḍadu **Caṅḡaikoṇḍaṣḷapurattu**-chChōlakērajan-tirumāḷḡaiyil
 Rājendraśōḷa-Māvalivāṇarājanil eḷundaruḷḷi-irundu **Jayaṅḡoṇḍaśō-**

11 **ḷa-maṅḡalattu-kkaḷattūr-kkōṭṭattu-ttaḡi[yō]** āri-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṇ-
 galattu-tTirumukkōḍal Mahāvishṇukkaḷ dēvadānamā[y] varuḡiṇṇa Kāḷiyūr-
 kkōṭṭattu-ttēroḷu-Paruvōrnāṭṭu Vayalaikkāv-ūragai⁶ ṣḷaikk-iruttu-varuḡiṇṇa
 ponn-eḷupatt-aṇ-kalaṇḡum i-chchāḷaikk-ūchchāḷāḡamāy varuḡiṇṇa[pa]ḍi Irattai-
 pāḍiy-ōḷ-araḷ-ḷakkamun-kōṇḍu āhavamallaiy-irunṇai ven-kōḷu Ulaiy⁷*iyak-
 kōṇḍ-aruḷṇadēvark-iyāṇḍ-irāṇḷāḍadu mudal tavirundu vēḷṇān vāḡaiyil mudal-eḍuttu
 i-pponn-eḷupatt-aṇ-kalaṇḡum ivv-ūṇḷ vandav-ūṇṇkkaḷaṇḡum-kumarakkaḷchchāḷamum
 vaṇṇārappāṇai[yu]m mīn[pa]ṭṭamun-tattārappāṭṭamun-ullittā kiḷḡai-ppāṭṭamum
 vēḷikkāḷun-tiḡaḷ-mēramum muttāvarāṇamum taṇṇipudavaiyum valaṅḡaiy-idaṇḡai-
 mḡaḷ[ṇ]mai-yun-daḷabandam[ṇ]* māḍaikkūliyum viraṣḷaiyum⁸-ullittā pāṭṭa-
 12 ṇḡaḷ-ḡṇaḍa-tTirumukkōḍal Mahāvishṇukkaḷ[ū]ḷkku vāṇḍu[ṇ]* nimandaṇḡaḷukk-iruppa-
 dāḡa yāṇḍ-aṇḷḷāḍadu dēvadāṇa mudal dēvadāṇa iṇaiy-ihiyāḡa variyil-ida-
 ttiṇvāymōḷind-aruḷṇāṭ-ēṇṇu Tiro[majodiravōlai Kāḷatir⁹*y[ṇ]ḷikkāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-
 pPaṇaiyūr-ḡāṭṭu Nērvāyil¹⁰ Nērvāyil-udaiyān Tāḷi Tiruppanaḡḡaḍaiyāṇ-āṇa
 Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan-eḷuttigāḷun-Tirumantravōlai-ḡāyagam Pāḍiyāṇṇam Rāja-
 rāja-Brahmamarāyarum Virarājēnta¹¹-Gāṇḡaiyarāḡaṇ-oppināḷum puḡunda kēvi
 variyil-iṭṭu-kkoḷḡav-ēṇṇu Villavarāḡarūṇ-Kaliḡattaraiyarum Viḍaiyil Rājēnta¹².
 vāḷirāḡarachchōḷarum Pāḍiyāṇṇam ivvōḡaḷ-ēṇṇipāḍiy-ēṇṇu-Uḍankūṭṭattu
 adigāḡiḡaḷ Virarājēnta¹³-Brahmādhirāḡarūṇ-Chōḷa-Brahmamarāyarūṇ-Chembiyan
 Sittirāḡarum Atiṣayaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷārūṇ-Jayaṅḡoṇḍaśōḷa-Viḷupparaiyarum Uṭta-
 maśōḷa-pPallavaraiyarum Viḍaiyil-

¹ Read āṇai.

² Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up.

³ Between the second *ma* and *ma* there is some unaccountable space in the original.

⁴ Here also there is some vacant space.

⁵ The dot may be replaced by the letter *pa*.

⁶ The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up.

⁷ Space for about 3 letters are left blank.

⁸ For *ma* read *u*.

⁹ Read *vāṇḍuḷ*.

¹⁰ Read *śōḷa*.

¹¹ Read *Kāḷatir*.

¹² This word is written below the line.

¹³ Read *vēḷ*.

- [illegible]

* Read *vera*.

^a This word is removed below the line.

* This word may also be read *PIŠA*.

* Read-50/100mm.

^a Item 20.

* This word is engraved below the line.

mā-pāttam pon mu-kka[ā]jē-kālu-kī[ra]i-ppāttam pon aī-kā[ā]jē-mukkālu-
āga-ppon padin-oru-kā[ā]jē-pāl mā[ā]i padin-eppēy-e[lu]-māvinār-kālu muppatt
ārariyūn-dasavanda-kālu irubatt-e[tt]araiyē pāl-māvu[m*] mā[ā]jakkāli kālu irubatt-
aījē mu.

18 kkalē mūoru-māvu mudalē-ēlavu kaṇakkūpaṇi kālu mānūm vaṇṇakka-kkūlikku-
kkāso onr-araiyūn-tari-ppuḍavaiyār-kālu mukkālu[m] mu[tt]āvaragattār-kālu
mukkālu[m]-tiṇṇal-mē[tt]ā[tt]ār-kālu onr-araiyūn vāli-kkā[tt]akku-kkālu pū[tt]r-orubatt-
ettum āga-kkālu irapū[tt]r-orubatt-ār-araiyē irapū[tt]r-māvu[m] i-ttēvarku vepūna-
nimanda[tt] cheyda[tt]aṇi [*] Ālvārku-chechirukālai-chehandiy-onrūku-pparuppu-ppō[tt]u-
gattukku arai kurūpūku aīj-irapū[tt]r-ākki vepū-ppadakkū pā-nāliyum paruppu pā-
nālikku-ppayaru kurūpūku vepū-ppadakkū pulukku-kkā[tt]iy-amud-onrūku
vella pāli-urīyūn porik-kā[tt]iy-amud-onrūku vella pāli-urīyūn-tayir-amud-urūku
vella pā-nāliyum-veyy-amud-ālakku pēl nāliyum upp-ālakku pēl-ūlakku
adaikkāy-amudu vepūkkāy-ājjukku pēl nāliyum ve.

19 pīlāy-irubadukku pēl-urīyūn āga-chehandiy-onrūku pēl aī-kurūpū aī-āli mū[tt]akku [*]
uchchiyampōdu āndikku akkāraḍalai-pōpagam* Virāḍōlanukku aī[tt]i pā-nālikku
pēl kurūpū-iru-nāliyum paruppu pā-nālikku-ppayaru kurūpūku pēl padakku-
ppāl-āru-nālikku pēl kurūpū pā-nāliyum-veyy nālikku pēl tū[tt]iyūn vā[tt]appalam
ettukku pēl pā-nāliyum adaikkāy-amudu vepūkkā[tt]y* aī[tt]ukku pēl nāliyum
verilāy-irubadukku pēl-urīyūn āga akkāraḍalai-ppō[tt]u-gattukku pēl-iru-tū[tt]i
kurūpū mu-nāli-urīyūn [*] idukku pā onrūku-chechārakai muppatt-iru-palamāga
pāl mū[tt]a* pū[tt]r-arupadakkū-chechārakai padin-ē[tt] aratt-aī[tt]nū[tt]r-irubadin-pāl-
tūkkū-kkā[tt]i-onrūku-chechārakai aī[tt]nū[tt]r-ē[tt]ubatt-āru-palamāga-kkālu irubadūn [*]
iravai-āndikku-ppāl-pō[tt]u-gattukku aī[tt]i pā-nālikku pēl kurūpū-iru-nāliyum pāl
pā-nālikku pēl kurūpūyūn porik-kā[tt]iy-amud-onrūku*

20 pēl* nāli-urīyūn porik-kā[tt]iy-amudukku pō[tt]u-gattukku-veyy-ālakku pēl nā-
liyum adaikkāy-amudu vepūkkāy-ājjukku pēl nāliyum verilāy-irubadukku pēl-
urīyūn āga iravai-āndikku pēl mu-kkurūpūyē [e]lu* nāliyūn-[*] [i] [S] [i] Rāgavachcha-
kravai* jikkū uchchiyampōdai āndi onrūku aī[tt]i pā-nālikku pēl kurūpū-
iru-nāliyum-veyy-amudān-kā[tt]iyamudam adaikkāy-amudam aī[tt]i[tt]inavaiyirukku
vella pā-nāliyum-āga pēl kurūpū-āru-nāliyum Ālvārku-chehandanakkāppukku-
chehandanān-pāl-onrūku arai-ppālam-āga pāl muppū[tt]r-arubadukku-chehandanem
pū[tt]r-ē[tt]ubadin-palattukku kās-onrūku-chehandanem [e] [tt]u-ppālam-āga-kkā[tt]i-irubatt-
irapū[tt]r-araiyūn mēpādikku-kkā[tt]ipūra-ppō[tt]tara[tt]u nāl-onrūku aī[tt]i-mā[tt]-āga nāl
muppū[tt]r-arubadukku-kkā[tt]ipūram padin-oru-kā[ā]jē-kālu-kkā[tt]i-onrūku-kkā[tt]i-
pūram-arai-kkā[ā]j-āga kās-iru.

21 batt-irapū[tt]r-araiyūn-kūḍumattuk[ku]-kkā[tt]i-onram [*] Ālvārku-ttīru-nundāvilakk-irapū[tt]r
pāl-onrūku-ēppāy-urīyūn irā-ttīrochechūru-mā[tt]i[tt]iyā[tt]i vidīyūn-ā[tt]vūn-erīyūn
vilakku mānū[tt]r-ēppāy-ūlak-ālakku mēpādi[tt]i erīyūn āndi-vilakku-ppattu-
kku vilakk-onrūku-ēppāy-oru-ēvidē-kāl-āga ēppāy-ūlak-ē[tt]i-iru-ēvid-ārariyūn-
āga pāl-onrūku ēppāy pāli-ālak-ē[tt]i-iru-ēvid-ārariyūn-āga pāl muppū[tt]r-arubadukku-
ēppāy pā-pū[tt]r-ambatt-iru-nāli-urīkku-kkā[tt]i-onrūku-ēppāy-irubadūnāli-āga-kkā[tt]i-
irubatt-irapū[tt]r-araiyē-araikkālu [*] Aippā[tt]i-ttīrū[tt]i[tt]i tīrūvilā[tt]-[e] [und-a] [ru*] [tt]um Ālāgi-
yamavā[tt]ar pāl ā[tt]i[tt]i-amud-veyy-ppō[tt]u-onrūku aī[tt]i pada-
kkūku vella aī-kurūpūyūn paruppu-urūku-ppayaru nālikku pēl-iru-nāliyum
porik-kā[tt]iy-amud-onrūku pēl nāliyum pulukku-kkā[tt]i onrūku.

* This word is engraved below the line.

* Read pū[tt]r.

* The sign of se is in the previous line.

* kūrūpūy-aru is what is required.

26 nattukku-ttirumujaiy-atta-ppayaru nāṭṭi[ku] nell-iru-nāṭṭiyum-tiruman[ai-kki]-atta nel padakkun-kalaṣam nāṭṭ-etta-chchāḷa pāl-oru-palattukku nel kurunṭiyum aḍikk[ḷ]-atta nel tūṇi-ppaḷakkum-tiruchchunṭattuk-ariy-iru-nāṭṭikku nel pā-nāṭṭiyum-ney nā-nāṭṭikku nel kalanṭ tūṇiyum-tayir [nā]-nāṭṭikku nel kurunṭiyum pāl nā-nāṭṭikku nel kurunṭiyum [*] arai-nāḷ perun-ticav-amudukku ariai kalattukku nellu iru-kalanṭ tūṇi-ppadakkum paruppu nā-nāṭṭikku-ppayaru [kura*]ṭṭikku nel padakkum puḷukku-kkariy-amud-onṭukku nel kurunṭiyum pori-kkariy-amud-onṭukku nel kurunṭiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-onṭukku nel kurunṭiyum miḷag-aḷakkukku nel pā-nāṭṭiyum uppu nāṭṭikku nell-iru-nāṭṭiyum puḷiṇ-kariy-amudukku-ttayir kurunṭikku nel padakkum ney nāṭṭikku nel tūṇiyum aḍakkāy-amuda voḷḷuṭṭāy mu-ppadakku nel kurunṭiy-iru-nāṭṭiyum verrilai-kkaṭṭu māṇṭukku nell-aṭu-nāṭṭiyu[*]m puḷiṇ-kariy-ehcharkarai padin-palattukku nel pa-

27 dakkum vāḷappalam-iruhadukku nel kurunṭiy-iru-nāṭṭiyum āga nell-aṭu-kalanṭ aiṇ-kurunṭiy-iru-nāṭṭiyum [*] i-ttirunāṭṭikku-ttirumujaiy-atta-ppāḷigai-sūḷa-ppuḍavaiy-onṭu-kalattin-māḷaḍi-ppuḍavaiy-onṭum tirumanṭajam¹-paṇṇum-āchāriḷ yaṇukku uḍukkavum uttarīḷ yaṇum-ida-ppuḍavaiy-iraṇḍum-āga-ppuḍavaḷ nāḷukku-kkās-onṭum-tirumanṭajam¹-āḍiy-arai-āḷa nā-nāṭṭikku-kkās-araiyum kuḷakundan māḷaḷa-simbadin-palattukku-kkāsū kālum anapana-dravyaṇḷaḷ koḷḷa-kkās-araiyum tiru-māṇṭajam¹-āḍināl sātta pariṣattam-onṭukku-kkās-onṭum anapanam-paṇṇevikkum āchāriyagukku dakṣiṇaḷ kās-onṭum arai-nāḷār²-tiruvōlakkaṇ-ehāvikka vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavavarkku-tiruvāymoḷi viḷṇappāṇ-cheyvāḷkū-kuḷukkum pariṣattav-uru-ppattukku-ttaniy-onṭu kāsū kāl-āga-kkās-iraṇḍ-araiyum [*] ittinuḷ[*] sollu-tiruvukku-ppariṣattattukku-kkās-araiyum [*] ittanmaṇṭum-tiruchchunṭattukku-aiyūḷ-Janāṇḍan-maṇḍapamū-cheyvi-

28 yṭta Vaiṣyaṇ Māḍavan Dāṇayan pīranda Kārttigai-ttiṇḷaḷ-pPārāḍatti-nāḷ-ttirumanṭ-jattukku³ perun-tiruv-amudukku-nell-aṭu-kalanṭ aiṇ-kurunṭiy-iru-nāṭṭiyum iṭṭaḍikkum-ttirumanṭjattukku³ vēṇḍurana koḷḷavum pariṣattam peruvāṛkku-ppariṣattai-kudukkavum mēppaḍiy-āga-kkās-āḷe-kālum [*] Purattādi-tTiruvōpatti-nāḷ Vēṇṇaikkūttāḷvāṇ Janāṇḍan-maṇḍapatt-eḷund-araiṇāl appa-amudukk-ariai aiṇ-kurunṭikku nel kalanṭ [nā]-nāṭṭiyū-charkarai mu-nṇāṭṭu-ppalattukku nell-iru-kalanṭ tūṇi-ppadakkum ney mu-nṇāṭṭikku nel kalamum miḷagukkuṇ-ehāḷattukkuṇ uppuḷukku nel mu-kkurunṭiyum aḍakkāy-aṇud-eyhadukku nel-ppadakkum verrilai-kkaṭṭ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāṭṭiyum [āḷa nel aiyā-kalamum [*] amāvāsyaiḷ] Āḷvāṇ tīrttham prasāḍittāl tīrttham-āḷa-vandāḷ puṇambū Janāṇḍan-maṇḍapatt-uppuḷ Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar irupadinmaṇḷu-ppērāl-ariai nāṭṭiy-uray-āga ariai mu-kkurunṭi-

29 y-aṭu-nāṭṭikku nell-iru-tūṇi kurunṭi mu-nnāṭṭiyum puḷukku-kkariy-onṭukku nel ai-nāṭṭiyum miḷagu-kariy-onṭukku nel ai-nāṭṭiyum puḷiṭṭa-kariy-onṭukku-ppuḷiy-urpaḷa nel-kkurunṭiy-oru-nāṭṭiyum ilai-kkarikku nell-iru-nāṭṭiyum miḷag-aḷakkukku nel nā-nāṭṭiyum upp-iru-nāṭṭikku nel nā-nāṭṭiyum neyy-aḷakkukku nel-kkurunṭiyum mōṭ padakkukku nel-kkurunṭiy-iru-nāṭṭiyū-charkarai nāḷ-palattukku nel-kkurunṭiyum vēṇḍāy nāḷpadukku nel-kkurunṭiyum verrilai-ppar-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāṭṭiyum aḍuvāṇ-onṭavukku nel-kkurunṭiyum āga amāvāsyai onṭukku nel-kkalanṭy-eḷu-kurunṭi mu-nnāṭṭiy-āga amāvāsyai panniraṇḍukku nel-ppattonbadin-kalanṭ tūṇi nā-nāṭṭiyum-Tiruvēṇḍajamāḷai-(t) tīrttham-āḷa-pperuṇ-kōṭṭamāy vandu Janāṇḍan-maṇḍapatt-uppuḷ Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar vūṇṇavarkku-ppērāl ariai nāṭṭiy-

¹ Read 'Janam.² Read 'nāḷaḷ.³ Read 'tirumanṭajam'.

oruvayukku nāḷ-onṟukku nel padakkum Vajur-vēdam-ōduvippān-oruvayukku
nāḷ-onṟukku nel padakkum ivarṟaḷ-iruvayukku pērār-kāṣu nāḷ-āga-kkā-

37 ē-ettum Vyākaraṇam Rūpavatī[āram]um vakkūṇṟukku Bhaṭṭan-oruvayukku nāḷ-
onṟukku nel tūṇiyum kāṣu pattum R[ig]-vēdam ōḍum Brāhmaṇar
padinmarum Vajur-vēdam ōḍum Brāhmaṇar padinmaru[m] Vyākaraṇam
Rūpavatīramuṇ-kēṭṭum Brāhmaṇaru[m]* chāttirar-irupadinmarum Mahā-Pāṇ-
[charāttirar-oru]ḍadinmarum Śiva-Brāhmaṇar mūvarum Vaiṣṇāṇasar aivarum

38 ii . . . mār-iruvaram āga ōduv[āram] ōṭtu-kkēṣipārum-āga arupadinmarukku-
ppērāl-ariśi nāḷiy-ariy-āga nāḷ-onṟukku-ariśi tāḷi ma-kkuruṇiy-iru-nāḷikku
nel-iru-kalaṇē tūṇiy-oru-nāḷiyum payaru nā-nāḷikku nel kuruṇiyum puḷukku-
kkorukku nel-aṟu-nāḷiyum ilar-kka-

39 p[il]ku nel mu-nāḷiyu[m] m[il]agu-karikkku nel kuruṇiyum puḷitta-karikk*ḷku puḷiy-upada
nel kuruṇiyum m[il]ag-uḷakk-āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḷiyum uppu nāḷikku nel
kuruṇiyum ney nāḷikku nel tūṇiyum mōr tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel mu-kkuruṇi-
yum veṇṇākāy-arubadukku nel kuruṇi nā-nāḷiyum verrilai parr-iravukku
nel nā-nāḷiyum

40 Vayalakkōvūr-niṉṉa ariśi koḍuvandu viṟagum-ilaiyum-iṭṭu-ttaṇṇi-attiy-aḷu-maḍaiyar
mūvarukku-ppērāl kuruṇiy-āga [uāḷ-on]*ṟukku nel mu-kkuruṇiyum pērār-kāṣ-
irav-āga-kkāṣ-ārum i-mmaṇḍapatt-uppuṇ-chāttirarkkuṇ-kōḷaigalukkuṇ paṇi-
seyyum peḍuḷaḷ-iruvark*ḷku-ppērāl nellu nā-nāḷiy-āga nāḷ-onṟukku

41 nel kuruṇiyum pērār-kāṣ-onr-āga-kkāṣ-iravḍum chāttirarkkuṇ-kōḷaigalukkuṇ āṭula-
kkum kōḷakka-ppāy-uḷupat[taindu]ḷku-kkāṣ-iravḍum kōḷaigalukkuṇ-chātti-
rarkkuṇ-talukku-attā-chōchay-iruvarkku-ēppaiy-iru-nāḷiy-āga āṇḍ-onṟi-ehaṇi aimbatt-
onṟukku-ēppaiy* pūrr-iru-nāḷikkum Jananāḍan-maṇḍapatt-ōṭtu-

42 kkēṭṭiparkku irāy-eriyum viḷakk-onṟukku-ēppai uḷakk-āga āṇḍ-onṟukku-ēppai toṇṇūrru-
nāḷiyu[m] irv-e)*ṇṇai pūrru-toṇṇūrr-iru-nāḷikk-kkāṣ-onṟukku-ēppaiy-irupadi-
nāḷiy-āga-kkāṣ-onḍar-ariy-ay-araḷkālāṇ-Jananaḍan-maṇḍapattukku)*-ppuḷukkuṇ-
attukku nel nāṇḍadin-kaḷamu[m] [i]* āṇ-

43 [la]ṭ-āḷai Virāḷ[am] vyāḍippattu-kkōḷappār padinaiyvarukku-ppērāl-ariśi nāḷiy-āga
ariśi kuruṇiy-ēḷu-nāḷikku nel (tūṇi aṇṇāḷiy-ariy) vyāḍippattu-kkōḷapparkkuṇ
pala-paṇi-nimandakkōṟarkkuṇ kōḷaigalukkuṇ-chāttirarkkuṇ vaidyaṇ-chōḷa-kkāṇiy-
āga-ttanakkum-tan [vargat]*tarkkuṇ peṇṇaḷaḷa āḷappakkattu Savaṇṇan

44 Kōḍaṇḍarūnan Abvatthāma-Bhaṭṭayukku nāḷ-onṟukku nel mu-kkuruṇiyum kāṣ-
ēṭṭuṇ-chāḷiyakkiriyai-paṇṇuvāḷ[ḷ]-oruva)*ṟukku nāḷ-onṟukku nel kuruṇiyum āṇ-
larkku maruṇḍagaḷukku vēḍu[m]* maruṇḍu paṇṇitum viṟag-iṭṭum paṇiyāram-
paṇṇuvār-iru[vaḷ]ukku-p[erāl]* nāḷ-onṟukku nel kuruṇiy-āga nel padakkum
pār-

45 ē-kāṣ-onr-āga-kkāṣ-iravḍum āṭularaku vēḍum paṇiyāram paṇṇi maruṇḍ-ēḷum peṇṇi-
gaḷ-iruvarkku-ppērāl-a[riśi] nāḷ-nāḷiy-āga nāḷ-onṟukku nel kuruṇiyum pērār-kāṣ-

* The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. They have been filled up by referring to the stone.

* This is filled up by calculation.

* Here is an obstruction by pillar. Read from stone.

* Here is an uninscribed slab. The inscribed slab should have contained the letters in brackets.

* The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and they have been filled up in *visi* from stone.

* The syllables in brackets have been filled up as the inscribed stone is here replaced by a plain one.

* Lost in the original and have been supplied by calculation.

- araiy-āga-kkāṣ-ongum itularkkuṁ-kidāiga[ukkuṁ-chāttirarkkum vēṇḍum paṇi-
sey[yum nā]viṣan-oruvanukku nā]-ongukku nel nā-nā||
- 46 yu[m] [*] āturaśālai Viraśō[am] āṇḍ-ongūl-iḍu[m*] marundu Brāhmyam-ka[ḍumbūri]y-
ongum karuṇḍōy nūṅa ippaḍi ḍum Vāśā-haritaki-ppaḍiy-
iraṇḍum Duśamūṭa-haritaki paḍiy-ongum Bhallāṭaka-haritaki paḍiy-ongum
Gaṇḍiram [paḍi]y¹-ongum Balākeraṇḍa-tailam tūṇiyum Pañchā-
- 47 ka²-tailan-tūṇiyum Lakṣaṇādy³-ēraṇḍa-tailan-tūṇiyum-Uttamakarpādi-tailan-tūṇiyum-U
 [*paḍakkū-Suk *śā-ghṛitam pada-
kku[m*] Bīlvādi-ghṛitam paḍakkum Maṇḍū[ka]ra-vaṭakam iraṇḍ-āyiramum Dravatti
nālyum Vimalai iraṇḍ-āyiramum Sunāziy⁴-iraṇḍ-āyiramum-⁵Tanurādiy-iraṇḍ-āyira-
mum Vajrakalpan-tūṇi-ppa
- 48 dakkum Kalyāṇa-lavaṇan-tūṇi-ppadakkum ivaiy-aḍugaikku vēṇḍum maru[du*]ga[u-
kkum ne *ruiyum] tē *yum uḷḷittana
koḷḷavum āṇḍa-tōrum Purāṇasarppi pudaikka-ppaṣuvā[ṇ*] ney paḍakkū-kollavum
[k]kāṇ nārpavum [ātura]śālaiyil-irāy-eriyum viḷakk-ongukku-eṇṇaiy-āḷakk-ā-
- 49 ga nā] mu-nṇṇṇ-arupadukku-eṇṇai nārpatt-ai-ūṇāḷikku kās-iraṇḍē-kāḷum Jananādan-ma-
 *nūl taṇ *yaḷukku-pPaṇḍuniy-uttiran-
tuḷaḍi-pPurattādi-tTiruvōṇatti-aḷavum parambāl-āra-ttaṇṇir koḷuvandu vaiṭṭe-
chchāy⁶-ppān oruvaḷukku nā]-ongukku nel kurūṇi-ā-
- 50 ga nā] nūṇṇ-eybadukku nel paḍinaṭā-kalamum ēḷattukkum ilāmachchattukkum
nell-iru⁷ *paḍakkun-ta *yāḷham
paṇṇina Brāhmaṇarkkū⁸-āḷakkaḷaikkum veṇṇilai veṇṇāḷkāyikkum nel kāḷaṇ tūṇi-
iru-nāḷi mūḷ[ak]kō mū⁹-cheveḷḷum Vayalakkāvēr kāṇiyadaiya Mādhavan Dāma-
- 51 yan varṇṇatāṭṭrkkū-pPurattādi-tTiruvōṇatti-nā] koḷukkum [pa]ṇṇiṣattam iraṇḍukku-
kkāṣ-ongey-eḷu-mā *mūv-āyiratt-irunūṇṇu-nārpattu-mu-
kkalanēy-iru-tūṇi-ppadakk-aru-nāḷi-y-ūḷakkō mu-cheveḷḷattukkum kās-iru-nūṇṇ-aru-
batt-ār-araiyēy-iraṇḍ[du-mā]¹⁰-vukkum [ṇ*] ākkāṣ-udavāviḷ kās-ongukku-tTaṇḍavāṇiyō-
- 52 ḍ-okkum pon kāṇ-nirai-kkāḷ iḍuvad-āḷavum[*] ippaḍi yāḷḍu āḷvadu nimandaṇ-cheyda-
paḍi in *ḷumḍattu chā[tti]ra-kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum kiḍai-
kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum śellakkaḍavad-āḷa nivaṇḍam ēḷapaḍiḷku kallu veṭṭuvittār i-
o[nūḍu kūrū]¹¹-eyda adiṇāṇṇaḷ Sōḷa-maṇḍalattu Vijaiyarājēnta¹²-va-
- 53 Janāṭṭu Iḍaiyala-nāṭṭu [Miṇa]¹³-kudaiyān Paṇuvati Tiruvanaṇḍēvanār-āna
Rājēnta¹⁴-Mūvendaḷār Pāpa] ¹⁵va-kallu veṭṭuvittāḷ Jayanḍoḍa-

¹ The letters in brackets have been read *in situ*.

² The letter *ka* was supplied by examining the original stone.

³ The syllables *lakṣaṇādy* have been read *in situ*.

⁴ Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one.

⁵ The syllables *āyiriy* have been restored by reading on the spot.

⁶ Read *Tam*.

⁷ The letters *āna* are entered below the line.

⁸ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone.

⁹ The syllables *ott* here must be *paṭṭa kalanḍ-ira-tūṇi*.

¹⁰ Read *śā*.

¹¹ A pillar obstructs these two letters.

¹² The syllables in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. Restored from stone.

¹³ Read *śāra*.

¹⁴ The two syllables are lost in the original.

¹⁵ The syllables *ten-ku* have been filled up from the stone, though obstructed by a pillar.

śōḷa-maṇḍalattu-pPuḷar-kōṭṭatt-Āguḍi-nāṭṭu Ayaṇḍampākkattu Iṟaivēṭṭin
Kunnara-Pūṣūr-kkattan-āṇa¹ Virarājēnta²-chChembiyadarayan[*] Inda danmaṭu[*]
śeyvitta Dāmayaṇ

54 maga[n] Dāmayaṇ Gaṅgaikondaśōḷa-āṇa Sēnāpatigaḷ Gaṅgaikondaśōḷa-Danmapāḷarkku
ivar tāmbiyār Dā n-āṇa Sēnāpatigaḷ Virarājēnta²-Danmapāḷarkku-
māy idu kalla vēṭṭuvittāṇ Jayaṅgondaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu Puḷal-kōṭṭattu . . .
nāṭṭu [Śū] turvōdimaṅgaḷa³ṭṭu Brāhmaṇan Māṅgaḷūr Namaśi-
vāyadēvaṇ magan

55 Taḷavakkulaṇḍān-āṇa Abhimānamōru-Brahmamārāyaṇ [*] I-ḷharmam(m) śrī-Madhurān-
taka-chchatu[r]vōdimaṅga⁴ṭṭu Mahāsabhaiyār rakshai [*] Śrī []

Abstract of Contents.⁴

Hail! Prosperity! (With the aid of) his strong shoulders, (wherein the goddess of) Prosperity resided, (the king) bore the circle of the wide earth as (lightly as) his jewel of gems; under the shade of (his) victorious white parasol (set with) numerous gems, (he) protected the living beings of the earth more (tenderly) than the mother who bore (them); (he) conducted (his) rule (so as to cause) other kings (wearing) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (forced) the rent Kālī (age) to retire to (its) abysmal abode. (He) drove from the battle-field of Gaṅgapāḍi the great feudatory chiefs (śāmantas) whose strong hands (carried) tightly-bound bows, (and forced them) along with Vikkalan (who wore) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the Tuṅgabhadra. (He made such an) attack (as to cause) the destruction of the irresistibly great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vēṅgi; and fought⁵ with Mahāḍaṇḍāyaka Chāmuṇḍarāja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (i.e., Chāmuṇḍarāja's) incomparable⁶ daughter called Nāgalai (who was) the queen of Irugaiyan and (who) resembled a peacock in beauty.

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victoriously fought against countless śāmantas along with the (two) sons of Āhavamalla called Vikkalan and Śiṅgaṇa at Kūḍal-Saṅgama on the great waters; whither they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time; and with (his) rut elephant, he agitated that army (of the enemy) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean; he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Śiṅgaṇ of Kōsalai who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard; he (also) cut to pieces Kāṣavadaṇḍāyaka and Kettaraiṣan, Mārayan of great strength, the powerful Pottaraiṣan and Rēchchayan, Poṅkōḍai and Mūvēṇḍi who were fighting (fiercely), and many (other) unknown śāmantas who offered (him) battle. Then Muduvaṇaṇ, who was the commander,⁷ fled; Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled; Śiṅgaṇa fled leaving off the field-work; all the other chiefs of the elder brother⁸ dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled; and Āhavamalla, who was thus put to shame,⁹ ran before them (all). He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (enemies') wives, their family treasures,

¹ The letters *śm-āṇa* are obstructed by a pillar.

² Read *śm-āṇa*.

³ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone.

⁴ Prof. Hultzsch has translated the introductory portion on pp. 301. of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁵ The word *ṭṭu* is a compound of *ṭṭu* and *uṇu*.

⁶ May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter.'

⁷ The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife.'

⁸ *śm-āṇa* may also mean 'the king'.

⁹ The word *śm-āṇa* means also 'who was in close quarters'.

conches, parasols, trumpets (*ṭarai*), big drums, canopies (*mighaṣambara*), white fly-whisks (*chōṣurasi*), the lion banner, the ornamental arch (*makara-tūṅga*), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Pushpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses: (he then) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bowed to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen **Ulagamuludodaiyā**, put on the victorious crown set with gems.

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower-garlands, of the king of **Pottapi** whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (*kusai*), and of the **Kāraḷa** (*king*) wearing ankle-rings and (powerful on account of his) elephants¹ as well as of the younger brother of **Jananātha** adorned with wreaths: (and he also) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant **Vira-kēsari** who wore a crown (set with) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāṇḍya king **Srīvallabha** wearing gold ankle-rings.²

He put forth his elephant (*force*) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēras along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the Rājās, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who coveted (*these*)³; and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings.

In a hot battle pitched on the bank of a river of whirling water⁴ he cut off the heads of the following **Daydanāyakas**:—**Vīḷiyappa**⁵ of great valour, **Vaiḷippaya**⁶, who possessed a rutting elephant, **Ahōkayan** (*who wore a cool*) garland, **Ṣattiyappa** of brilliant valour, **Paṭṭiyappa** (*the minister of*) peace and war, **Vimaya**, who wore a honey-dripping garland, **Vaṅgāra** of great wisdom, the **Gaṅga** (*king*) of dreadful lance, the **Nūlumba** (*king*) and the king of the **Kāḍavas** as well as the **Vaidumba** (*king*) who owned highly furious and rutting elephants.

After he had reached the great city (*called after*) the great river **Gaṅgā**, the **Chāḷukya** (*king*) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought 'it is better to die than live with such disgrace' and choosing as battle-field the very **Kūḍal**, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (*his*) vow—"those who do not come to **Kūḍal** through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war," handed it over with an oral message to the **Gaṅga** chief **Kettan** renowned among the liars of **Rattappāḍi** and asked him to take it; and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (*the Chōla*) *king*, his (*i.e.*, the latter's) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the **Vallabhas** at **Karandai**, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three (*chiefs*) **Dēvanāthan**, **Siddhi** and **Kōṣi** turned their backs.

(*The Chōla king*) subdued the powerful activity of **Rattappāḍi** 7½ lakhs, hand (*even for hands*) to sing and set crackling fire on it; and set up a pillar of victory (*vinayabhadra-tūpa*) on the bank of the **Tuṅgabhadra** so that the world⁷ praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (*the crest of his race*) mounted on it and sported joyfully.

¹ *Varaṅgi* is the reading in No. 20 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading *vāraṅgi* is better since the Chēras are noted for their elephant forces. cf. 'polyśma-kū-kāṇjan.'

² Instead of *Dāras*, it is preferable to read 'etc.'

³ See note 6 on page 27 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁴ Hultzsch has rendered the passage thus:—"and up in stables the Ratten, whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniyas which he had seized."

⁵ This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 68.

⁶ *Malliyappa* and *Mungippaya* are the readings in No. 20 of the same Volume.

⁷ *Kāṇḍan* means 'four kinds of lands, i.e., *ēraṇḍi*, *maḷai*, *peṭta* and *veḷḷai*—grassy, forest, sandy and peaty tracts' and hence 'the world'.

He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a *kayhikā*. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the Kuntala king and (his) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (round its neck) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, etc.—that he would destroy the state of the Chālukya (lordship), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his horse troops (†) and recover the Vēṅgi country which the Chālukya had taken,—he sent (the following) word to be announced "Hear this and if you have (any) power, come and protect yourself".

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (enemy's) boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of Vijayavāḍai (i.e., Bezvāḍa), he (the Chōla) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananāḍaṅ and Tipparaḷaṅ; caused his elephants (pōḍakam) to drink the water of the Gōḍāvari; crossed the seven Kaliṅga, and led his swelling elephant forces (tānai-tāvaḍi) as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra (mountain) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (that country) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (which were adorned with) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (the city of) Gaṅgāpuri leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (itself) to him. There, he assumed the *damaniya* as the lord of the earth (under the titles) Rājādhirāja and Rājarāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems: exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the fine country of Vēṅgi, removed the *āl* and *niḡaḷa*² and fulfilled his vow.

(Putting forth) a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (the Chōla king) began to wage a war in *Ilam* (i.e., Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulat-taraiyaṅ who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Chōlas) with the result that Vijayabāhu, the king (of the island) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (the Chōla king) took his queen captive, conquered carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Laṅkā with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (the Chōla king) obstructed at Koṇḍai where the Chālukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (there) were the intelligent Nāgaiyan, Mārayan, Manmagāḍayan, Koṇḍayan, Āchchidaran and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (in their flight) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Ko. oṭṭumaḍaiyan and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (*paḍa-sāmantas*). The Chōla king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (in the field) and received as before a *parasi*. Tuṭṭamārayaṅ, Kōṣavan, who were subdued by his forces the sound and (he) planted a pillar of victory at Puli-Sūṭṭukkal, where, getting up a hill and mounted on a vehicle (*yānai*) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (by the name) Sōḷiyavaraiyaṅ, -daṇḍanāyaka fought. He sent

² The word *niḡaḷa* is phonetically connected with the skt. *niḡaḷa* 'letters or shackles'; and thus may be construed to convey the idea of 'armour.'

forth a (very) sea of army in Kalingam his chief feudatories at Chakkarakōṭṭam and destroyed by heavy fire the elephant (*forces*) of the Chālukya king which appeared in great numbers at Chakkarakōṭṭam in the North. The bowman Sūmayya of Sōṇaiyanagar, Eriyaman, Adityaverman of fearful valour,—these with clusters of heads that were cut off,— Malli, Sōṇaiya n, who wore ornaments set with diamonds, Vaidamba, Dīracātha, Dēvika along with heads of camels and the reward of ornaments were looted in order and ran with broken hearts. The wife of nathan trembling with fear, Kāṭiyappai, his younger brother and others together with crowds of their ladies wearing jewels garlands, fell in his hands in the great field of Kāvi and were caught.

Removing the sons of lamayan, (the Chōla king) crossed the boundary and fixed the limit, wielded his sceptre from the Hīmālayas in the northern quarter, where the star ever lies in ambush, up to the Sētu (in the south); propagated the Vēḷi line, assumed possession of kingly duties, invited suppliants and raising aloft the banner of heroism and the banner of liberty, sat in Royal state and exemplified the path of the great Maru, (He), &c., king Rājakeśarivarman alias Udayār the glorious Virarājendraśāya, in the fifth year of his reign was pleased to be seated on (the seat called) Rājendraśāya-Māvalivāpuraṇa in the Royal palace of Sōḷakēraṇ at Gaṅgaikondraṇapuram.

Vayalakkūṭṭam in Tōḷu-Paruvār-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Kāṭiyār-kōṭṭam was a *dēvādāna* of (the temple of) Mahāviśṇu at Tirumukkoḷai in the prosperous Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimangalam (which was a free village in Kalattūr-kōṭṭam, (a district) of Jayāṅgaṇḍachōḷamangalam. The residents of this village were paying 75 *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold for the feeding house (*śālai*). This amount of 75 *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold was deducted from the accounts and assigned to the temple in the second year of the reign of Ulagayyakkondarājendrasāya who took Rattappāḷi 7½ lakhs and who twice saw the back of (i.e., defeated) Āḥavamalla. This (amount) together with the taxes accruing from the village, *viz.*, *Ur-kaḷaṅḷu*, *kumārakkuchēḷḷam*, *maṇḍarappāṇai*, *mūppūṭam*, *taṭṭūmpāṇai*, etc., forming the *kāṭiyappūṭam*, *vēḷikkāṇu*, *tiṅgaṇḍai*, *maṭṭāṇḍam*, *taṭṭipuduvai*, *valaṅḷai* and *iḍaṅḷai*—*maṇḍam*, *daṇḍam*, *mūḍakkūṭi*, *vēḷikkāṇu*, etc., forming the *pūṭam*—were ordered by the king to be entered in the accounts, in the fifth year of (his) reign, as a tax-free *dēvādāna* gift to meet the requirements of the (god) Mahāviśṇu at Tirumukkoḷai. This Royal mandate (*niṣēḍi*) was written by Tirumandirādai-Tāḷi Tiruppanāḍ-gāṇḍairān alias Vāṇayan Vallavaraiyan of Nērvēḷi, in Panaiyūr-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Kāṭiyār-kōṭṭam and signed by Tirumandirādai-nāḍiyāṇ Pāṇḍiyāṇ Rājārāja-Brahmaṇḍāyār and Virarājendra-śāyāyār. That it may be so entered in the account was ordered by Villavattāyar, Kāṭiyattāyār, Viḍaṅḍ Rājendravarivāgarachchōḷan and Pāṇḍiyāṇ; and further endorsed by (1) the Uḍakkōṭṭam officers Virarājendra-Brahmaṇḍāyār, (2) Sōḷa-Brahmaṇḍāyār, (3) Sēmbiyān Sittirāyār, (4) Aṭṭayaśōḷa-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (5) Jayāṅgaṇḍachōḷa-Viḷupparaiyār, (6) Uṭamāśōḷa-Pallavaraiyār, (7) the Viḍaṅḍ officers Rājavaraiyār, (8) Kāvērvallabha-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (9) Nattaraiyār, (10) Sōḷa-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (11) Virarājendra-Majavaraiyār, (12) Vajavan-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (13) Rājā-attāṇa-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (14) Rājārāja-Kaḍigūṇār, (15) Jayāṅgaṇḍachōḷa-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (16) Rājendraśōḷa-Aṅgukappallavaraiyār, (17) Sēmbiyān-Brahmaṇḍāyār, (18) Sūndaraśōḷa-Pallavaraiyār, (19) Jayāṅgaṇḍachōḷa-Vayalakkūṭṭaiyār, (20) Jayāṅgaṇḍachōḷa-Sēmbiyān-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (21) Sōḷavilupparaiyār, (22) Jayāṅgaṇḍachōḷa-kulakūḷa-Viḷupparaiyār, (23) Virarājendra-Tiruvindalāṇai-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (24) Rājārāja-Vilupparaiyār-Virarājendra-Vaṇḍavēḷār, (25) Kāṭiyāṇ-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (26) Uṭamāśōḷa-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (27) Pāṇḍiyān-kūḷāḍi-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (28) Rattakūḷāḍi-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (29) Uṭamāśōḷa-Māvēṇḍavēḷār, (30) Viḷaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyār, (31)

Mūvendavēḷār, (32) Muḍikondāṣṣā-Mūvendavēḷār, (33) Vajavarsāḍiṭṭa-Mūvendavēḷār, (34) Gaḍgaikondāṣṣā-Pallavaraiyar, (35) Naḍuvirukkum Urupparaiyar, (36) Sāvaya-Śivajjāḍi-Bhaṭṭa, (37) Karippurattu-Sōjadōva-Bhaṭṭa and (38) Karippurattu-Anantaṇārāyaga-Bhaṭṭa.

Then the following persons being present viz., *Paravutaritṭaikkolattu-konḍaṭṭi* Kuvalaiyadivākara-Mūvendavēḷār, Arindaman-Puravarambaināṭṭu-Mūvendavēḷār, Rājaraṇa-Seggināḍu-kijavan, Virakkaṅga-Mūvendavēḷār, Aḷaṅṇāṣṣā-Viḷupparaiyan, *Puravacaritṭaikkolam* Saḷukki-kulakāla-Mūvendavēḷār, Vāḷavan-Viḷupparaiyan, Vajavarāja-Mūvendavēḷār, Avaniṇārāyaga-Mūvendavēḷār, Śiṅgaṇṭaka-Mūvendavēḷār, *Varippottayam* Pālaiyār-kijavan, *Mugaveḷi* Jayadgonḍāṣṣā-Damaṇṇūrpāṭṭu-Viḷupparaiyan, Adamaṇḍalamudaiyār, Atiraṇḍra-Pallavaraiyan, Kūṇḍalkiḷān, *Terippu* Inḷaikkudaiyār, Māttūrudaiyār, Vajavarsāḍiṭṭu-Mūvendavēḷār, *Tamuvāṭṭa* Sōjadivākara-Mūvendavēḷār, Pulikāṇ, *Palaiyāṇam* Paṭṭālamudaiyār, Sembiyan-Miḷalaiyēḷār, Araiyamān, *Varipḷiṭṭe* Avaniṇārāyaga-Mūvendavēḷār, Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyan, *Varippottaya-konakku* Saṅgattimaṇḍalamudaiyār, Vajavan-Viḷupparaiyan, *Paṭṭāṇ* Śirupākkijān, Maṇarpākkijān, *Kēṭṭi-eṇṇiḷḷuvuḷḷa* *Puravacaritṭaikkolam* Saḷukki-kulakāla-Mūvendavēḷār, Śiṅgaṇṭaka-Mūvendavēḷār, *Mugaveḷi* Sōjamārtāṇḍa-Mūvendavēḷār, Kūṇḍalkiḷān, *Vāṭṭān* *varippottaya-konakku* Saṅgattimaṇḍalamudaiyār, *Varipḷiṭṭān* *Paravutaritṭaikkolattu-konakku* Sōlamāṇḍikka-Mūvendavēḷār of Sōlamāṇḍalam, *Paṭṭāṇ-eṇṇiḷḷu* Virasōḷa-Nemmaṇṇāṭṭu-Mūvendavēḷār,—all these being present, in the fifth year and three hundred and forty-eighth day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts, that for the 76 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, the abovementioned *pāṭṭam* accruing from the village, the 72 *kaḷaṇṇu* and 9 *māṇḍi* of gold previously granted as *dēvadāna* to this god, making a total of 147 *kaḷaṇṇu* and 9 *māṇḍi*, the income in paddy by the *njakkāri* measure at 16 *kāḷam* per *kaḷaṇṇu* was 2352 *kāḷam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāḷi*, 1 *āḷakku* and 3 *ṇeṇṇu*. This when converted into *aramoḍiḍayan* measure, at the rate of 1 *kāḷam*, 1 *ṇeṇṇu*, and 4 *nāḷi* of *aramoḍiḍayan* for a *kāḷam* of *njakkāri*, became, inclusive of *kāḷān*, *kāḷaṇṇakāḷi* and *korpaṇṇuḍāḷi*, 884 *kāḷam*, 2 *ṇeṇṇu*, 3 *nāḷi*, and 1 *āḷakku* of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 3243 *kāḷam*, 2 *ṇeṇṇu*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāḷi*, 1 *āḷakku* and 3 *ṇeṇṇu* of *aramoḍiḍayan*.

The taxes accruing from this village, viz., 1 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *ūrkūḷaṇṇu*, 1 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *ḷamarakūḷaṇṇam*, 3½ *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *māṇḍāṇṇam*, 5½ *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *kīḷṇṇupāṭṭam*, in all 11 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, equivalent to 18 *māḍai* and 7 *mā*, or 36½ *kāḷu*, together with 28½ *kāḷu* and 4 *mā* by *daṣabandam*, 25½ *kāḷu* and 3 *mā* by *māḍaikkāḷi*, 3 *kāḷu* by the account of *mūdal-āḷavu*, 1½ *kāḷu* by *vaṇṇakkāḷāḷi*, ½ *kāḷu* by *mūḷavarāṇṇam*, 1½ *kāḷu* by *tiṇṇaṇṇu*, 118 *kāḷu* by *āḷakkāḷi*, made a total of 216½ *kāḷu* and 2 *mā*.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and *kāḷu*.

For one *ṇṇukāḷa*-*ṇaṇḍi* offering to the *Āḷvār* :—

(L. 18). One *padakku* and four *nāḷi* of paddy for one *kuruvu* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *paruppu* (broken green pulse) or 1 *kuruvu* of *payaru*, 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *paṇḍikkāṇṇi* (boiled curry), 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkāṇṇi* (fried curry), 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *uri* of curd, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of ghee, 1 *āḷakku* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of salt, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 5 *kuruvu*, 5 *nāḷi* and 3 *āḷakku* of paddy for one *ṇaṇḍi*.

For the *āḷḷāṇḍāḷi* offering at the Virasōḷaṇ :—

(L. 19). 1 *kuruvu* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *paruppu* or 1 *kuruvu* of *payaru*, 1 *kuruvu* and 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 6 *nāḷi* of milk, 1 *ṇeṇṇu* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 8 plantain fruits, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 2 *ṇeṇṇu*, 1 *kuruvu*, 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for the *āḷḷāṇḍāḷi* offering. The sugar required for this for a year of 360 days, at 22 *palam* per day is 11,520 *palam*, which at the rate of 576 *palam* of sugar for 1 *kāḷu* cost 20 *kāḷu*.

For the offering of *Pālpōṇagam* at night :—

(L. 19f.) 1 *kurugi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee for *pōṇagam* and *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kurugi* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for the night offering.

(L. 20). For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravartī :—

1 *kurugi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 *kurugi* and 6 *nāli* of paddy.

For sandal-paste to the Ālvār :—

180 *palam* of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *palam* per day and this quantity at 8 *palam* of sandal for 1 *kāṣu*, costs 22½ *kāṣu*. 11½ *kāṣu* of *karpūra* are required for a year of 360 days at 5 *mā* per day and this costs 22½ *kāṣu* at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *kāṣu* of *karpūram* for 1 *kāṣu*. And 1 *kāṣu* is required for *kuṅkumam*.

(L. 21.) For lamps :—

1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Ālvār, 1 *uḷakku* and 1 *ālakku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn; 1 *uḷakku* and 2½ *śevidu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1½ *śevidu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāli*, 1 *ālakku* and 2½ *śevidu* of oil per day. The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāli* and 1 *uri*¹, which, at 20 *nāli* per *kāṣu*, cost 22½ *kāṣu*.

(L. 21.) For Aippaṣi festival to Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷar :—

5 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of rice, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of *paruppu*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2½ *śevidu* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of curd, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of salt, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 *kurugi*. Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 *kalam*.

(LL. 22-23). For the Mīṣai festival at the same rate as above is 7 *kalam* of paddy.

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Viraiṇḍiḷaṅ :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurugi* of curd, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parra* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for an occasion. Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 *kalam* and 1 *kurugi*.

(LL. 23-24). For offerings during *Jayantyaṣṭamī* to Veṅṇaiḷkūṭṭālvār, i.e., Kṛishṇa.

1 *kalam* and 5 *kurugi* of paddy for 6 *kurugi* of rice, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2½ *śevidu* of pepper, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of ghee, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts, and 3 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *parra* of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, and 5 *nāli* of paddy. For *appa-amudu* to be offered on the same occasion 3 *kurugi* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kurugi* and 2 *nāli* of rice, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *uri* of ghee, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 20 *palam* of sugar, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāli*

¹ By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 *nāli* and 1 *uri*. It is not understood how the inscription gives an excess of 25 *nāli*.

of paddy for 2½ *tenḍi* of cumin, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 6 coconuts, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 1 *kurupi*, 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of curd. In all, the provision made for the *Jayantyaṣṭamī* was 3 *kalam*, 6 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

(Li. 24-25). For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kārttigai :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 2 *nāḷi* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd required for 1 *puḷṅgarī*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of pepper, 3 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 50 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi*, 3 *kurupi* and 7 *nāḷi* of paddy. 1½ *kāṣu* was provided for obtaining 25 *nāḷi* of oil for burning 200 lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of 1 *uḷakku* for a lamp.

(Li. 25-26). Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism *Ayḷēya* (*Ālēṣa*) in the month *Avani*, of king Virarājendra, are as follows :—

2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of green pulse required for sprouting at the *tirumaṇṇam*, 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *palam* of thread to wrap round 108 *kalasas* (pots), 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed under the *kalasas*, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 2 *nāḷi* of rice required for powder, 1 *kalam* and 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of ghee, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of curd, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of milk, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of pepper, 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd required for 1 *puḷṅgarī*, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts, 6 *nāḷi* of paddy for 3 *kaṣṭu* of betel-leaves, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar required for *puḷṅgarī* and 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, thus making a total of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kurupi* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy.

(L. 27). For this festival are required one *puḍavai* (cloth) for covering the *pāḷṇai* kept for sprouting, one *puḍavai* for being placed above the *kalam*, two *puḍavai*—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the *āchārya* who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one *kāṣu*. A provision of half a *kāṣu* for 4 *nāḷi* of honey, quarter *kāṣu* for 50 *palam* of turmeric, half a *kāṣu* for purchasing *snapana-dravyas*, one *kāṣu* for one *pariṣattam* to be used after bathing, one *kāṣu* for the *dakṣiṇā* of the *āchārya* performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half *kāṣu* for purchasing 10 *pariṣattam* at the rate of quarter *kāṣu* for one *pariṣattam*, to be presented to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas that served in the *Tiruvallakam* and those who recited the *Tirunāymoli* hymns on the occasion, half a *kāṣu* for one *pariṣattam* to be presented to the astrologer (*īru*) who announced the festival, thus making a total of seven and a quarter *kāṣu*.

(L. 28). For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of *Pārūḷam* in the month of Kārttigai which was the birth-day of the *Vaiṣya* Māḍavan Dāmyan,

who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-mandapa, a provision of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kuruvai* and 2 *nāli* of paddy was made together with 61 *kāṇi* for purchasing the necessary things for the *tirumōḥana* and for presenting cloths to those that should get them.

(L. 28). For Parattāṭi-Tiruvōḥam when Vennaikkāttālvār is taken in procession to the Jananātha-mandapa :—

1 *kalam* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 5 *kuruvai* of rice, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 300 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kalam* of paddy for 3 *nāli* of ghee, 3 *kuruvai* of paddy for pepper, *śākkas* and salt, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 20 *aroca-nuts* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *kaṭṭa* of betel-leaves thus making a total of 5 *kalam* of paddy.

For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on *amēḍeyāḍi* days when the god presented *tīrtha* :—

(LL. 28-29). 3 *tūpi*, 1 *kuruvai* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for 3 *kuruvai* and 6 *nāli* of rice, for 20 persons at 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* each, 5 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku-kari*, 5 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kuruvai* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *śai-kari* (leaves), 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *śakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *kuruvai* of paddy for 1 *śakku* of ghee, 1 *kuruvai* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kuruvai* of paddy for 4 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kuruvai* of paddy for 40 *aroca-nuts*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *purra* of betel-leaves, 1 *kuruvai* of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 7 *kuruvai* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for each *amēḍeyāḍi*. For 12 *amēḍeyāḍi*, the provision made was 10 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 4 *nāli* of paddy.

(LL. 29-30). For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on the occasion of the *tīrtham* at Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai :—

3 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi*, 1 *paḍakku* and 7 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi*, 1 *paḍakku* and 6 *nāli* of rice at 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* each, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruvai* of green pulse, 3 *kuruvai* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku-kari*, 3 *kuruvai* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 1 *kuruvai* of paddy for 1 *śai-kari*, 3 *kuruvai* of paddy for 3 *śakku* of pepper, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruvai* of salt, 2 *tūpi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of butter-milk, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for butter-milk to the *paḍiṅgeri*, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 23 *palam* of sugar, 5 *kuruvai* of paddy for 200 *aroca-nuts*, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 8 *purra* of betel-leaves, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 3 cooks, 4 *nāli* of paddy for lime, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood, and 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for one that supplied *śai-kari* thus making a total of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi* and 3 *nāli*.

When the party returned from Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai after *tīrtham*, 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas had to be fed at a cost of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi* and 3 *nāli* of paddy.

(LL. 30-32). For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came on the occasion of Parattāṭi-Tiruvōḥam, a provision of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi* and 3 *nāli*, calculated at the above rate, was made.

17 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 6 *nāli* of paddy were provided for feeding 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the 6 days of the Aippai festival; at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 50 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the day of the *tīrtham*. A quantity of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came to hear the *Tiruvōḍai* hymns on the days of the *śōḍaṣi* and *aiḍaṣi* in the month of Mārgaḷi and 17 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 6 *nāli*, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the mandapa on the occasion of Māḷi-Māḷhē, were also provided.

¹ An item of expenditure amounting to 2 *nāli* is omitted.

(Ll. 32 to 43). 6 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day for 1 *śro*, 3 *kurugi* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* per day, at 1 *kurugi* and 4 *nāli* and 2 *kāṣu* each, for 2 persons who recited the *Tiruvāymoli* hymns, 1 *śro* of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Viraiśolan at 1 *kurugi* each per day, 1 *kurugi* and . . . of paddy per day to 1 *śro* who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 *kurugi* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* per day to 1 *Vaiṣṇāna-dēvakaṁṇi* who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 *kurugi* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 *kurugi* of paddy per day to 1 porter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, Jananātha-maṇḍapa, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the *kalasas* to the Ālvār, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the *pariṣattam* of the gods and the cloths of the Vedic teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day to *Tirumukkūdal-Pēraiyan* who kept watch in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa and the hospital, 40 *kalas* of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the *iruckhurrāmōḷigai*, i.e., the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 *palakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Rīg-Vēda in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, 1 *palakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Yajur-Vēda, and 8 *kāṣu* to these two at 4 *kāṣu* each, 1 *śro* of paddy and 10 *kāṣu* per day to one Bhaṭṭa who expounded the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpavātara, 2 *kalas*, 1 *śro* and 1 *nāli* of paddy per day for feeding 60 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and *Chhātras* who heard the expounding of the Vyākaraṇa and Rūpavātara, 10 *Mahāpāṇḍharātras*, 3 *Śiva-Brāhmaṇas*, 5 *Vaiṣṇānas* and 2 . . . at the rate of 1½ *nāli* of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 *kurugi*, and 3 *nāli* of rice per day, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *payaru*, 6 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paṭṭaku-kari*, 8 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *śai-kari*, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 *paṭṭaku-kari* including tamarind, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *śakku* and 1 *śakku* of pepper, 1 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of salt, 1 *śro* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 3 *kurugi* of paddy for 1 *śro* and 1 *palakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kurugi* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 60 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *porru* of betel-leaves, 3 *kurugi* of paddy per day and 6 *kāṣu* to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 *kurugi* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* each, who brought rice from Vayalakkūvūr and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 *kurugi* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* each—who attended on the *Chhātras* and *kidai* that were fed in the maṇḍapa, 2 *kāṣu* for purchasing 75 mats for the *Chhātras*, *kidai* and the *śūlas* (i.e., the sick), to lie on, 9½ *kāṣu* for purchasing 102 *nāli* of oil, at the rate of 20 *nāli* of oil per *kāṣu*, to meet the requirement of 102 *nāli* of oil to the *Chhātras* and *kidai* for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 *nāli* of oil per Saturday and 90 *nāli* of oil for lamps to students at 1 *śakku* of oil per night and 40 *kalas* of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, were provided.

(Ll. 43-45). The expenses for the hospital of Viraiśolan are —

1 *śro*, 3 *nāli* and 1 *ur* of paddy for 1 *kurugi* and 7 *nāli* of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 *nāli* each, 3 *kurugi* of paddy and 8 *kāṣu* per day to Savarṇan Kōdayarāman Āvattāna-Bhaṭṭan of Ālappākkum, who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several *śimamuk-kāras*, i.e., the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (attached to the temple), 1 *kurugi* of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 *kurugi* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* per day to 2 persons, at 1 *kurugi* and 1 *kāṣu* each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 *kurugi* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day to 2 nurses, at 4 *nāli* of paddy and ½ *kāṣu* each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided.

(L. 46.) The medicines to be stocked in the hospital of Virasūlan for the year are :—

1 measure of Brāhmyam Kaṣṭhambūri, of exclusive of karuṅḡy (nut), 2 measures of Viśā-haritaki, 1 measure of Dakṣiṇā-haritaki, 1 measure of Bhallātaka-haritaki, 1 measure of Gaṇḍiram, 1 tūṇi of Balākṛāṇḍa-taila, 1 tūṇi of Pañchāṅka-taila, 1 tūṇi of Lāsunādyāraṇḍa-taila, 1 tūṇi of Uttamakarpādi-taila, 1 padakku of
 1 padakku of Su sa-ghṛita, 1 padakku of Būvādi-ghṛita, 2000 Maṇḍa-karavṣṭakas, 1 nālī of Dravatti, 2000 Vimala, 2000 Sunētri, 2000 Tāmraḍi, 1 tūṇi and 1 padakku of Vajrasaipa and 1 tūṇi and 1 padakku of Kalyāṇa-lavaṇa.

An amount of 40 kāṣu (as provided) for purchasing these, (procuring the) medicinal herbs, purchasing and for 1 padakku of bovine ghee required to be kept under the earth annually for Purīyasarpi.

(L. 48.) (There had been provided) 2½ kāṣu for purchasing 45 nālī of oil which was required for a year of 360 days for a lamp, at 1 āḷakku per night, to be kept burning during night in the hospital, 15 kalam of paddy for 180 days from Paṅḡni-Uttiram to Purattāḍi-Tiruvōgam at 1 koruṇi of paddy per day, to one who brought water and poured it . . . to be stocked in front of Jananātha-maṇḍapa; 20 kalam, [2 tūṇi] and 1 padakku of paddy for cardamom and artemisia; 1 kalam, 1 tūṇi, 2 nālī, 3 āḷakku and 3 śevīḍu of paddy for the śakheṇḍa to be paid to one Brahman that performed puṇyāḷu (i.e., purification ceremony) and for betel-leaves and areca-nuts; and 1 kāṣu and 7 mā for (purchasing) 2 parisaṭṭam (cloths) to be presented on the day of Tiruvōgam in the month of Purattāḍi to Mādavan Dāmāyan of Vayalaikkāvūr and his descendants.

(L. 51.) (This is the account of expenses) for the paddy income of 3243 kalam, 2 tūṇi, 1 padakku, 6 nālī, 1 āḷakku and 3 śevīḍu and the amount of 216½ kāṣu and 2 mā.

If this (amount of) kāṣu were not available (owing to any default), for every kāṣu (of default) there shall be paid gold weighing one quarter by the Daṇḍavēṇi.

(L. 52.) Thus in accordance with the *nimanta* laid down in the sixth year (of the king), it (i.e., the inscription) was engraved so that the stipulated expenses might be met under the supervision of the *chāḍṭras* and teachers. Paṣupati Tiruvaraṅḡsdevanār *alias* Rājēndra-Mūvēndavēḷḷar of Mīṇarkuḍi in Iḍaiyāḷa-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Vijayarājēndra-vaḷanāḍu, (which was a district) of Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, the *adhikāri* (officer) who conducted the settlement of this nāḍu, having commanded, Iḡavēṭṭin Kumara-Pāṣūrkattan *alias* Virarājēndra-Śēmbiyadaraiyan of Ayaṅḡampākkam in Āḡuḍi-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam, (which was a district) of Jayaṅḡonḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, had it engraved. On behalf of Dāmāyan Gaṅḡaikonḍaśōḷan *alias* Sēnāpati Gaṅḡaikonḍaśōḷa-Daṇḡapāḷa, the son of Dāmāya who made this charity, the former's younger brother Dāma *alias* Sēnāpati Virarājēndra-Daṇḡapāḷa, Taḷuvakku-jainḍān *alias* Abḷimāṇḡmēṇu Brāhmanāṛaiyan, the son of the Brahman Māḡaḷar Namaṣṣivēyā-dēva of [-cha]turvēḍimaṇḡalam in -nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam of Jayaṅḡonḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, had (the order) engraved on stone. This charity shall be under the protection of (the members) of the great assembly (*mahāsaṅgha*) of Śrī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēḍi-maṇḡalam. Prosperity.

No. 39.—KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.

BY STEN KONOW.

Kalawān is the name of a site near ancient Takshasilā where Sir John Marshall has been conducting excavations during the winter 1931-32. It is situated about three miles to the south-east of Sirkap, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills.

Sir John there found remains of a monastery and a *stūpa*-chapel with Gandhāra sculptures in good style.

The *stūpa* was eight-sided and stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel, which was originally roofed over, like the apsidal chapels at the Chir Tope and in Sirkap, but its plan differs somewhat from the ordinary apsidal temples.

Under the foundations of the *stūpa* was found a **copper-plate**, which can confidently be stated to have been deposited at the time of its erection. It proved to contain a **Kharōṣṭhī** inscription in five lines, and Sir John has, with his usual skill, succeeded in cleaning it, so that every detail is clearly visible in the excellent photographs which he was good enough to give me when I met him in London in May, 1932¹.

The inscription is of considerable importance, and Sir John therefore allowed me to publish a preliminary account in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, pp. 942 and ff.

The **letters** are of the same kind and type as in the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136. They consist of dots punched into the plate, and the execution is comparatively careful. There is, however, a superfluous dot in the upper right-hand corner of *tha*, the last *akṣara* of l. 2, and, on the other hand, the loop denoting ante-consonantic *r* is incomplete in *sarvasi*, l. 4, only three dots having been punched in, while the wrong subscript *v* in *-vateaya* instead of *-satanya*, l. 5, may be due to a slip in the original draft.

The **alphabet** is Kharōṣṭhī, of the same type as in the silver scroll, cf. *inter alia* the short projection of the vertical bar of *sa*. Of individual characters we may note the rare *akṣara* *chha* in *Chhūṣṭhīla*, l. 2, the very distinct *tā* in *samvatsaraya*, l. 1, and the superscript line which we know from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and the Kharōṣṭhī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above *sha* in the word *tashu*, Skr. *trishū*, in the Kurram casket inscription, while the Kanhiāra record uses a dot in the word *Krishayata*, Skr. *Krishayatas*. In the *Corpus* I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing *tash'a*, *Krish'ayata*, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word *sh'ushachi*, Skr. *śuśhakāḥyām*. Professor Rapson has shown² that *sha* with the superscribed line stands for *śha* in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the *y* was actually sounded. I shall therefore write *shyushachi*, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.

Of **numerical symbols** we find those for 1, 3, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

With regard to the **shape of individual letters**, it will be seen that the bottom of *ka* is angular in *graka*, *gaha*, l. 2; *putraki*, l. 3; *shyushachi*, l. 4; *hotu*, l. 5, but rounded in *graha*, l. 3. We may further note the upward bend of the bottom of *ta* in the compounds *tea*, l. 5, and *tā*, l. 1; cf. the *ta* of the silver scroll and the *ta* of the Patika, Pāja, and Sue Vihār inscriptions. The post-consonantic *r* is usually more or less rounded; cf. *gra*, ll. 2, 3; *tra*, ll. 1, 3; *dra*, ll. 2, 4; *dva*, ll. 2, 4; *pra*, ll. 3, 5; *sra*, l. 1. It is, however, angular in *grā*, l. 5; *dvā*, l. 3. Ante-conso-

¹ [Sir John Marshall while sending me the photographs for preparing the facsimile tells me that the copper-plate measures 8.45 by 1.63 inches and weighs 879 grains.—Ed.]

² *Kharōṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 321.



is designated as *raṣṭhagṛāma*, Skr. *rāṣṭragṛāma*, which seems to mean a country-town or market town, and can hardly denote the capital.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹ Takahasilā was founded by Bharata as the residence of his son Takeha, but Buddhist sources show that the first part of the name was felt to be derived from the base *taksh*, to chop, cut off. According to the 22nd *avadāna* of the *Dīpāvaśāla* the town was formerly called Bhadrāsīlā, and in one of his *jāta*s the Buddha was born as Chandraprabha, king of Bhadrāsīlā, and as such cut off his own head and gave it to a needy Brāhman. In the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila the name has been translated with *naggārāsā*, i.e., according to the late Professor Andreas,² "carpenter's craft," as if the real form were *Takahasila*. A priori it is quite possible that *Takahasila* means "carpenter's rock", or "chop rock", "a detached rock". And the new name *Chhadasīlā* seems to support the latter explanation. For its first part, *chhada*, can very well correspond to Sanskrit *chhājā*, mass, lump, a continuous streak. The Margalla hills, on which Chhadasīlā was situated, form a continuous range, while the Takahasīlā ridge consists of several more or less detached hills. Chhadasīlā can accordingly mean a place situated on a massy ridge, and Takahasīlā a town on or below a detached hill. The name occurs as *Ch'a-o-she-lo* in v. 33 of Saṅghavarman's Chinese translation of the *Mahāmāyūri* (A.D. 516), which Professor Lévi³ wants to restore as *Chhadasāda*.

In establishing the relics Chandrabhī was associated with her brother Nandivardhana, her sons Śama and Saṭta (i.e., perhaps Sanskrit *Sachitta*), her daughter Dharmā, her daughters-in-law Rājā and Indrā, her grandson Jivanandin, and her teacher. We may note that Dharmā's granddaughter was called Dharmā, and that the element *andin* is found both in the name of Nandivardhana and in that of his sister's grandson Jivanandin.

The text has, in l. 4, *ayariya ya*, which can only mean 'and (with) her *ūchāyā*'. It is, however, possible that the original draft had *ayariya sarvastivāda parigrahe*, in the acceptance of the Sarvastivāda teachers; cf. *acharyas sarvastivādina parigrahanī* on the Kurram, and *acharyana sarvastivādina parigrahe* on the Kanabek casket. But also the Lion Capital has *sarvastivādīna parigrahe*, without *ayariya*, and the text as it stands gives good sense.

The final portion of the record contains a blessing on the *rāṣṭhagṛāma*, Sanskrit *rāṣṭragṛāma*, evidently Chhadasīlā, and on all beings, terminating in the wish for Nirvāṇa, as in the silver scroll.

The inscription is dated *assatṭhaya 134 ajasa Śraṇvassa māsasā dīvase tressi*—23, in the year 134 . . . on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śrāvāṇa, i.e., it is about two years older than the silver scroll of the year 136, for the shape of the letters clearly shows that the same era is used in both records.

The crucial word in this date is the genitive *ajasa* preceding the name of the month, and it is clear that this *ajasa* is identical with the genitive *ajasa* preceding *asāṇasa* in the silver scroll.

In my edition of the latter in the *Corpus*, I have discussed the various explanations given of this word, and proposed to explain it as corresponding to Sanskrit *adyaya* and as characterizing the month as the "first" *Āshāḍha* because there was, in that particular year, a second, intercalary, *Āshāḍha*. This being the only inscription of the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records containing any clue to a scientific calculation of the era, I sought the co-operation of the well-known Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, who was good enough to investigate the matter, whereafter I made his calculations the basis of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the introduction.

¹ VII. 101. 10 L. cf. *Raghuvamśa*, xv. 82.

² *Zeitschriften von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1931, p. 13.

³ *J. A.*, XL v. 1915, p. 39.

The chief importance of the Kalawān epigraph is that it enables us to test this explanation and other attempts at translating the crucial word.

If my explanation were right, we should have to assume that there was an intercalated Śrāvāṇa in the year 134 and an intercalated Āshāḍha in the year 136, and this double indication would make it possible to arrive at almost certain results with regard to the epoch of the era, if the system of the *Siddhāntas* had already come into being.

Dr. van Wijk has again been good enough to come to my assistance. He has pointed out that such a state of things is impossible, unless we were to assume that the year 134 were reckoned as current and 136 as elapsed, so that the interval between the two dates could be about three years. It seems to me that we have no right to make such an assumption.

In such circumstances it becomes necessary to admit that my attempt at arriving at a dating of the older series of Kharoṣṭhi records through astronomical calculations was a failure, and the meaning of the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* remains just as doubtful as when the Taxila silver scroll was discovered.

The Kalawān inscription helps us, however, to eliminate certain possibilities. Since the consonant of the base word *aya*, *aṣa* can be written both *y* and *ṣ*, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit *y* or *ṣ*, because *-y-* remains as *y* or is dropped, and *ṣy* appears as *ṣy*, *ṣiṣ*, or, occasionally, as *y* in the North-Western Prakrit.¹ We cannot, therefore, think of *ayasya*, an irregular genitive of the pronominal base in *ayam*, this, or of *āryasya*.

It is also impossible to derive the word from *ādya*, belonging to to-day (*adya*). It is conceivable that *ādya*, first, might become *āṣa* and further *āya*, because the connected words *ādī* and *ādika* would tend to preserve the long *ā* and prevent the regular change of *ādya* to *āṣa*. But no such counteracting influence would be at work in the case of *ādya* from *adya*. Even the development of *ādya*, first, to *āṣa*, and further to *āya*, is *a priori* very doubtful. And now that we know that there cannot be any question of a "first" Śrāvāṇa or Āshāḍha, as opposed to a "second", intercalated one, the explanation becomes extremely unlikely, the more so because no reasonable sense can be made out of such an addition.

The use of *y* side by side with *ṣ* in one and the same word seems to show that we have to do either with an old single intervocalic *y* or with a voiced s-sound, a *z*. In other words, *ayasa*, *ajasa* must be the genitive of *aṣa* (*āṣa*) or *asa* (*āsa*). I am unable to find any possible word *aṣa*, *āṣa* which could suit the case, and, so far as I can see, we must return to the explanation originally proposed by Sir John Marshall,² that *ayasa*, *ajasa* means "of Azes," the double writing *aya*, *aṣa* being parallel to the doublets *kuyula*, *kujula* of the name of the first Kadphises king.

Sir John took the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll to characterize the era used in the record as instituted by Azes. "The absence of any titles attached to the name of Azes," he said, "is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushans." Professor Rapson³ took the same view, and added that "Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings' in this inscription without prejudice to the house then actually reigning".

The late Dr. Fleet⁴ has, so far as I can see, definitely proved that the addition *ayasa* cannot be explained in this way: "From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding

¹ cf. *Onoma*, pp. cv, cvii.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.

³ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 282.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 907, 908.

the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name.¹ "Even if the word *ayasa* stood before the statement of the years, so that the translation would actually be '(in) the year 136 of Aya,' this record would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Aya in the year 136 of some era not founded by him."

If therefore the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* in the silver scroll and the Kalawān records means "of Azes," as I believe it does, it must be explained in a different way, and I believe that a clue can be found in another Taxila inscription.

During the excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926-27, Sir John Marshall found a worn silver vase of duck shape, bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription round the neck. Photographs and impressions were sent to me after the manuscript of my edition of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus* had been sent to press, and I could not do more than give a short account of the record.² In my reading it begins *ka 191*, and I was not able to give a satisfactory account of the initial *ka*.

In his review of my edition³ Professor Thomas proposed to read *saka 191*, because "we seem to detect before the *ka* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*." Mr. Hargreaves was good enough to ask his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, to make a careful examination of the original, and he reported that no trace of any letter can be found. A plaster cast was prepared for my use, and this cast shows distinct traces of a *sa*, in the same way as the photograph reproduced on Plate XVI d of the *Corpus*, and I have no doubt that here mechanical reproductions are more reliable than our eye, and that we must actually read *saka 191*.

Professor Thomas is certainly right in maintaining that *saka 191* is a clear reference to an era designated as a Saka institution, and if we substitute the fuller form *saṃvatsaraye 191 sakasa*, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to *saṃvatsaraye 134 ajasa*.

Saka in the silver vase inscription is not the name of an individual ruler, but a dynastic designation, characterizing the era as connected with Saka rule, and the parallelism points to the conclusion that *ayasa*, *ajasa* should be explained in a similar way. The word has been added in order to show that the era was different from another reckoning, that connected with Saka rule, and itself introduced or adopted by another, non-Saka, dynasty.

The successors of the Sakas in Taxila were the Pahlavas, and among them the Azes kings must have been better known than the rest. The Azes coins are more numerous than all other coins found at the ancient site, and they seem to have been "struck and restruck for the best part of a hundred years," as Sir John Marshall has been good enough to tell me. To the Taksha-śīlā people, therefore, the name of Azes would naturally be well known, and become almost tantamount to a designation of the whole dynasty, especially after the Pahlavas had been ousted by the Kushāṇas. If it was found necessary to characterize the era used under Parthian rule, it would therefore be natural to do so by adding the word "of Azes", without thinking of any individual king, but only of the late dynasty: "in the year so-and-so, Azes style".

If this explanation is right, it follows that the addition *ayasa*, *ajasa*, does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as connected with Parthian rulers. And as a matter of fact there are no indications to show that the Parthians introduced an era of their own, or any feature in the dates of records issued under Parthian rule which makes us think of the era as Parthian.

The Parthians brought Greek institutions and notions with them, and in a Parthian era we should expect to find traces of the Greek calendar. It is, however, noteworthy that in India

¹ *Corpus*, pp. 81 f.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1921, p. 4.

the Macedonian month-names have only been traced in records connected with the Sakas and the Kanishka dynasty, and in no inscription of the Parthian period.

We have, on the other hand, an Indian tradition to the effect that an Indian era, the so-called Vikrama era, was instituted by an Indian king of the name or *bruda* Vikramāditya, to commemorate his victory over the Sakas in Mälava, and I am unable to see why it should not be accepted. The Vikrama era would, in other words, start from the overthrow of Saka rule in Central India.

This event would naturally lead to a Saka exodus, and if the Sakas subsequently invaded Mathurā, it would be natural for them in later times to start their chronology from the time when they became masters there, in which case their reckoning must coincide with the new national Indian era which was gradually established in Mälava. And this era would have great chances of being adopted by the Parthian rulers, who supplanted the Sakas in the north-west, just as Vikramāditya had done in Mälava.

The Taxila silver vase inscription of the year [c] 191 shows, it is true, that an older Saka era remained in use, also during the Parthian period. For Jihotika-Zeionises, during whose reign the vase was manufactured, belongs to that period. It is even probable that he was himself a Parthian and not a Saka, if the last part of his father's name Manigula is Iranian *carda*, for Iranian *a* does not seem to become *g* in old Saka. But the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the year 103 shows that the older reckoning was soon introduced side by side with the old one, and, to judge from other records, such as the Panjtār and the Taxila silver-ware inscriptions, it gradually became the usual one.

It might be objected that the Parthians would, *a priori*, be more likely to adopt a Saka than an Indian era. For they were foreign invaders, of Iranian stock, just as the Sakas. And it has often been maintained that they were so closely associated with the Sakas that the two can hardly be distinguished.

I have never been able to accept that view. We know that Sakas and Parthians had constantly been at war with each other before any of them founded an Indian empire. The Sakas were hardly pressed by Mithradates I. They reasserted themselves under his successors, but were again reduced by Mithradates II. And shortly afterwards Parthian rulers replaced the Sakas in north-western India.

These Parthian rulers came to north-western India at a time when the Sakas of the Parthian kingdom had been brought to subjection. The conquest of the Saka realm in India was a consequence of the supremacy they had already acquired, and there was no occasion for commemorating it by establishing a new era. The old Saka era therefore continued to be used. But at about the same time, or probably a little later than Azes' accession, the new reckoning, which coincided with the national Indian Vikrama era, gradually spread northwards and westwards, also to Parthian India.

Sakas of course continued to live in India under Parthian rule. But we have no indications to show that they identified themselves with the Parthians. When later on the Kushānas entered on the stage, they took up again the Saka tradition, and they were probably themselves Sakas. Their conquest, beginning with an attack on the Parthians and culminating in the sack of Sirkap, shows that they did not look on the Parthians as their associates and kinamen. But just because the era current under Parthian rule was not a Parthian institution, it was left alone under the new rulers.

So far as I can see, we must therefore refer the dates not only of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the year 103, but also of the Panjtār record of the year 122, the Kalawān plate of the year 134, and the Taxila scroll of the year 136 to the Vikrama era, and if we reckon with elapsed Kārttikādi years, these dates would then roughly correspond to A.D. 46, 65, 77 and 79, respectively.

With regard to the reckoning used in the Jihonika inscription, it is evident that it is the same as that of the Patika plate, and it is probable that also some other records should be referred to it.

Such is the case with the Mairā well inscription of the year 58, if it actually contains the name Moa, i.e. Moga; with the Mānsahrā inscription, which seems to be dated in the year 68, and which mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Kshatrapa Liha of the Patika plate; with the Shahdaur inscription of the rījas Damijada, whose name reminds us of that of the Western Kshatrapa Dāniyāsada, and perhaps with the Pādhjān, Lōrvān, Tangai, Jamālgarh, Hāshnagar, and Sīdrah Dheri inscriptions of the years 68, 318, 359, 384 and 399, respectively.

With regard to the epoch of this old Saka era, various dates have been suggested. Sir John Marshall,¹ once thought of ca. 95 B.C., but is now inclined to go back to the middle of the second century; the late Mr. Banerji² suggested ca. 160 B.C., Mr. Jayawar³ ca. 123, and Professor Rapson⁴ ca. 150. It seems to me that the last mentioned scholar cannot have been far from being right.

The Jihonika inscription was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sack of Sirkap. It may have been about twenty-five years old at that date. The Kushāna conquest of Takhsasīlā, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can roughly be dated ca. A.D. 65. At the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, i.e. A. D. 46, the ruler was the Parthian Gondophares. And we know that other Parthian rulers intervened between him and the Kushānas. Moreover, I cannot accept Professor Rapson's⁵ criticism of my reading and interpretation of l. 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription *erjāna Kapasa puyae* in honour of Prince Kapa, i.e. Kujūla Kadphises. On the stone I could not see traces of letters between *Kapa* and *er*. If I am right, Kujūla's career of conquest had not begun in A. D. 46. At the time of the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, i.e., A. D. 65, on the other hand, the Kushāna power had become established, and at the date of the silver-ware inscription of the year 136, i.e. A. D. 79, the sack of Sirkap seems to have been an event of the past. If we assume that the Jihonika vase was made about A. D. 40, the epoch of the era would be 191-40, i.e. about 150 B.C.

In that case the Patika plate would be dated in the year 150-78, i.e. about 72 B.C. Patika was then evidently a young man, without any official position or title.⁶ If he were then about twenty years old and about sixty-five when he appears as Mahākshatrapa on the Lion Capital, the date of the latter would be about 25 B.C. At that time there was another Mahākshatrapa in Mathurā, viz. Rājula, who had a son, the Kshatrapa Sodāsa. The latter may have been about twenty-five years old, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was about sixty-five at the time when he appears as Mahākshatrapa in the Anohini tablet of the Vikrama year 72,⁷ i.e. A. D. 10. Such calculations are, of course, not decisive. But they raise a certain presumption in favour of an epoch about 150 B. C.

¹ J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 186.

² J. R. O. R. S., xvi, p. 240.

³ J. R. A. S., 1930, p. 180.

⁴ As seen by Professor Thomas, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6, the final sentence of the plate must be read as *apadmasapati Patika erja nishas[na] Rohinimitrasa ya tasya[si] anagharane nishas[na]*, the great gift-lord Patika together with the *apadmasa* Rohinimitra, who is overlord of works in this Samghārāma.

There is, accordingly, no mention of the title *jyoti* as proposed by me, *Cyrena*, p. cvii f.

⁵ I cannot agree with Professor Rapson, *Acta Orientalia*, vi, pp. 260 ff., that the St. Andrew's cross symbol in the tablet stands for 40. It seems to me that Professor Lüders, *Acta Orientalia*, x, pp. 118 ff., has proved that it must be read as 70. The manuscript fragments where the symbol is used in that way came from North-Western India, and I do not quite understand Professor Rapson when he says that they are "somewhat

distantly removed in place, if not in time, from the Mairāns inscriptions."

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 67.

⁷ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 570.

And it would seem to be quite intelligible if the Sakas had introduced an era of their own about that time. We know from Chinese sources that their southward march and invasion of Ki-pin coincided with the Yü-chi conquest of the Ta-hia country, which is stated to have been effected ca. 160 B. C. The Sakas must then have come into contact with the Greek and with the Parthians, whose King Mithradates I (ca. 171-138 B. C.) is stated to have extended his empire to the Indus and to have brought force to bear on the Scythians. This would naturally lead to the Sakas trying to consolidate their power and to their introducing an era of their own, in imitation of the Greek, who used the Seleucid era. Under Mithradates' successors they were more than able to hold their own, until Mithradates II (123-88 B. C.) succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over them.

The pressure thus exercised on the Sakas seems to have led to their invasion of the Indus country.¹ In the Saka year 58, i.e. about 92 B. C., we apparently find the Saka king Moga mentioned in the Maira well inscription, and ten years later perhaps a Saka chief Lā in Māsebra, while Moga again appears in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, i.e. about 72 B. C. How long he remained in power, we do not know, but he seems to have had a fairly long reign.

The Saka empire, however, soon broke up. In Mālava it was, according to an Indian tradition, brought to an end by an Indian ruler, known as Vikramāditya, and in the North-West we soon find the Parthian ruler Azes, who may have risen to power about the middle of the first century B. C.

The Kushāgas, who made an end to the empire founded by Azes, are known to us from Chinese sources. We there learn about their gradual rise to power. At first we hear about them as forming a principality, Kuei-shuang, near or within the Ta-hia country conquered by the Great Yüe-chi.

We are told about five such principalities, each under a *hi-hou*, viz. Hiu-mi, the present Wakhan; Shuang-mi, the present Chitral; Kuei-shuang, apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself; Hi-tan, the present Parwān on the Panjāhir, and Kao-fu, i.e. Kabul.² The *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tai-k'io (Kujūta Kadphises), attacked the four other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang (i.e. he assumed the title "Kushāga-king"). He further invaded An-shi (i.e. the neighbouring Parthian realm) and seized Kao-fu. Moreover he triumphed over P'u-ta (unidentified)³ and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen (i.e. Wima Kadphises) became king in his stead. He again (anew) extinguished (conquered) T'ien-chu (i.e. the Indus country) and appointed a general there for the administration.

We are distinctly told that these events belong to the period Kien-wu (A. D. 25-55) and later, and that they had been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A. D. 107-125).⁴ Kujūta Kadphises cannot, therefore, have started on his career before A. D. 25, and the whole development narrated in the *Asanaka*, including Wima Kadphises' reconquest of T'ien-chu, had been concluded in A. D. 125.

¹ Otherwise Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 368.

² Cf. Maquart, *Études*, pp. 242 ff. According to the Hou Han-shu Kao-fu should be replaced by Tu-mi east of Kabul we find the small village Butkhak, at the place where the two routes to Kabul from the east meet.

³ The Tang pronunciation of the name was, according to Karlgren, Nos. 709 and 906 Hsiak-dai. Ten miles west of Kabul we find the small village Butkhak, at the place where the two routes to Kabul from the east meet. It is mentioned by Haber, travel, by John Leyden and William Erskine, II, p. 130, and the name is said to mean "foot-dust," with reference to the legend that Mahmud of Ghazni here broke up the idols he brought from Hindustan. That sounds like a popular etymology, and if the place is old, Butkhak might be a corruption of an old Butkhak. But it is more likely that P'u-ta was some part of Arachosia.

⁴ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 183.

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KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.



The Kalawān inscription has, as we have seen, shown that the era used in the Kharāhthi inscriptions connected with these events must be the so-called Vikramā era. We can, accordingly, state that Kujūla Kadphises' attack on An-shi and conquest of Kao-fu cannot be placed before some time after A. D. 46, because then Gondophares, who was not the last Parthian king, was still ruling.¹ Less than twenty years later, in the year 122, i.e. A. D. 65, we find a *maharaja Kushāna*, a title which recalls the Hou Han-shu statement about Kujūla Kadphises styling himself Kushāna King, mentioned in the Panjtār inscription. If this ruler was, as some scholars think, Wima Kadphises, we should have to draw the inference that his father, who was more than eighty years old at his death, was no more alive, and that he had, consequently, achieved his chief result, the victory over the Parthians, when he was a septuagenarian. That is, so far as I can see, an impossibility, and the chronology which the new inscription allows us to draw up seems to clear up the disputed question about the identity of the Kushāna ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and silver-scroll records. He can only be identified with Kujūla Kadphises. And if he was still alive in A. D. 79, Kanishka, the successor, or one of the successors, of his son Wima Kadphises, cannot have founded the historical Śaka era.

The Kalawān inscription is also of importance for the chronology of Gandhāra art. The sculptures found in the chapel, which cannot be older than A. D. 77, are stated to be of good style, and it is not *a priori* likely that they are older than the chapel itself. We can, accordingly, in this case approximately date some specimens of good Gandhāra art. If the Lōriyān Tangai, Hashtnagar and Skārāh Dhērī image inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399, are referred to the old Śaka era and roughly correspond to A. D. 168, 234 and 249 A. D., respectively, we should be able to survey the development of Gandhāra sculpture for more than 150 years. The Mamāna Dhērī pedestal of the Kanishka year 89 would then be only slightly older than the Hashtnagar image, because it seems impossible, in view of the chronological result indicated above, to assume an earlier epoch of the Kanishka era than towards A. D. 130.

TEXT.

(L. 1). Sathvatāraya 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śrāvāṇa masasa divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 inoṇa
kahuṇḍa Chāndrābhī namā (L. 2) Dharmasa grahavatissā dhita Bhadravalasa lihasa Chhādā-
śilāe śarira prastaveti gahathu- (L. 3) bami sadha bhradūṇa Nandivardhanaṇa grahavatissā sadha
putrehi śameṇa Saitṭeṇa cha dhituṇa cha (L. 4) Dharmasā sadha śhushaśhi Rajas Idras ya sadha
Jivanandina Śamaputreṇa ayariṇa ya sa[r]vasti- (L. 5) vaṇa parigrāhe rathanikamo puyāta
sarva(v)atvāṇa puyae qivāṇa prastae hotu.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 134 of Aśva, on the twenty-third—23. day of the month Śrāvāṇa, at this term the female worhipper (*wpāciṭā*) Chāndrābhī, daughter of the householder (*grihapati*) Dharmas, wife of Bhadrāpāla, establishes relics in Chhādāśilā, in the chapel-*stūpa*, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Sachitta and her daughter Dharmā, with her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indra, with Jivanandin, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings; may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa.

¹ That does not, however, preclude that Kābul might already have been associated with the Kanishkas at an earlier stage, before the attack on the Parthians. Such a previous connection may be reflected in the Kujūla-Necropolis coins and in the notice in the older Han *Annals* about Kao-fu being one of the five Ta-hs principalities. But the Parthian conquest of Kābul made an end to that state of things.

No. 40.—KOLAGALLU INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA, ŚAKA 889.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., GOVT. CANCER.

The stone which bears this inscription¹ was found at Kolagallu, which is a railway station on the Guntakal-Hubli section of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A very brief note on its contents has appeared in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1915-16.² This is the earliest record of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Khottiga so far discovered and I edit it below from the estampages kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is written in ordinary Sanskrit and in Nāgarī characters closely resembling those of the Dāṣṛī³ and the Karchāḍī⁴ plates of Kṛishṇa III. The average size of the letters varies from ½" to 1". The *ś* sign is written in two ways—(1) by a slanting stroke at the top of the letter and (2) by a stroke beginning at the top of the letter and running down to its bottom on the left side. With the exception of lines 1 to 3, which give the date, the whole of the record is in verse. It may be remarked here that the syntax of verse 5 is faulty. The word *ānanyāśrīṣṭān* stands by itself without any connection with the rest of the verse and the verse has no predicate. The form *rik-sāmar* (l. 29) is grammatically wrong. The rules of sandhi are not observed in *parushō kumār* (l. 31) and *grāmā abhishikṣāḥ* (l. 33). Apparently this is due to the requirements of the metre. The scanning of the first pāda of verse 21 is not in conformity with the rules of prosody for it has one syllable in excess of the actual number required. The text of the inscription contains some technical expressions like *dayādhara* and *lāhān* (l. 35), the exact import of which is not quite clear. Neither *lāhān* nor *dayādhara* finds place in the verse which enumerates the five *yōgi dāmas*,⁵ viz.,

पद्मामर्न स्वस्तिवाच्यं मद्रं वचामर्न तथा ।
वीरामर्नमिति पोखं क्रमादासनपञ्चकम् ॥

The word *Kapardin* which generally means Śiva is here possibly used for Kārttikēya. Verse 18 would show that this epithet was applied to the sage Gadādhara also. In respect of orthography,⁶ the following points may be noted : (1) A superfluous *an* ending is sometimes used before double *n* or before *n* followed by a consonant (e.g., *tarmīn-ādhipatyam* in l. 20, *vidāman* in l. 38, *lāhān-dā* in l. 42; *ananyāśrīṣṭā* in l. 50 and *ānanyāśrīṣṭā* in l. 68); (2) the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *cararavā* (l. 23); (3) the letter *r* is used in place of *h* in *Alcala* (l. 72) and *enā-mathārīṣṭā* (l. 79); (4) the consonant *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* as in *rik-sāmar* (l. 29) and *rice-er* as in *ananyāśrīṣṭā* (l. 50) and *dāvapriya* (l. 52); (5) the letter *sh* is used for the *jihvāmūliya* as well as for the *upadhmūliya* as is seen in *mālāsh-kurāt* (l. 63), *prīṣh-kapardināḥ* (l. 77), *chak-shush-Purushō* (l. 31) and *cōpyash-Pārnatī* (l. 55); (6) the corrupt or Prakrit form *samachhara* is used instead of *samastara* in lines 1 and 2.

The record is dated Śaka 889 expired, the year Kāhaya, Sunday, the Sixth (*ṭithi*) of the bright half of Phālguna, when king Kṛishṇa had died and Khottigadēva was ruling. This Khottiga is no other than the homonymous Rāshtrakūṭa king of Malkhēḍ, the half brother and successor of Kṛishṇa III.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the images of Kārttikēya and other gods at the village of Kolagala by the Brahmacārin Gadādhara. Verses 2 to 8 glorify

¹ No. 236 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² Part II, para. 36.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

⁵ See *Śaṅkhaśatpādbrāhma* under *dāmas*.

the god Kārttikadēva (Skanda) and his *śaṅga* made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Tāraka and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv. 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadādhara as a *śāhāṇī* belonging to the Śāṅghīya-gōtra and as a crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village Taḍā and that he was the illuminator of the Varēndri country. Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara, Pārvaī and Vināyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, these acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kārttikēya. Verse 23 gives the ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed this *prabasti*. In the last verse Gadādhara beseeches future *Brahmachāriya*s to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to A.D. 967 February 17, Sunday, the *tithi* commencing at 66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khottiga is Saka 890, Vibhava, Jyēṣṭha Suddha 1, Thursday (A. D. 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khottiga was the successor of Kṛishṇa III, it helps us to ascertain Kṛishṇa's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Kṛishṇa's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karhād grant⁴ of A.D. 959 describes at length the conquests of Kṛishṇa III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king; but the Dēḍi plates⁵ whose date is approximately 30th April A.D. 940 makes no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Kṛishṇa came to the throne shortly before the date of the Dēḍi plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is Saka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, Vynāpāta, Monday (A.D. 939 December 23, Monday). But the Isāmudra inscription⁶ of his father Baddega Amoghavarsha III is also dated in Saka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakshatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates viz., (1) that Amoghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Kṛishṇa III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the Dēḍi and the Karhād plates. And Kṛishṇa's record of 23rd December 939 gives him such titles as *Mahārājadhīrāja* which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Kṛishṇa III. Hence the first alternative viz., that Kṛishṇa and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Isāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Kielhorn⁷ long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti of the Isāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, viz., the cyclic year Vikārin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the

⁴ Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Cd. 30. An inscription of this king found at Hunavalli (Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, 85, 831) is dated Saka 890, Prabhava, Chaitra, Suddha purnama, Adityavāra, Saṅkrānti. But the details of the date given here do not work out correctly.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 420.

⁷ Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, 85, 476.

⁸ Ibid. Vol. XI, Cd. 77.

⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV p. 203; see also the dates of the Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 114 of 1913, 115 of 1913, 116 of 1913, 473 of 1914, 479 of 1914 and 291 of 1918 calculated by the late Dewan Bahadur Sravanikannu Pillai in his *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 35 ff.

year Vikārin which began on 23rd February A.D. 939. In all probability, therefore, Krishna succeeded his father after this date. Thus the initial year of the reign of Krishna III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A.D. 939.

Now let us ascertain the last date of Krishna. Our inscription tells us that Khottiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A.D. 967, after Krishna's death. Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date. And the latest date that we now have for Krishna is 6th March A.D. 965*. Several inscriptions in the Tamil country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years.¹ Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A.D. 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A.D. 966, when his 28th year began. The wording of the present record, viz., परम्लोकं गते तन्मित्रान्ना कृष्णद्वये निधौ राज्ये खोद्दिगदेवस्य (ll. 4-5) would indicate that Krishna's death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (i.e., A.D. 967 February 17). This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khottiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Krishna's death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago.² The passage in it which introduces the king runs as: पालयति मति प्राप्ते खोद्दिगं राज्यं मेदिनी. We may, therefore, conclude that Krishna III ruled from A.D. 939 to 966-67. From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Krishna's reign was the 28th year.³

Gadādihara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record. As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikēya was under his administrative charge. In another inscription of Kolgallu of A. D. 964, this tract of territory is called Kārttikēya-tapōvana and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Kolgallu.⁴ We learn from an inscription at Kudatini⁵ that this person set up in that village an image of Śaṇḍa. It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god. We do not know when this celebrity came from Varāndrī to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Krishna III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere,⁶ took place in A.D. 963-64.

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of Atibala and grandson of Rishi, that he was a *deva* of the Karmāra-kula and that his ancestors emigrated from Tarkāri. As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kudatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Madhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Varāndrī "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rājshāhi".⁷ As to Tarkāri, there seem to be a number of places of this name⁸ but the Tarkāri of the present inscription is, I think, the famous

* Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 113 of 1929-30.

¹ See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 364 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921.

² Same collection No. 44 of 1904.

³ The date of the Kūṭar record which has been wrongly read as the 5304th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 222 of 1902) was after re-examination found to be the 26th year.

⁴ Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914, Pt. II, para. 36; No. 234 of 1913.

⁵ Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 44 of 1904.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 239.

⁷ Above, Vol. I, page 305 f. n. 2.

⁸ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LX, pp. 16-17.

Takāri, 16 miles north-west of Gayā. Tadā, where Gadādhara was born, has perhaps to be identified with the modern village Tara lying at a distance of about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal. Kolagala is, doubtless, Kolagalla where the inscription was discovered.

TEXT.*

[Metres : vv. 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, *Anuṣṭubh* ; 15 and 22, *Sārdūlarikṛīḍitam*.]

First Face.

- 1 स्मृति श्री [॥*] शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्स(र)²[२१]-
- 2 ठ(उ)शताशीतिनवाधिकचयसंवत्स(र)३ फाल्गु-
- 3 णशुद्धपञ्चाकदिने प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ प-
- 4 रलोकं गते तस्मिन्वास्वा कृष्णनृपे नि[धौ] [१*]
- 5 राज्ये खोद्विगदेवस्य धर्मसेतुः कलौ सु-
- 6 मे ॥[१*] वैलोक्यव्यक्तरूपाय विख्याताय
- 7 [यश]स्विने [१*] स्नामिकार्तिकदेवाय सर्वज्ञा-
- 8 य नमोऽनमः(नमः) ॥[२*] ज्ञानशक्तिधरे देवं श्रीम-
- 9 द्रुद्रात्मजं शम्भं [१*] सर्वलोकहितं शान्तं
- 10 नमामि परमेश्वरं ॥[३*] सुरसेनाधिपत्ये-
- 11 ठस्त(स्या)स्य सत्वं महात्मनः [१*] शृण्वन्तु विपु-
- 12 लां कीर्तिं सर्वपापविनाशनीं ॥[४*] हेमव-
- 13 ष्ठा(ष्य)मनोय* त्रिगुणाः* शौर्यं कपदिनः ।
- 14 [दि]जयेष्ठगदापाणेः शाश्वतं धर्मको-
- 15 र्त्तनं ॥[५*] उत्पादितं प्रयत्नेन रत्नानेकै-
- 16 र्विशोभितं [१*] तेजसा शुभ्रमत्यंतमिन्द्राद्यै-
- 17 र्वदितं सुरैः ॥[६*] दिव्यरूपासनं रम्यं
- 18 पूर्णोद्भूतिव निर्मलं [१*] पापघ्नं वेधसा स-
- 19 ष्टं कामरूपि सुखावहं ॥[७*] श्रित्वा दंडा-
- 20 सने तस्मि(स्मि)न्वाधिपत्यं दिवीकसां [१*]
- 21 कृतं द्वादशनेत्रेण सोऽयं देवेश-
- 22 रागभृः ॥[८*] हेमस्य नलिनीगर्भं पद्म-
- 23 खो द्वादशेक्षणः [१*] आतस्म(श्च)रवणे वा

* From linked characters.

* The letter 'व' is engraved below the line.

* Possibly this line has to be corrected into 'नमोऽनमः'.

* Read 'वीर्यवान्'.

- 24 लो विश्वात्मा परमेश्वरः ॥[८*] रुद्रव(प्र)-
 25 आश्विनो यस्तारकशसुराधिपः [1*]
 26 क्रीडया निहतोनेन द्वादशार्क[च]-
 27 तेन सः ॥[१०*] भुवि शौरक(शब्देक) एवायं [देव १]-
 28 स्तेजोमया कृती । द्विजान्मयकठ[ले]-

Second Page.

- 29 यं रि(क्ते)क्वामेर्वेदपार-
 30 गः ॥[११*] विश्वतश्च-
 31 पुरुषो कुमारो^१ वि-
 32 श्वतोमुखः^२ [1*] योम-
 33 स्त्रोसगलघामे च-
 34 भिषिक्तः शमे दि[नि] ॥[१२*]
 35 लोहाभनो च शाण्डि-
 36 त्वस्तुतपस्वी गदाध-
 37 रः [1*] विद्वज्जनायवो
 38 विद्वा(द्वा)ग्मौडचूडाम-
 39 निर्गुणो ॥[१३*] स्वर्गवास-
 40 निमित्तार्थं तडाघा[मो]-
 41 त(द्वा)वेन तु [1*] स्वापितो
 42 दिव्यमन्त्रेण वरेन्द्र-
 43 द्योतकारिणा ॥[१४*] क-
 44 स्मौर्यस्य परंभ्य एव भ-
 45 वने कं(क)न्वेव दातुं स्थि-
 46 ता विद्या यस्य समस्त-
 47 जन्तुहितकृषीपप्र-
 48 मेवामला [1*] भक्तिर्यस्य
 49 पतिव्रतव वनिता स्त-
 50 आदने(न)भ्याशु(चि)ता त-
 51 स्मै स्वस्ति गदाधरा[य]

^१ कुमारः कुमारो.

^२ This reminds one of the Vedic कुमारः विप्रेतकचरुः विपतो मुखो विपतो वाहसत विपतेभ्याम् । भंवारभा भमति संपत्तेर्देवाः सुमी कुनवन् देव एकः ।

FIRST FACE.

264A

SECOND FACE.

2 वल्लि... कक... प... नीत... र... क...
 4 ...
 6 ...
 8 ...
 10 ...
 12 ...
 14 ...
 16 ...
 18 ...
 20 ...
 22 ...
 24 ...
 26 ...
 28 ...

30 ...
 32 ...
 34 ...
 36 ...
 38 ...
 40 ...
 42 ...
 44 ...
 46 ...
 48 ...
 50 ...
 52 ...

THIRD FACE.

54
56
58
60
62
64
66
68
70
72
74

FOURTH FACE.



76
78
80

52 [व]सुधादेवपु(प्र)याया-

53 [नि]शं ॥[१५*]

Third Face.

54 [इ]होपरं(रि) तवेवाकीं वेधा विष्णुर्म[हे]-

55 म्वरस्तडागमठिकावाप्यप्यार्पती

56 च विनायकः ॥[१६*] [सु]ष्टे स्थापिता[ः*] कीर्ति-

57 विदिता स्वर्गवासिनां [१*] यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा

58 देवानां कृता समेत धीमता ॥[१७*] सुर-

59 म्भुवने कीर्तिं गायंत्वसुरसम्-

60 दा [१*] जयत्वधौ जपदीं च मृगाकव-

61 दनो मुनिः ॥ [१८*] राज्यं श्रीस्वामिन[ः*] स्था-

62 ने विवद्विप्रोपकारकं [१*] दुर्भचम-

63 ण्कुरुते यथा वैरोचनो बलिः ॥[१९*] स्ना-

64 मिभट्टारकध्यायं वरपामचिर-

65 नानः [१*] अतो न दत्ता वसुधा पृथ-

66 कृत्वा विगेषतः ॥[२०*] मृहीत्वा परिमि-

67 ता(प्रमिता) दत्ता भूमिर्या सतिलोदका [१*] विप्रे-

68 भ्यक्षा न कृतव्या सामो(मा)न्धो धर्मसा-

69 गरः ॥[२१*] यो कर्मारकुलाह्वयद्विज-

70 वरपामस्तु(ग्रामास्तु) तर्कारितो निष्कम्य क-

71 मतिर्भल्लमभवत्तस्मिन्निष्ठि[ध]-

72 डितस्तुपुत्रप्रथितः क्षितावतिव(व)-

73 लस्तस्मादभुदय(व)स्तुतस्तेन श्रीम-

74 धुसुदनाय्यकविना शस्ता प्रश-

75 स्तिः कृता ॥[२२*]

Fourth Face.

76 मदाधरेण भजितं

77 अया प्रीतिष्कापदि-

78 नः [१*] तयान्वेरपि क-

79 तव्या भविष्यन्न(व)द्या-

80 चारिभिः ॥[२३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3.) Hail! Prosperity! On Sunday the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the (month) of Phālguna in the (cyclic) year Kahaya, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the Śaka King, the installation (ceremony) was performed.

(Verse 1.) During the reign of Khotṭigalēva—the king named Kṛishṇa of excellent qualities having gone to heaven—(this) bridge of religious merit (was erected) in the Kālī age.

(V. 2.) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikadēva who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious.

(V. 3.) I bow to that Supreme Lord who bears the (weapon called) Jñānasakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe.

(V. 4.) The chief of the commanders of the army of the gods—let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins.

(V. 5.) (Let people hear) the three *guṇas* and the prowess of (that god), who possesses a *śaṣṭyāṣṭau* made of gold, viz., Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the *gadā* and the meritorious act (of the best of Brāhmanas *Gadādhara*) which is eternal.¹

(V. 6 and 7.) His seat of heavenly form, created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by (god) Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable.

(V. 8.) Seated in that *śaṣṭyāṣṭau* was wielded the generalship of the (army of) the gods by the twelve eyed (god). Such is the issue of the lord of gods (i.e., Śiva).

(V. 9.) This six faced, twelve-eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the *śarvaṇa* grass.

(V. 10.) That Tāraka, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (gods) was destroyed in sport by this (god) who has the twelve suns as his eyes.

(V. 11.) He is the only (god) on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose. Thus do the twice-born who are well-versed in the Vēdas praise him well by Rika and Sāmāna.

(V. 12.) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (i.e., who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the *Parashā* was anointed at the illustrious village Kolagala on the auspicious day.

(V. 13.) The learned and virtuous Gadādhara, the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country, who is a *lōkāsani* (ascetic), who is a Śāṅgīya and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men.

(V. 14.) By him who was born in the village of Taḍā and was the illuminator of (the country of) Varāṇḍī was (the god Kumāra) consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven.

(V. 15.) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādhara, who is dear to Brāhmanas, whose wealth resides in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion (to god) resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife.

¹ There seems to be a *śloka* here upon the words Kapardin, *śaiṣya-brāhṁha* and *gadā-pāṇi* describing the greatness both of god Kārttikōya and of the ascetic Gadādhara.

(V. 16 and 17.) And besides (the god named above) the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahāśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka (all these gods) were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells were constructed. Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by this learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven.

(V. 18.) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Indra.

(V. 19.) This Durbhikṣhamalla (i.e., the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Svāmīn (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brāhmaṇas, like Bali, the son of Viṛōcana.

(V. 20.) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Svāmīn. It is especially on this account that no land (here) is parcelled out and given.

(V. 21.) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brāhmaṇas should not be snatched away; (this is) the common (rule of the) ocean of Dharma.

(V. 22.) A family immigrated from Tarkāri, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations. In it (was born) the scholar Rāhi; his son was Atibala; renowned in the world; by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (i.e., Atibala) was this excellent *prastuti* composed.

(V. 23.) Just as love was entertained by Gadādhara¹ towards (god) Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future *Brāhmachāryas*.

NO. 41.—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS.

By A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A., AND N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

A

CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA.

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of Chīmakurti in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920². It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom. It is 10½" in length and 6½" in breadth. There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through. Only one side of the plate bears the writing. At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a *linga* and a bull facing it. The weight of the plate is 37 tolas.

The inscription on the plate is written in Telugu characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma³ and the Phiraṅgipuram inscription of Kōmaṭi-Vēma⁴ though these two are later in point of time. It is therefore likely that the present document is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so. There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained

¹ The word *gītā* seems to be superfluous.

² No. 2 of App. A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year 1919-20*.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff.

in it as correct, for the *birudas* of king Vēma found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amarāvati inscription*.

The inscription records the grant of the village Rāmatīrtham situated in the Śrīśafla-bhūmi and the Ammanaribrola-dēna as a *care-āyinhāra* to Chittamūri Timmana-Bhatta who was the son of Kāmāśvara-Bhattāraka and who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gotra, Yajña-sūkhā and Āpastamba-sūtra. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel-leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages Chinnakurti, Bhīmāśvaram, Palikopḍa, Mallavaram and Kumārāpuri and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three-fourths. A fifth part of the money income (*sūvary-ādāya*) of these villages and the water of the Pedda-cheruva (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages (in the division I) and land at the rate of 200 *kūṇḍa* measured by a pole of 16 *bāra* in big villages and 100 *kūṇḍa* in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Kārnam of the village Chinnakurti who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The date of the document is Śālivāhana Śaka year 1257, Yuva Kārttika 5a 12, Thursday, Manvādi. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras Museum plates† of the same king. If the cyclic year Dhātā is substituted for Yuva the details of the date would correspond to A.D. 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king's *birudas* mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Reddi chiefs. For instance, *Channamula-chārakāra*, or *Chennimula-chārakāra* as given in the Amarāvati inscription, means "one who reduced the hill fort of Chennji or Gingi." How Vēma could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another *biruda* *Rāchūrāra-gaṇādhāra* means "the destroyer of the fort of Rāchūra" i.e., Raichur in the Nizam's Dominions. A third title in the list *Kaliṅga-gaṇāra-sāra-sāraṇa* means "one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kalinga."‡ The title *Manniyārāra-gaṇa-rājakāra* means "one who hunted like deer the chiefs of Manniya hilly country". The term *Manna* is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Visagapatam and Ganjam districts. Similarly the titles *Voddiyaṣṭya-virbhūma-lhūma* and *Janturūṣṭya-kalla-kallā* signify victories over the kings of the Voddiya (Odura) country, the modern Orissa, and the Janturūṣṭya which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāḍa. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gangas of Kalinga, from which, for instance, the Narasimpatam plates of Vajrahasta II were issued. The title *Pāṇḍya-gaṇa-rāja* means "one who was a lion to the elephant in the form of the Pāṇḍya King" suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Pāṇḍyas. The title *Appaya-Gōpaya-dūṣṭapāṭa* seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Tiruvandipuram inscription of the Chōla king Rājārāja III dated in his 15th year§ records the victories of two Hoysala generals *Jayachōḍaṣṭya* Appaya-Daṇḍanāyaka and Samudra-Gōpaya-Daṇḍanāyaka over the Pallava chief Kōppanūṭṭiṅga who overcame the Chōla sovereign Rājārāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Sāndamāṅgalam. The chiefs that are referred to

* S. I., Vol. VI, No. 243.

† Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

‡ Some of these titles are explained in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1900, p. 22.

§ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff.

in the title *Appaya-Gōpaya-dīśāpāya* of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysala generals of the Tiruvēndipuzam inscription.

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākatīyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōlas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Kōpperuñjīnga who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōlas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drākshārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōlas of the Nellore District who had the titles Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōla and Gaṇḍagōpāla extended their kingdom to the south and, for a time, occupied Kāñchīpuram and Tondaimaṇḍalam. Against these Sundara-Pāṇḍya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the anointment of heroes at Vikramasīnhaapuram (Nellore). The Kākatīya sovereign Gaṇapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōla chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Gaṇapati his daughter Rudrāmbā and later her grandson Pratāparudra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these *virāḍas* over the Pāṇḍya king and the Hoysala generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kālīgarāya, Oḍḍiyarāya, the Janturnāṭarāya as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchūru should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākatīyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many *agrahāras* on the banks of the rivers Brahmaparvati (the Guṇḍalakammā), the Kṛishṇavēṇi, i.e., Kṛishṇā, the Gōḍāvarī and the Mahānadi, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses (*śāstras*) in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Śrīpārvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the establisher of the sole sovereign (*īka-rāya-dhāpān-āchārāya*) and the only ornament to the throne (*īka-simhāsan-ālambāra*).

B

PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VĒMA.

Next in chronological order comes the Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru grant of Anna-Vēma. It is registered as copper-plate No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M. R. Ry. Devī Hanumachariu of Koḍitāḍiparru, in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District, in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no ring or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure 9½" in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 *tolas*. The inscription is written in Telugu script and Sanskrit language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll. 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates iib, iiib, ivb, and vb are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the palaeography of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially: The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A although the latter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is Anna-Vēma who is here called the son of Prōlaya-Vēma, i.e., Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the bear incarnation of Viṣṇu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Viṣṇu which evidently means the Śūdra caste—

padbhūm Śāstrā-bhijāyata. In it was born Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīlaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmadri (v. 4). He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile Kings (vv. 5 to 8). To him were born two valorous sons namely **Anna-Vōta** and **Anna-Vēma** (v. 9). Anna-Vōta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Āndhra country extending from the eastern portion of Śrīnaga (i.e., Śrīlaila) to the eastern ocean (vv. 10 and 11). The Telugu work *Vikrma-purāṇam* tells us that this Annavōta defeated a chief called **Rāvuta Kēśa** near the river **Krishnavēni** before the very eyes of god Amariēvara. The work also says that king Pōta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalagantī family and got them dedicated to him. Sōraṇa, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family. Anna-Vōta's younger brother Anna-Vēma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv. 12 to 15). The genealogy of the donee is then given. In the *gōra* of Hārita there was a pious Brāhman named **Nṛisīrha** who was a lion to the elephants, viz., the disputants (v. 16). His son was **Bhīmāśvara-Sōmayājīn** who had performed many Vedic sacrifices (v. 17). His son was **Pōubhatta**; to him was born Guṇḍayāryya whose son was **Peddi-Vidvān**, the crest jewel among astronomers (v. 18). To this Peddi-Vidvān king Anna-Vēma granted, on the date specified, the village Pachchani-Tāṇḍipuru (v. 19). Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll. 47 to 73). After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by **Bāla-Sarasvatī**, the court poet of Anna-Vēma. The inscription ends with the king's signature **Pallava-Tripōtra**.

The details of the date recorded in the inscription are the Saka year counted by *mas* (6), *rasa* (9) and *Bhāskara* (12), i.e., 1296, Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the English equivalent of this date is A.D. 1374 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vēma. The donee Peddi-Vidvān seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy. He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Redḍi family even after Anna-Vēma for we learn from two copper-plate grants¹ of Pedda-Kōmati-Vēma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village Kalvāmulu in Saka 1329 and of Nandamūru in Saka 1333. In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhāntas like those of Brahmag and Sārya. One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in Jyautiska-śāstra.

Nothing is known from other sources about Bālasarasvatī who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vēma. It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at Śrīlailam². Another poet in this king's court, viz., Triśchanāchārya is already known to us. He composed the Vānapallī³ copper-plate inscription of this king.

C

PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA.

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost. It measures 12½" in length and 5½" in breadth, and weighs 47 tolas. In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through. It bears writing only on one side. Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation. It was secured in the year 1920 from Mr.

¹ *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* 1915-20, Nos. 13 and 14.

² See *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1915, Part II, para. 39.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 60 ff.

Ponukapāṭi Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapāḍu near Tenāli and has been registered as No. 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year.

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in Telugu characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapāḍu and five verses in Sanskrit. The first verse says: "The donor is king Kōmaṭi-Vēma, the recipient of the grant is the preceptor Saṅkara, the village granted is Pinapāḍu, the composer is the poet Śrinātha-Bhaṭṭāraka, the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy Śivarātri and the witness the great Śrīgiri. Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances?" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature "Śri-Vīraṇārāyaṇasya".

From the above verse it is apparent that king Kōmaṭi-Vēma, the donee Saṅkara and the poet Śrinātha were at Śrīśaila on the Śivarātri day. According to the *Śivarātri-māhātmya* of this poet, which is dedicated to a scholar named Sāntayya, a disciple of Sānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti, Śrinātha once visited the sacred shrine of Śrīśaila during the Śivarātri festival and paid his respects to Sānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti. While the poet was seated in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple Sānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti, the head of the Virāṣaiva *maṭha* on the hill asked him to write a Saiva poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. This Sānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet Gaurana dedicated his *Naravāḍa-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the Vijayanagara kings. Siddha-Bhikṣhāvṛitti, who was the donee of the Śrīśailam grant of the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpākṣa, was one of the gurus of the Virāṣaiva *maṭha* on Śrīparvata.

The descendants of the donee of the grant under publication, viz., Saṅkara, are found even today in the village Pinapāḍu. Though they are Brāhmins they officiate as *Achāryas* to several Saivas who are not Brāhmins.

A

TEXT.

- 1 Śri-Tripurāntakāśvara []*
- 2 Svasti Śri []* Vijay-abhyudaya-Sālivāhana-śaka-varṣaṁbulu 1257 agni-
-ṣṭi Yuva-
- 3 nāma saṁvatsara Kārttika-śuddha 12 Gura-vācara manvādi mahāpuṇya-
-kālamunari-
- 4 du Yaju[]-śikh-ādhyāyan-Āpastamba-sūtra-Kaundīya-gōtr-śdbhavalunnu (l u n n u)
-śrīmad-yaja-
- 5 n-ādi-śaṭkarma-nirata-āgu Kāmāśvara-bhaṭṭarakuni-vāri paṭṭi(tru)lunnu(lunnu)
-Kopdu-bhaṭṭarakuni-
- 6 vāri-paṭṭi(tru)lunnu-āgu Chittamūri Timmana(Timmana)-bhaṭṭa-śastrulavāriki svasti []*
- 7 kām Charchumala-chūrakāra Viśva-viśvambhar-ābharāṇa-vahana-dakṣa-dakṣaṇa
(kaṭṭa)-bhujā-damḍa
- 8 Jagatobha-gaṇḍa āniya(anya)-maṇḍalika-gaṇḍa rāya-chēkōlu-gaṇḍa rāya-
-māra-gaṇḍa
- 9 arthi-pratyarthi-Hemādri-dāna-nirata prajā-paripālana-chatura haraṇa-bharāṇa rūpa-
- 10 Nārāyaṇa Vīra-Nārāyaṇa bhujā-bala-Bhīma kōdamḍa-Rāma aparimāta-bhū-dāna-
-Pamānu-
- 11 rāma anśka-nagar-ōpākṣha-pratishṭhāpita-bahu-vidh-ārāma saṁgaḍi-rakṣa-pā-
-laka joga-ra-

- 12 kaha-pālaka jagada-Gōpālaka Gujjari-dhatta-vibhāṣa ghaṇa-bhujā-virāja.
māna-Karavāla
- 13 Rāchūri-durga-vibhāṣa jala-durga-jaladhi-bhujabānala sthala-durga-havana.
Halāya-
- 14 dha anavarata-purōhita-kṛita-sōma-pāsa Śeṣparvata-Ahōbala-nirmita-sōpāna
dhūh(dik)(kāh)-
- 15 tā-maṇḍhara kīrti-kusum-āmōda Kumāḍiprabhā-Saṁhaya(Sahya)jā-Gautami-
- 16 jala-kṛidā-vinōda Kalidga-rāya-māma-maḍa-maḍama maṇḍiniya-rāya-mṛga-
- 17 vṇṇakāra Voḍḍiya-rāya-ninḍhima-dhāma Janatur-nāṣa-rāya-haḥa-kallōla a-
- 18 ri-rāya-basava-Saṁkkaṇa virōdhi-ajipa-dānava-Narasimhva(ha) Pādūya-rāya-gaja-sim-
- 19 hva(ha) prajñā-chatur-vidh-ōpāya kēḍi-rāya nitya-paripālita-satyā Palliv-ādi-
- 20 tyā ripu-narapati-gōdhūma-ghattata-gharaṭṭa Appaya-Gōpaya-ditā-paṭṭapa(paṭṭa)
saṁgrā-
- 21 ma-samuddamā-chaṇḍa-bhuj-āsi-vikhaṇḍita-kṛita-kilāla playamāna-Brāhṁma(alma)
kum-
- 22 jī-Kṛishṇavṇṇ-Gōḍāvarī-Mahānadi-taṭi-dvayan(va)-madhya-dāna-anēk-āgrahā-
- 23 ra egaṇya-puṇya-kshētra-satra-baḥa-vidh-āhāra Pārva-samudrādihāvara
- 24 ēka-rāya-athāpan-āchārya ēka-simhva(hā)saṇ-ālakāra ārima(t*)-Tripurāntakad-
- 25 va-divya-ari-pāda-paḍu-ārādhakul-aina ārimatu-Vāmaya-Roḍḍigāru viāyinchī yi-
- 26 chohina bhū-dāna-dharma-sāsanam || mad-bhujā-chaṇḍa-paripālana-aina
sāmbhō(sarā)yya-
- 27 m-amdu Śeṣaḥa-bhūmini Aṁmua(Amma)naṁbrōli śī(sī)malō Rāmatirṭhaṁ sarv-
āgrahāramam-
- 28 nnu(munnu) Chāmakurti-Bhūnēvara-Paṭikōḍḍa-Mailavarati-Komārapuri-grāma-
- 29 mulo ayidinṇiyyamḍunnu veli-polam-lōnunu charvula kṛinda mā-
ḍḍa-
- 30 pi-lōnunu āku-tōḍḍala-cheruku-tōḍḍala-lōnu bhūmi chaturth-āṁsān
- 31 sarva-mānyam-gāṁmḍunnu(mnu) migilina muppātika bhūmini paṇḍina nānā-
phalā-
- 32 dṇakothunnu(mnu) ahōḍḍa-āṁsān mēṇanu savyar-ādōyānaku paṇḍham-
āṁsāmunnu
- 33 pedda-cheru nīḷḷanu yi grāmālu gāka yitara grāmāla paṇḍḍina
dhānyānaku dṇāro-āṁ-
- 34 samonnu āi(ā)ni-mūlāḥ prati-grāmamulamḍunnu(mnu) padahāru-hāra
ghaḍam
- 35 pedda vūḥ(i*)ki innūrn kuṇṭalunnu(mnu) chōṇa vūriki nūru
gudḍḍala kshētram-
- 36 nnu sarva-mānyamulamḍunnu(mnu) yi-lāgu nīṇyam chōḍi Rāmatirṭhaṁ
modai-aina ā-
- 37 ru grām-ādulayamḍunnu aṣṭa-bhōga-svāmya-svatantramulunnu chaturvi-
- 38 dha-yōgyam-gā sa-hirany-ōḍaka-dāna-dhārā-purvam-gā yippinṇatini gaṇaka . . .
- 39 . . . tra-pāraḍiparyamunnu aṁḍala vachchina phalad-ā-cha . . .
- 40 ḍuvātu || dāna-pūṇanayōr-mādhyē dānōch-ōḥrō . . .

- 41 achyutash padash || śk-ai(ṛa)
 42 vipra-dattā

B

TEXT.

First Plate, Second Side.

- 1 श्रीनाथ(ध)स्व वराहदिव्यवपुषो व. पातु दंष्ट्रा चिरं श्रुतोवीत-
 2 महीतलोपरितटीनिर्वातशृङ्गांकुरा । वामाक्षीयजलो-
 3 दितां शशिकरामाशंका जातः [ख]णं सौहार्दं विजृम्भमाणसति-
 4 नारेभ्यो महाभोनिधिः ॥¹[1*]॥ तमो ज्ञेतां तव पुण्यवत्तो राजा-
 5 सु पूर्वोपरशोला(भा)जो । स्वांगलोलाभिवदमयंतो पुरा पुरारः²
 6 पृथिवी(स्त्री)स्थस्य ॥³[2*]॥ पादारविंदादरविंदनाभिमम्बेव पुण्या घ-
 7 नजीवनश्रीः । जाताभिजाता सतथा(भा) विभिन्ना जातिचतुर्वी जगतां
 8 हिताय ॥⁴[3*]॥ तस्यामभूषोलयवेमनाभा श्रीशैलसोपानविधा-
 9 नशाली ॥ (i) हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदत्तो निष्ठीमभूदाननिकृदकीर्तिः⁵ । वेम-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 चितीषो इजममेकपादं खंजप्रचारं कलिकालदीपात् । दत्ता-
 11 पहाहविजवेदशक्त्या पदक्रमैरस्सहितं चकार⁶ ॥⁷[4*]॥ धर्माक्षजो दा-
 12 शरधि(त्रि): पृथुवेत्युदीर्यमाणानि सुमांत्तरपु । वितर्कयि वेम-
 13 नरेस्वरस्य पुण्यानि नाशानि पुरातनानि⁸ ॥⁹[5*]॥ यत्कीर्तिलोलमनसा-
 14 मुरगांगमानामालोकितं च मुखरागमर्नगसुलं⁹ ।
 15 श्रोतुं च गीतरचनां सुगपचदर्शो नागाधिपो न स हति नयन-
 16 श्रुतिर्¹⁰ ॥¹⁰[6*]॥ संघामपातस्य शरैर्विभिन्ना यस्वारिमुडामणयो
 17 विचेतुः । आक्रामतस्यति राजवंशान् प्रतापवज्रैरिव विस्फुलि-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 18 गाः ॥¹⁰[7*]॥ तस्माच्च वेमनृपतेरुदयादिवाट्टेर्जातो प्रतापवरकात्तिनिधो कृ
 19 मारो । सूर्ये द्रुतन्वमहमावनवीनभूपः¹¹ श्रीयशवेम-

¹ Metre: Śaṅksharāṣṭama.² The verse is written in the next line.³ Metre: Upāśāṣṭama.⁴ Metre: Padmaṣṭama.⁵ Metre: Padmaṣṭama.⁶ Metre: Padmaṣṭama.⁷ Metre: Upāśāṣṭama.⁸ The verse is written in the next line.⁹ Metre: Vamāśāṣṭama.¹⁰ Metre: Upāśāṣṭama.

- 20 नृपतिर्जगरत्तपालः ॥^{8*} श्रीश्रीयनवोतभूतलपतेगोवी(भी)रमेरी-
 21 र्वैः । गवणां हृदयेषु संस्मरन्मुञ्चे भिक्षुषु पूर्वे र-
 22 मं । यद्दीर्घं तिरकासयद्भयरसो वेगालुतोषा-
 23 यतो [1⁹] युक्तप्राक्तनमंशु निर्वामयति प्रत्यग्रमल्लुर्जितं⁹
 24 ॥^{9*} ग्रामास यः श्रीनगपूर्ववा(भा)गादापूर्वैरक्षाकरमंभुदे-
 25 मं । आमिस्वर्न मेखलभूधरस्य जिताहितश्रीयनवोतनृपः ॥^{10*}

Third Plate, First Side.

- 26 तस्यानुजस्तामरसायताच्चः¹⁰ श्रीयज्ञवेमः क्षितिपालरत्नं ।
 27 शूरासमर्थः क्षुरिकासहायो विवा(भा)ति वीराहवकेलिनोन्नः ॥^{11*} श्रीय-
 28 ज्ञवेमनृपतिः(तिः) क्षुगि(रि)कासहायो वीराखिवर्धनि विलेखनकेलिद्वजः । सो-
 29 यं करस्त्रुभगानुलिफया विचित्रं कात्ताकपोलमकरीकरणे स-
 30 कंषः ॥^{12*} श्रीयज्ञवेमनृपतिर्जयिना करेण प्रत्यर्धनां युधि
 31 बलादवरोपितानि ॥ (1) आरोपयत्युपगमाच्चरणं तदीयं कोटो-
 32 रचाभरमितातपवारणानि ॥^{13*} सोयं ब्रा(भा)तुरनन्तरं निजमाहो-
 33 वा(भा)रं बहन् पैलकं राज्यश्रीरमणीयवर्षपतिः¹¹ श्रीयज्ञवे-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 34 मप्रभुः [1⁴] ग्रामान् पूर्वन्तपालकैश्च शुद्धया ब्रा(भा)वा च विप्रार्णितान्
 35 मन्वान्यनुपानयन्पि दिशन् जायति लोकोत्तरः ॥^{14*} अथ प्रतिव्यहो-
 36 ह्वंशावज्जी ॥ आसीदनुजसंभवान्वयमुवां गण्यो वरेण्यस्य-
 37 तां विख्यातो चरिताह्वयो मुनिवर कर्ता स्मृत्यर्धदवित् । त-
 38 द्रोते परवादिकुंजरघटानिहो नृसिंहोभवद्यस्यो-
 39 दाङ्करणं चरितमनघं वेदोक्तसत्कर्मणां ॥^{15*} तस्याकञ्जो य-
 40 गविधानशाली बभूव भीमेश्वरसोमयाजी । यदोयज्ञोमानल-
 41 धूमरेखा दिगंमनापञ्चकपर्णे(ण्)पूराः ॥^{16*} पुत्रस्तदीयः किल पोति-
 42 भद्रो गुणी ततो जायत गुडयार्थः । तनूभवस्तस्य च पेहिविज्ञान्]

¹ Metre : Pāṇinīyāhā.

² The ascender is written in the next line.

³ Metre : Śāradāvatīkāśīṭham.

⁴ Metre : Uṣṇīṣī.

⁵ Metre : Uṣṇīṣī.

⁶ Metre : Pāṇinīyāhā.

⁷ Metre : Pāṇinīyāhā.

⁸ Metre : Śāradāvatīkāśīṭham.

⁹ Metre : Śāradāvatīkāśīṭham.

¹⁰ Metre : Uṣṇīṣī.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

276A

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黃金寶

26 శ్రీమద్భగవద్గీతా ప్రథమోధ్యాయః శ్రీకృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥
 27 అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥ అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥
 28 అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥ అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥
 29 అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥ అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥
 30 అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥ అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥
 31 అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥ అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥
 32 అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥ అర్జునః కృష్ణార్జునసంవాదః ॥

iii).

34 వంశము గ్రామములను పశువులను గూర్చియు బ్రాహ్మణులను
 36 పశువులను పశువులను పశువులను పశువులను పశువులను
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 40 పశువులను పశువులను పశువులను పశువులను పశువులను
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Fourth Plate, First Side.

- 43 देवचवुडामणिरेष वा(भा)ति ॥[17॥*] शाकाब्दे रसरजवा(भा)स्करमिते मासे [नभ]
 44 खे तिवी राकायां धरणीसुतस्य दिवसे पुष्ये शशांकयज्ञे । प्रादा-
 45 व्यावतमाय पेदिविदुषे शीयन्नवेमाधिपो धामं पञ्चनितांदि
 46 पञ्चमसमाटैख्यमोगान्वितं ॥[18॥*] अथ धामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि ॥
 47 ऊरि ईशान्यं वज्रगिकुण्डनंदि प्रदक्षिणमुगानु अमृतलू-
 48 रि पोलसुसंधुन नाम्नेयदक्षिणं सागि बलुसुवुहल मी-
 49 दं बहुमळिचि दक्षिणमै नजंगुट मीचि चालुपुहल मी-
 50 दं नाम्नेयदक्षिणमै तुळुमिडि पोलसु मीचि पडुमळिचि
 51 पेहपुहनुडि दक्षिणमै अमृतलूरि डोक दाटि जम्बिपुह

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

- 52 मीद नैरु(क्त)तिपश्चिममै जंमिपुह मीद दक्षिणमै कोचपुह मीद बहु-
 53 मळि जंमिपुह मीचि दक्षिणमै उप्पिपुहल मीद मूलवंपुपुह मीचि
 54 पडुमळि वीरवंक उप्पिपुहल मीद नैरु(क्त)तिपश्चिममै दक्षिणमिचि पडुमळि सागि
 55 चोडु मीचि पुहल मीदं बहुमळि दक्षिणमिचि तुळुमिडिसोपळिति-
 56 पोलसुसंधु चोडु मीचि आसंदि चालुपुहल मीद नैरु(क्त)तिपश्चिममै शीगुं
 57 ट इडिकावसु दक्षिणानंगानु पडुमळि तोकपोलसु तूर्पग-
 58 हु उत्तरं सुदिन मडुज जम्बिपुह मीचि दक्षिणमै गारकुण्ड तूर्प
 59 मडु मीचि पडुमळि कंदेपिपोलसु मीचि आसंदितुत्तरमै अणुळिन्नजं-
 60 लुगुळ्ळ मीद वायव्योत्तरमै कंदेपितेरुपुहल मीद उत्तरपु जं-
 61 मिनेदि ळाति मीद नवुळिपुहल पडुमटंगानु कंभंपुह मी-
 62 दं बहुमळिचि उत्तरमै पालकोटि मीद मीतुकुरि आलपाटि सं

Fifth Plate, First Side.

- 63 शु पेह[नंदिकंभं मीचि आलपाटि मंधु(धु)नदूर्प्यं पुह अणुळिगुट [मीद]
 64 दक्षिणमिचि तूर्प्यं अणुळिगुटल मीद गोर्बपुहल मीचि उत(त)रमिचि
 65 तूर्प्यं जम्बिपुहल मीद नवुळिहिपुह मीचि उत्तरमै मूलपुहनुडि तूर्प्यं जम्बि
 66 मीद मूलपुहनुडि जटलम्बपाटि तूर्प्यं उत्तरं सागि जम्बि मीद मू-

* Metre: Upendramjel.

* Metre: Sārdulavāritam.

* The quadrat is written in the next line.

- 67 लपुह भोचि जंमुल मीदंगा दृप्यं दक्षिणमिचि तूर्पसागि नज्जंज-
 68 ट तिप्य पेदपुहकोहि जन्धि भोचि उत्तरमे गारपुहल मीदंगा वल्लुवुं-
 69 वुह भोचि तूर्प्यं शवुं^१गंटल मीदंगा वेदपुंदि चालपाटि मंदु-
 70 चवुटगुंट पडुमट नेडगलगोनपुह भोचि जन्धि मीद दक्षिणं सागि जन्धि-
 71 पुह भोचि तूर्प्यं [पे]दपुंदि चालपाटि मंदु चौहु भोचि दक्षिणमिचि गोत्र-
 72 कंट तूर्प्यंमवुंदि चालपुहल मीदं दूर्प सागि वडमिगुंदि मी-
 73 चेनु ॥ एतेषां मज्जवर्गिजेतं ॥ स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं पुण्यं पददत्तानुपा-

Fifth Plate, Second Side.

- 74 लनं परदत्तापहसिण स्वदत्तं निष्कलं भवितुं ¹[(1*19)] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां²
 75 वा यो हरत वसुंध(ध)रां । पडिं वर्यसचचाणि विष्ठायां³
 76 जायते क्रिमिः ⁴[(20)*] एकोव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामपि सुसुखां⁵
 77 न बी(भो)म्बा न करपाद्या विपदत्ता वसुंध(ध)रा ⁶[(1*21)] शसवेमनरे⁷
 78 दस्य विद्वान् बालसरस्वती । शकरोदाकरो वाचा शिरो[ल]⁸
 79 धर्मशासनं ⁹[(22)*] मम्मज्जमहायो[ः]* यी यो
 80 श्रीपुत्रवर्णिगेव ¹⁰[(*)]

C

TEXT.

- 1 इ दांकां बोधि मगुडि उत्तरपुमुखमे कडुगुलकर वटि वचि रज्जवडिय
 2 दापुन मूडुळु मुजलनुंदि देशमुडोक्कु वचि कुनि पडमटिकि दिनि वंदु-
 3 ँदापुन मगुडि उत्तरानकुं बोधि देशमुकुंदि तूर्पन मगुडि तूर्प-
 4 मुखमे कुनि पञ्चाबलपञ्जपु गेल तिरिगि दक्षिणानकु नडचि कुनि तन्मडि-
 कंड दक्षि-
 5 णान वोरमि उत्तराभिमुखमे पोयि कुनि तूर्पमुखमे नडचि गरुव येकि तूर्प
 6 नडचि कुनि दक्षिणमुखमे कुनि तूर्पमुखमे रंदुपहुव नडुसुवडि नडचि न-
 7 रुवल मगुडि दक्षिणमुखमे वचि यथास्वानानं गूडंतु ॥ दाता कोमटिवेम-
 8 नाम नृपतिः पात्रं गुरुः शंकरः स्थानं चैत्यनपादुरव तु कविः श्रीनाथ-
 भट्टारकः ।
 9 कालखेच्छिवराविपुल्लसमयः साची महान् श्रीगिरिः श्रेयः किं न तु वर्धते सुक-
 10 विभिः शुश्रूंतु तच्छासनं ¹[(1)*] सर्वमान्यकृतधर्मशासनं पालयंतु भुवि भाविपाति-
 11 वाः । शयहारपरिचषणादृते नास्ति नास्ति चि यमो महीधतां ²[(2)*] स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं

¹ Metre : Anupjuth.

² Metre : Śārdūlakṛīḍham.

³ The sentence is written in the next line.

⁴ Metre : Rāghodhātā.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

276A

ivb.

52
54
56
58
60
62

52
54
56
58
60
62

va.

64
66
68
70
72

64
66
68
70
72

vib.

74
76
78
80

74
76
78
80

- 12 पुण्ये परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारिण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥[30*] एकैव भ
 13 गिनो लोके सर्वयामिव भूमिजा न भोज्या न करयाद्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ॥[40*] स्व-
 14 दत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरते वसुंधरा । पटिवर्षसहस्राणि विधाया¹-
 15 जायते किमि ॥[50*] एतद्वर्मानुयासने ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीवीरनारायणाय ॥[60*]

No. 42.—THE FOURTH SLAB OF THE KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHARANA KUMBHAKARNA OF MEWAR, VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1517.

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription found in a Vishnu temple, originally called Kumbhastānā temple but now known as that of Mānabēva at Kumbhalgarh in Mewār territory, is ungraved on one of the five big slabs likewise inscribed and placed by the Mahārājā Kumbhakarna in the said temple. Of these, the first, third, fourth and a small piece of the second slab have been discovered up to now and are now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. All are in a mutilated condition except the fourth, the text of which I edit from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer, who has given a brief notice of it in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1925-26.

Each one of the slabs contains the same date, which reads as below :—

"संवत् १५१७ वर्षे शके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्गशीर्षे वदि ५ सोमि प्रथमि."

i.e., Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgashīrṣa of the Sāmvat year 1517 and Śaka year 1382, which corresponds to 3rd November 1460 A.D.

The present slab contains ninety-one (180-270) verses written in fifty-one lines with a portion of a prose line at the end.

The character is Nāgarī of the 17th century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period. The letters are on the average about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch and the space covered by the writing is about 3' 9" x 8' 1".

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is excellent with the exception of a few wrong grammatical formations, e.g., *cāvat* (l. 9); *advāntad* (l. 43).

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted :—*r* is usually distinguished from *ṛ* except in a few places, e.g., in *ribhāṣa* (l. 2), *-riddhān* (l. 10), *-pīrat* (l. 11), *Vaṇ-* (l. 16), *vṛthmagān* (l. 18), *paribādhi* (l. 38) and *bikhyātāḥ* (l. 38), etc.; consonants are doubled with a superscript *r* as in *-riddhān* (l. 1), *-varganān* (l. 2), *-riddhān* (l. 8), *arṇāḍhā-* (l. 22), *durṇān* (l. 49), etc.; *ṣa* is used for *śa* in *śāṭa* (l. 16). *Avanāra* is used for *nasāra*, as in *bhūyāṅgā-* (l. 2), *chānāḥa-* (l. 3), etc.; and at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in, *-riddhān* (l. 1), *-nāḍhān* (l. 3), *-pīshāḍhān* (l. 10), etc. Visarga is omitted in *śatavānāḥatā*, *śāṭra-pūta* (l. 1), while it is redundant in *śāṭhān* (l. 42).

The inscription formed a *prastāvi* of the Gahla rulers of Mewār and the present slab continues their account from Lakshmasiṅha down to the Mahārājā Kumbhakarna. The ninety verses found on the present slab are distributed as follows :—vv. 180-181 are devoted to Lakshmasiṅha, vv. 182-184 to Arisīṅha, vv. 185-190 to Hamuṭra, vv. 191-203 to Kshōtrasiṅha, vv. 204-215

* Not to *Avanāra*.

* The answer is written in the next line.

to Lakshasēna; vv. 318-332 to Mōkala and vv. 233-270 to the *Mahārāja Kumbhakarṇa*. After this is found the date, which is partly effaced on this slab. The contents of these verses may be thus summarised. Verse 180 continues the account of *Lakshmasinha* from the previous slab and states that he died (in battle) with his seven sons. He is also said to have won a victory over the Mālava king *Gōgadēva* (v. 181). The next three verses are devoted to a description of the valour and benevolence of *Arisinha* who was born in *Lakshmasinha*'s family and contains nothing of historical importance. Vv. 185-187 describe in general terms the qualities of *Hamnira*. This king, who belonged to Raghu's race and was known as *Vishamaditya* *Pañchāditya*, conquered the fort of *Chōlavāta* (v. 188). He was a pious, charitable and brave king and died leaving his son *Kabētrasinha* as heir (vv. 189-190). The latter destroyed an army of the Muhammadans near *Chitrakūṭa* (Chitor) and imprisoned the brave king *Rajamalla* of *Gūjjaramandala*, who had humbled the pride of the Sakas (i.e., Muhammadan) king (vv. 191-193). He took *Dōlavāta* and *Sōdhyapura* and his enemy fled towards the sea at his approach (vv. 194-195). The next verse says that the valiant *Rajamalla* who had suppressed *Dātara Khāna*, the lord of *Pattana*, and had killed many Muhammadans, could not even get a bed to sleep in the prison-house of *Kabētrasinha*. He drank up the ocean in the form of *Amisāha* (v. 197), conquered the rulers of *Hādāvatt*, brought their country under his sway and laid waste *Maṇḍalākara* (v. 198). The next verse says that the kings *Sādala* and others took fright at his approach and fled from their country. He struck terror in the mind of the Muhammadan ruler of *Mālava* and humbled his pride and also imprisoned the ruler of *Gujarāt* (vv. 199-201). The next verse repeats how he captured *Amisāha*. He was succeeded by his son the *Mahārāja Lakshasēna* (v. 204). This ruler liberated *Viśākhā* (viz. *Gayā*, *Prayāga* and *Kāśī*) from the Sakas (i.e., Muhammadans) and in addition to various other gifts distributed his weight in gold and built temples at *Gayā* (vv. 205-211). He conquered the hill *Vardhana*, burnt down his enemies and subjugated the *Mōḍas* (*Mers*) (v. 212). The next two verses inform us that he was a devotee of *Śiva* and made numerous land-grants. Verse 216 begins with the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja Mōkala*. He is said to have made *Brāhmanas* to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the *Vēdas* (v. 217). He also distributed his weight in gold and liberated *Gayā* (vv. 218-219). He conquered the whole of *Sapṇḍalakeha* and made *Jālandhara* tremble with fear, while having taken *Sākambhari*, he made *Delhi* a doubtful possession to its sovereign. He also defeated *Pirōja* and *Maharṇada* (v. 221). He was devoted to the god *Samādhibhāva* (*Śiva*) whose temple at *Chitor* he repaired and added a gateway to it. He built a reservoir of water with a bridge and two *tiṛhās* (bathing ghats) called *Rajamōchana* and *Pāpamōchana*, respectively (v. 223). He set up a lion cast of all metals as a vehicle of *Dēvi* and presented a gold *Garudā* to *Vishṇu* (vv. 224-225). The next seven verses only give a poetic description of the power and majesty of this ruler. With verse 233 begins a description of the reign of his son the *Mahārājādhirāja Rājārāja Rājārāja Mahārāja Kumbhakarṇadēva*. In verse 235 his mother's name is given as *Saubhāgyadēvi*. He was devoted to the god *Ekālīnga*, restored his ruined temple, adding a gold *daya* and *kalasa* to it, built a high *tōmṇa* and set up a beautiful flag having the emblem of the sun (vv. 239-241). He was *nirbhīṣa* (fearless) in composing poems and *nirbhaya* (undaunted) in battles, hence he was known as *nirbhīṣa-nirbhaya* (v. 242). He was a jewel of the family of the kings *Guhadatta*, *Khumāga*, *Sālivāhana*, *Ajaya* and others and adorned the throne of *Kabētra*, *Lakha* and *Mōkala* (v. 245). He conquered *Yōginipura*, subdued the ruler of *Sōdhyā* and destroyed his enemies at *Maṇḍōyara* (vv. 247-249). He also captured *Rajavira* after ravaging *Hamnirapura*, destroyed *Dhānyanagara*, conquered *Yāgapura* and the mount *Vardhamāna* and humbled the pride of the *Mōḍas* (vv. 250-254). According to the next two verses he seems to have reunited the ruler of *Mālava*. He also built tanks at *Jayavardhana*. He took *Janakāchala*,

distressed **Champavati**, burnt the city of **Vṛindāvatī** and caused trembling to the hill fort of **Gargārāṭa** through valour (vv. 257-259). He burnt **Mallāranyapura**, upheld (†) **Sinhapuri** by scattering the enemies, desolated **Ratnapura** and imprisoned many kings (v. 260). He conquered **Rajastambha** in **Sapādalaksha**, devastated **Amradātri**, got the best of his quarrel with **Kōṭarā** and laid waste **Bambāvadō** (vv. 261-262). He took the fort of **Maṇḍalakra**, won with ease **Hāḍāvati**, fortified by numerous forts and made its rulers his feudatories and raised pillars of victory. Besides he conquered **Gōpura**, **Shastpura**, **Vṛindāvatī** and **Maṇḍaladurga**, desolated **Viśālanagara** and attacked **Giripura** whose ruler **Gaipāla** fled in terror (vv. 263-267). He defeated **Mahānimada** at **Sāranigapura** and brought as captives numerous women of the lord of **Pārasika** (vv. 268-269). The last verse states that he drank up the ocean in the form of the army of the **Mālava** king. Then follows the date which is, as already mentioned, partly damaged in this inscription.

As regards the personages mentioned in this inscription, **Lakshmasiṃha** (v. 180) was the ruler of an estate called **Sisōḍā** belonging to the **Rāṣṭ** (junior branch) of the **Guhila** family of **Mewār**. He was killed along with his seven sons¹ while fighting against 'Alāu-d-dīn **Khālji** of **Delhi** in the siege of **Chitor** in A.D. 1303, during the reign of **Rāwāl Ratnasīṃha** of **Mewār**. His victory over the **Mālava** king **Gōgadēva**² mentioned in v. 181 is also corroborated by the **Rājapura**³ inscription. The battle which he seems to have fought with the **Mālava** king appears to have taken place during the reign of **Ratnasīṃha**'s father **Samarsīṃha**.

Arisīṃha was killed in the battle of **Chitor** as said above. Only the youngest son of **Lakshmasīṃha**, namely **Ajayasīṃha** survived to become the ruler of **Sisōḍā**.

Hammīra (v. 185) was the son⁴ of **Arisīṃha** and succeeded to the throne of **Sisōḍā** after his uncle **Ajayasīṃha**. He was very brave and gradually made himself master of the throne of **Chitor**.⁵

Kahōstrasīṃha (v. 191) was the eldest son of **Hammīra**. The **Muhammadian** army which he destroyed near **Chitor** (v. 192) was that of **Amī Shāh**, as appears from verses 197, 200 and 202.

The brave **Rajamalla**, who had humbled the **Muhammadian** king and killed many **Muhammadians** (vv. 193 and 196), was the ruler of **Idar** and was the son of **Jaitkarag**, who was defeated by the **Mahārājā** **Hammīra**.⁶ **Dafar Khān**, the ruler of **Pattān** (v. 196), was probably **Zafar Khān** (II), the governor of **Gujarāt**. He was a descendant of a converted **Rājput** and fought twice with **Rāj-Rajamalla** of **Idar**.⁷ He afterwards assumed the name of **Muzaffar Shāh**, after making himself independent of the king of **Delhi**.⁸

Amī Sāha (vv. 197 and 202) was evidently the **Sultān Dilāvar Khān Ghurī** of **Mālwa**,⁹ whose defeat by **Kahōstrasīṃha** is mentioned in verses 197, 201 and 202.¹⁰ The ruler **Sādal** and others referred to in v. 199 cannot be identified with certainty. **Sādal**, however, appears to be the ruler **Sātal** of **Tōḍī** in **Jaipur** state.

¹ As appears from v. 180 of this record.

² He is called **Kōkh** and was defeated by 'Alāu-dīn's chieftain in A.D. 1304 (Briggs' *Purāṇa*, Vol. I, p. 301.)

³ *Khajuraho Inscriptions*, p. 114. Also *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India*, 1907-08, p. 215.

⁴ [The present inscription does not mention this relationship. It is found only in later poems. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 526—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 55, p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 232-33.

⁸ *Duff's Chronology*, p. 234.

⁹ *Memoirs of Jehangir* by Alexander Rodgers, Vol. I, p. 407, *Elliot's History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 552.

¹⁰ See also *Blair's Ins.*, p. 119, verse 29, and *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 2.

Mahārājā Lakṣmaṇa (v. 204) was the son of Kshītraśikhā. He was extremely charitable and liberated Gayā from the taxes of the Mahammadāns by paying them off in gold, as is also known from another inscription.¹

Mōkala (v. 216) was a son and successor of the **Mahārājā Lakṣmaṇa**. He carried his victorious arms far and wide as appears from verses 221, 231, etc.

Pirōja or **Piroz** (v. 221) was the ruler of Nāgaur and was the son of **Shams Khān**, brother of the sultān **Murāfiar Shāh** (originally **Zafar Khān** referred to in verse 196 of this inscription) of Gujārāt. His defeat by Mōkala is also mentioned in other inscriptions.²

Mahammad (v. 221) cannot be identified definitely. Perhaps he stands for **Ahmad** (**Ahmad Shāh**) of Gujārāt, who was the grandson³ of **Murāfiar Shāh**, I, and was contemporary with the **Mahārājā Mōkala**.⁴

Kumbhakarna (v. 233) popularly known as **Kumbhā** was the eldest son of Mōkala and succeeded his father to the throne of Chitor in V. S. 1490 (A.D. 1433).

Guhadatta, **Sālivāhana**, **Khumāna** and others referred to in v. 245 were the early predecessors of **Kumbhakarna**. **Guhadatta** was the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār. **Ajaya** or **Ajayasiddha** evidently belonged to the Sisōdhi branch and was the brother of **Arisiddha** referred to in v. 192.

The lord of the Pāraikās referred to v. 268 was **Sultān Mahmūd Khālji I.** of Mālwa, who was defeated by the **Mahārājā Kumbhā** at Sāraṅpur—a fact also mentioned in the Rānapur inscription. **Mahārājā Kumbhā** had to undergo a series of engagements⁵ with the result that he completely broke the power of the Mālwa king, as is evident from v. 270 of this record.

Gayapāla (**Gaiḥa** or **Gōpāla**) of v. 267 was the ruler of Durgapuri State.

As to the places mentioned in the inscription, **Chēlavāṭa** (v. 188) is now called Jilwārā in Mewār. **Dēlavāṭa** (v. 194) from Sans. *Dēvalapātaka* is the modern town of Dēlvārā about 15 miles from Udaipur. **Hāḍāvāṭi** (v. 198) is the territory now called Hārauti, which at one time comprised the whole of the present Kotāh and Būndi States. It is under the Hāḍās, a branch of the Chauhāna descended from the Chauhāna of Nāḍōi in Mārwar.⁶ **Maṇḍalakara** (v. 198) now called Māṇḍalgarh, is a fort in the Udaipur State. The conquest of this place by **Kshītraśikhā** is also mentioned in the Śrīrāgi Rishi inscription.⁷ **Vardhana** (v. 212) or **Vardhamāna** is now called Bairor, a town in Mewār.

Jālandhara (v. 221) really a district or town in the Panjāb is probably meant here for Jālor (Jāvalīpur) in Mārwar. **Sapāḍalātaka** (v. 221) was the name of the territory that was under the Chauhāna. It roughly included parts of the modern Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotāh, Būndi and Kishangarh states and the eastern part of Mewār including Māṇḍalgarh. **Sākambharī** (v. 221) once the capital of the early Chauhāna is now called Sāmbar.

The temple of **Samādhisvara** (v. 222) is now called Advadji or Mōkalji's temple. It was originally built by the Paramāra king **Hbōja** of Mālwa when he resided at Chitor and was called *Tribhuvanānāṛāyaṇa*⁸ after his surname 'Tribhuvanānāṛāyaṇa'. It was also known as *Bhōjavarāṇasījagatī*.⁹

¹ *Ibid.* I, p. 119, case 38.

² *Ibid.* I, p. 120, case 44.

³ Tod's supposition that he was the grandson of Piroz Tughlak of Delhi is wrong. (Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 331).

⁴ [Probably the reference here is to **Mahammad Tughluq**. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 327 ff.—Ed.]

⁵ See Briggs' *Fortifications*, Vol. IV, pp. 308-34.

⁶ J.A.S.B. (New Series), Vol. XXVII, p. 160.

⁷ *Rajasthan Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Yōginipura (v. 247) is the town of Jāvar in Mewār. **Maṇḍōvara** (v. 249) is the ruined town of Maṇḍār in Jodhpur State. **Yāgapura** (v. 253) is the town of Jahārpur in Udaipur State. **Vyindāveṣī** (v. 264) is now the town of Būndī in Rājputāna. **Gargaraṭa** (v. 259) is the town of Gāgrana in Kōṭāh State. **Sirhapurī** (v. 260) is the town Sihor in Central India. **Ranastambha** (v. 261) is the fortress of Ranthambhor in Jaipur State. **Āmrādādrī** (v. 262) is Āmber, the old capital of the Jaipur State. **Bambavadō** or Bōmbādō (v. 263) lies in the eastern part of Mewār. **Shatpura** (v. 264) is the town of Khatakar in Būndī State. **Viśālanagara** (v. 265) is called Visalanagar in Gujarāt. **Giripura** (v. 266) is the town of Durgarpur in Rājputāna. **Sārāṅgapura** (v. 268) is an ancient town in Central India. **Kōṭarā** is modern Kotra, now a military station in Mewār. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 180, 186, 192, 193, 197, 201, 203, 205, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229, 233, 241, 260, 263, 264 and 270, *Śloṣāṭṭakā*; vv. 181 and 230, *Śekharaṇī*; vv. 182, 191, 204, 214 and 234, *Upendracarā*; vv. 183 and 244 *Āryā*; v. 184, *Harṣī*; vv. 185, 190, 194, 198, 203, 207, 220, 222, 235, 240, 248, 250, 267, 269, *Upajāti*; v. 187, *Vaṁśastha*; vv. 188 and 243 *Mālinī*; vv. 189, 206 and 213, *Indracarā*; vv. 195, 239, 245, 246, 254, 259 and 266, *Vasāntāṭṭakā*; vv. 196, 199, 209, 228, 231, 237, 238 and 252, *Sragdhara*; vv. 202 and 255, *Bhujangaprayāta*; v. 208, *Vaiṭāliya*; vv. 211 and 215, *Rucharā*; vv. 223, 224, 225, 247, 262, *Rathoddhuta*; vv. 226 and 227, *Drutavilambā*; vv. 210, 236 and 257, *Prithvī*; vv. 242, 249, 253, 261 and 265, *Amṛtshubhā*; vv. 256 and 258, *Vijayinī*; vv. 212, 232, 264 and 268, *Śālinī*.]

- 1 अर्धभिः किमु सप्तभिः परिहृतः सप्तार्चिरचागतः किंवा सप्तभिरिव सप्तिभिरि
[चावाक]सप्तभिर्दिव ॥(1) इत्यं सप्तभिरन्वितः सुतवरेष्टैः[*] शस्त्रपूतैः[*]
सह प्राप्ते बुधिरभूत्सुपर्वेनृपतेः श्रीलक्ष्मिंश्च नृपे ॥ १८०[॥*] अस्मिन्व्यवहारेभ्य-
मरतिनक्षत्रं(कं) शीर्षकमले स राह् [गो]गादेवो-
- 2 पि हि समधिभूमांतवभुवः ॥(1) विजिग्ये येनाजौ निजभुजभुजंगौर्जगरलप्रसारात्
सिंहातः समभवदसौ लक्ष्यनृपतिः ॥ १८१[॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीलप(ख)भसोवर्णनं
॥ ॥ अथ अस्मिन्वर्णनं ॥ अभून्नुसिंहप्रतिमोस्मिन्वर्णनदन्वये
भस्त्रपरंपराया ॥(1) विजिग्ये यो वैरिगजेद्रकुंभस्थलो-
- 3 मनुनां नखखड्गवातैः ॥ १८२[॥*] पीतवैरिखड्गधराहिपुलांगादुडतायदसिंहप्रभुजंगात् ॥(1)
अद्भुतं समभवत्कलाशामंडनं नवयशस्तुहिनाभं ॥ १८३[॥*] शशिधवलया
कीर्त्यतीव प्रतापदिवाकरद्युतिमिलितया मन्ये प्रत्याययन्निव भासते ॥(1)
रजतनिचयं दाप्ये चंचलप्रहारजतं तथा
- 4 त्वज्जु विपुलां जिह्वे चिंतां धनीपकर्मडली ॥ १८४ [॥*] इति अस्मिन्व-
वर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीहमीवर्णनं ॥ हस्तीरवीरो रणरंगधीरो
वाद्याधुरीतर्जितकेकिरीरः ॥(1) धराधवालंकरणैर्हस्तीरस्तवनी भूषितसिंघनीर
॥ १८५[॥*] मन्येभुक्तुरगौरीः समभवत्कल्पद्रुमः कल्प-

- 5 नातोतो रोहणपर्वतोपि सुविद्या मो मानसं रोहति ॥ (1) चिंताश्चापि जने
ज(ज)काचजडता धनेधिका भूधवे दानप्रोक्षतचारुपाणिचमले कर्णादयः
के पुनः ॥ १८६[॥*] यदपितैरार्थजनस्तुरंगमैरनर्थासंगदहारकुड्यैः ॥ (1) अनङ्कतः
कल्पतरौ कृताययं सुराधिराजं हसतीव
- 6 वैभवात् ॥ १८७[॥*] कटकतुरगहेपाविश्रुते स्व(ल्य)क्षयेयं जवति च रघुभूषे
कादिशोके पलाशे(ल्य) ॥ (1) अहह विषमधाटीप्रौढपञ्चालनोमावरिपुरम्
[सिद्धिं] चेलवाटं विजित्ये ॥ १८८[॥*] ईश्वराशने दानं वीरवीरवणे
रणे ॥ (1) कदाचिद्वैव विद्यातः करो हृषीरभूपते ॥ १८९[॥*] स चिचमिहे
तन-
- 7 ये निषाद्य तेजः स्वकीयं चिद्विजं जगाम ॥ (1) यज्ञो यथाहोस्तमयं हि
भावो महात्मनामच निसर्गसिंहः ॥ १९०[॥*] इति महाराणाथीहृषीरवर्णनं ॥
॥ अथ महाराणाथीवेचसिद्धयर्थं ॥ ततोभिभूमीशमहेमसिंहः स्वनादविचा-
सितमचसिंहः ॥ (1) संभावनामोदितमल्यसिंहः श्याम
- 8 भूमिं किल चिचसिंहः ॥ १९१[॥*] येनानर्गलभक्षदीर्घहृदया श्रीचित्रकुटांतिके
तत्तत्कैनिकघोरवीरनिनदप्रध्वस्तधैर्योदया ॥ (1) मन्वे यावनवाहिनी निजपरि-
क्षाणस्य हेतोरलं भुनितेपमिषेण भीपरवया पातालमूलं यदो ॥ १९२[॥*]
संधामाजिरसीषि शौर्यविलसहोहेहहेलोज-
- 9 महाप्रीडितबाणशृष्टिमितारातिप्रतापानलः ॥ (1) वीरवीरणमजसूजितशकच्यापाल-
गवीतलं मू(मू)र्ज(हु)र्जमंडलेग्नरमसौ काराष्टहेवीवसत् ॥ १९३ अर्धो
न नूनं महदुद्यमो यदित्यं वचस्तत्फलं करिष्युः ॥ (1) शोध्यां पुरीमातल-
मूलधारं खं देलवाटं पुरमानिनाय ॥ १९४ ॥
- 10 वीरस्य यस्य समरेधि करं क्षपाणीमुलंशुकामरिमटानिलवत्तण्णा ॥ (1) दृष्ट्वा
सुजंगयुवतीमिव वैरिवर्णाचासासमुद्रमपि गोः पदतामनैषुः ॥ १९५[॥*]
माद्यन्माद्यन्महेमप्रखरकरहतिक्षितराजव्ययुधो यं पा(सा)मः पत्तनेशो दफर
इति सभामाया कुंठीव(व)भूव ॥ सोयं मज्ञो रणादिः
- 11 शककुलवनितादत्तवैधव्यदीक्षः कारागारे यदीधे नृपतिगतयुते संस्तरं नापि
लेभे ॥ १९६[॥*] शश्वत्चलवाजिवीचित्रलं सच्छक्तिम्याकुलं माद्यत्कुंभिसपत्त-
खेलदचलं सत्पत्तिमीलज्जलं ॥ (1) रथ्यापाहचलाचलं स्फुरदमीसाहोदुनायोज्जलं
यो शेषादपि(व)त् शकार्णवमग-
- 12 स्व तं समूहेषिलं ॥ १९७[॥*] हाडावटीदेमपतीन् स जित्वा तन्मंडलं
चासवशीचकार ॥ (1) तदच चिचं खलु यत्करांतं तदेव तेषामिह यो
वभंज ॥ १९८[॥*] यात्रीतुंगतुरंगचंचलसुराधातोच्छि(च्छि)तै रंशुभिः सह

यस्य न लुप्तश्चिपटलव्याजाप्रतापं रतिः ॥ (i) तच्चिचं किमु सादलादि-
कनृपा यथाकृत[ता*]स्तवस-

13 स्वज्ञा स्नानि पुराणि वस्तु वलिनां सृष्टीं शुद्धां पुरः ॥ १८८ शस्त्राशक्ति-
ताजिलपटभटत्रातोच्छलच्छोणितच्छवप्रोद्धतपांशुपुंजविमरप्रादुर्भवत्कदेमः ॥ (i) वस्तुः
मामि जतो रणे शकपतिर्यस्मात्तया मालवच्छापोद्यापि यथा भयेन चकितः
स्वप्नेपि तं पश्यति ॥ २०० ॥ [१*] वारंवारम्-

14 नेकवारणघटासंघटविचासितानेकस्मात्पतिवीरमालवशकाधीशैकगर्वातकः ॥ (i) संया-
माजिरसंगतरिनगरीलुंटाकवाङ्मृदपः ॥¹ कारागारनिवासिनो व्यचर(रच)यत् यो
गु(गु)र्ज्जरान् भूमिपान् ॥ २०१ ॥ [१*] अमीसाहिरप्राप्ति येनाहिनेच(व) स्फुरद्वेक-
एकांगवीरव्रतेन ॥ (i) जगत्ता(जा)णकथ्यस्व पा

15 यौ कृपाणः पमिदोभवद्रूपतिः ये(स्त्रे)तराणः ॥ २०२ ॥ [१*] गुरोः प्रसादादधिगम्य
विद्यामष्टांगयोगस्त्रिरचित्तवृत्तिः ॥ (i) वज्रैकतानः परमात्मभूयं जगाम संसार-
निवृत्तवु(वु)क्तिः ॥ २०३ इति महाराणाश्रीसेवसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ
महाराणाश्रीलक्ष्मणवर्णनं ॥ सहस्रनेवादिव वैजयंती म-

16 हासमुद्रादिव सो(श्री)तरश्चिः ॥ (i) मुनेः पुलस्त्यादिव वित्तनाथो बभूव
तस्मादिह लक्ष्मणः ॥ २०४ यज्ञेशः किमयं न सोम्यवशगः किं
धर्मसूनांतुजः स्त्रीतः सोयमयं व(व)लिखिपदिकामाचप्रदः किं न सः ॥ (i)
इत्यं तुल्यसुवर्णदानसमये यः पारिशेष्यान्वितो विद्वद्भिः स्वभुजार्जिताधि-

17 कथनः श्रीलक्ष्मिंसी नृपः ॥ २०५ ॥ [१*] जंबूद्वयः किं परिलोच्य राज्ञानीतः
समेरुर्नु समाजतो वा ॥ (i) इत्युद्धरे तुल्यसुवर्णराशिमुत्तरवेष्ट्यास्य वनीप-
कौचाः ॥ २०६ ॥ [१] कीनाशपाशान् सकलानपास्वत् यविस्वलीमोचनतः शक्यः
॥ (i) भु(तु)लादिदानातिभर(रो) व्यतारीज्ज्वाह्यभूपो निवृत्तप्रतीपः ॥ २०७ ॥ [१*]

18 रविरिव नलिनी निशातुवारात् विधुरिव यामवती मञ्जधकारा[त्] ॥ (i)
पवन इव घनाक्षवाक्रीभासं यवनकराच्च गयाममोचयद्यः ॥ २०८ ॥ [१*] संलोपादिव
विप्रवृत्तिमचलां दास्यादिव ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणीं गां पंकादिव मोचयन् खलु गयां
वं(व)धाक्षहीवज्रभः ॥ (i) चागोपालकभूमिपालमसक्तचक्रेश्विलान् याचकान् द-

19 त्वा मुक्तिमहासूतं पिष्टगणानानंदयचापरं ॥ २०९ ॥ [१*] न कांचनतुलामसौ
व(व)द्विधाय मंदादरो न कांचन तुलां परैः सममवाप्तुमैच्छत् कचित् ॥ (i)
गयामपि विमोच्य तां तुरगयानहेमादिभिश्चकार पृथिवीश्वरः किमु गयां
स्वकीर्तिं पुनः ॥ २१० ॥ [१*] अमोचयद्यवनकरात्रयामयं तुला अघादमि-

¹ *Deposits unnecessary.*

² *is written on the margin.*

- 20 तपराक्रमोमिताः ॥ (1) अपूजयन्तकभरैर्महीसुरानकारयन्तुगनिलयाश्चोन्नतान् ॥
 २११ [॥*] मदानाराडजसादुससजडरीधोरध्वानविध्वस्तधैर्यान् ॥ (1) कारंकारं योषती-
 ह्यतेजा दधारातिर्वहेनाख्यं गिरीन्द्रं ॥ २१२ [॥*] इयंस्व(च)वज्रचनरेखरस्थ
 वृत्तिः*] प्रवृत्तिः(त्तिः) स्वभुजाजितैव ॥ (1) ये भुजंते चान्धवलोप-
 21 यत्तं यासं श्रुगला इव भूमिपालाः ॥ २१३ [॥*] यदप्यितैरविगणो मत्तद्विधर्मैर-
 नतैरभजवृषत्व[म्*] ॥ (1) तदंजितैः शासनपञ्चपूगैरनारतं मुक्तकवानिवासीत् ॥
 २१४ [॥*] विमोचितान् बहुविधवोरसंस्तुतेर्विलोकितुं जनिचयानिवागमन् ॥ (1)
 श्रियांतिकं शिषपरितः(तः) शिवाधवक्रमांशुजाचनपरिक्रीण-
 22 कथ(क)पः ॥ २१५ [॥*] इति मङ्गाराणाञ्चोत्तमवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ
 मङ्गाराजाधिराजमङ्गाराणाञ्चोत्तमोक्तमोक्तल्लेखवर्णनं ॥ अणोधिरेव पारिजातक-
 तरुचंडयुतेदं(ड)भृद्वद्वलवसुपर्वणामधिपतेरामीज्ययंतो यथा ॥ (1) दंशस्वेव
 यडाननो ग्युपतंयडत् कुशो भूपतेरम्बासीदतुलप्रतापतपनः
 23 श्रीमोक्तल्लेखगजः ॥ २१६ [॥*] यो विग्राम(न)मितान् जलितं कलयतः काश्येन
 वृत्तेरलं वेदं सांगमपाठयत् कलिलगलघस्ते धरिषीतले ॥ (1) देव्याश्मीन
 इवापरः श्रुतयतामानंदकंदः कलाकौशल्यव्रततीनवीनजलदो भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥
 २१७ [॥*] दृष्टेन रचयंतमद्भुततुलाक्षैः सदा संपतद्यागाल्या-
 24 इतितर्पितो व्यचरयत् मन्त्रे तुलोपायनं ॥ (1) तत्पूषं कनकाचलं कारमहारज्जु
 च चेलोपमी सूर्याचंद्रमसौ हिमाद्रिमकराहंडं सुरधामणीः ॥ २१८ [॥*] पतम्भुक्त-
 गयाविमुक्तपिष्टभिः प्रोक्ष्यमानां वृठावृडा संयमिनीं निष्वत्स्वनुगवादित्यं तु
 भूमिं यमः ॥ (1) किं सामर्थ्यमपोक्षितं खलु कलेयौताः ॥
 25 कामादयो युक्तं याति न कोधिकारविरतौ वज्रधिकां कालतो ॥ २१९ [॥*]
 नलः किमैलः किमु मन्मथो वा किमाश्विनंयदितयादिहैकः ॥ (1) कलंक-
 मुक्तः किमु यामिनीशक्तिवर्जनी यच्च वितर्कमेति ॥ २२० [॥*] चालोद्याय
 मपादलचमखिलं जालंधरान् कंपयन् दिङ्गी शंकितनायको व्यचर(रच)यसादाय
 शाकांभरी ॥ (1)
 26 पीरोजं समष्टंमष्टमदं शरशतैरापात्य यः*] प्रोक्षन्(न)कुंतव्रातनिपातदीप्ति-
 हृदयांस्तस्यावधीर्दतिनः ॥ २२१ [॥*] वृषः समाधीश्वरसिद्धतेजाः समाधिभाजां
 परमं रक्ष्यं ॥ (1) अपराधं तस्यालयसुहृदार योचिचकूटे मणितोरणांकं ॥
 २२२ [॥*] तीर्थमत्र कृष्णमोचनं महत्पापमोचनमपि लितोन्नतः ॥ (1) आक-

* Read: कुलाचारिणीच-

* Read: व्यचरयन्.

* These two syllables are redundant.

- 27 कुंडमपि सेतुमंडनं मंडनं विजगतामपि व्यधात् ॥ २२३ [॥*] यः सुधांशुमुकुट-
प्रियांगणे वाहनं स्वगपतिं मनोरमं ॥(१) निर्मितं सवालघातुभक्तिभिः
पीठरक्षणविधाविव व्यधात् ॥ २२४ [॥*] पक्षिराजमपि चक्रपाणये ह्रिमनिर्मित-
मसौ दधौ नृपः ॥(१) येन नीलजलदच्छविर्भिभुषं चलायुत इवाधिकं
वभौ ॥ २
- 28 २५ [॥*] जगति विद्युतिमाप स मोकलः प्रतिभटच्चित्तिपैरसमोकलः ॥(१) रविसुरा-
धिपशेषसमोकलः सः प्रतिनिधिर्भुवनेपि स मोकलः ॥ २२६ [॥*] स नृवरो नृवरो-
चितवेपथ्वः [तु] पव* नसत्पवनोदितवैभवः ॥(१) अवनतोवनतोपि महत्तरः (२)
सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः ॥ २२७ [॥*] दंडः हस्तेषु भीतोवह्निविहति-
- 29 तो वधनं सारणीषु प्रायः सारीषु हिंसा रतिततिषु कटाक्षागुलीतर्ज्जनाद्यं ॥(१)
मैदः कोशेषु ज्ञानां हतिरपि मनसच्चारुगैर्हृषु निव्यं यस्मिन् शासत्वनर्षेभवदिह
यसुधाराजिराजन्वतीत्यं ॥ २२८ [॥*] व्यस्तैराजजनं दिन(मं) दिनमधिप्रतैर्दधीच्यादि-
भिर्हानैरभिरलंकृतानुकृतिकव्यापारपारंगमैः ॥(१)
- 30 मत्वेतोव निराकृतोद्य वसुधानाशोरुदानक्रमः श्रीमानव समस्तदाननिलयं
ब्र(व)ह्मांडदान(मं) व्यधात् ॥ २२९ [॥*] अमुष्मादुद्भुतः सततमनुभुतार्थनिगमः
समः प्रौढजोषीपरिवृढदृढीभादहतिषु ॥(१) चरित्रेण स्त्रीया(या)न्ययमति-
पवित्रेण कलयन् कलौ धर्म्या(र्मा)धारो गुरुगरिमभूर्मोकलविभुः ॥ २३० [॥*] चं-
- 31 माः संप्राप्तभंगाः स्मृतवनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा वंशा गंगैकसंगा गतवि-
रुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ॥ चीनाः संयामदीनाः खलदसिधनुषी
भीतिशृङ्कास्तुरका(तुरुङ्काः) भूमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति मज्जिमनि क्षापतेर्मो-
कलस्य ॥ २३१ [॥*] तापं तापं बाहुशौर्याग्निनासी त्रिपं त्रिपं वैरिरक्तो-
दकीधे ॥(१) नायं नायं दा-
- 32 अर्धमिवं कृपाणी मैदं मैदं भानुधिवं विवेज ॥ २३२ [॥*] इति महाराजाधिराज-
महाराणाधीश्वराकमोकलेद्रवणनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराजाधिराजरायराया-
राणैरायमहाराणादीकुम्भकर्णवर्णनं ॥ मूलं धर्मतरोः फलं श्रुतवतां
पुण्यस्य गेहं त्रियामाधारः सुगुणीत्करस्य जनिभूः सत्यस्य धाम्नीजसः ॥(१)
धैर्यस्था-

* "प्रतिभटच्चित्तिपैरसमोकलः" = प्रतिभटच्चित्तिपैः असमः अकलः, that is, नाति कलां खरो प्रस
अकलः इत्यर्थः ।

* "रविसुराधिपशेषसमोकलः" = रविसुराधिपशेषसमः अकलः ; २२५ अः रविः सस्य कला यस्मिन् इति
विश्वरंजनावार इत्यर्थः ।

* "सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः" मोकः मुक्तिं लावि आददाति । मय उच्यते मही तपोः कला
असौ यस्मिन् स कामी मोकलवदिति । (मः विष्णुः and तः शिवः)

- 33 पि पराव(व)धिः प्रतिनिधिः कल्पद्रुमस्याखिलां वीरस्तत्तनयः प्रगाप्ति जगतो(र्त्तौ)
श्रीकुंभकर्णो नृपः ॥ २३३ ॥*॥ समस्तदिङ्मंडलव्यवर्णः स्फुरत्पापाधरिता-
र्द्धवर्णः ॥(१) खदानभूषा जितभोजकर्णस्ततो मर्ही रक्षति कुंभकर्णः ॥
२३४ ॥*॥ उपास्य जम्बचितये गजास्य कनोयसो मातरमेकशतेः ॥(१) श्रीकुंभ-
कर्णोयम-
- 34 लंभि माध्या सौभाग्यदेव्या तनयस्त्रिगुणिः ॥ २३५ ॥*॥ पतः क्षितिभुजां
मणनिजकुलस्य चुडामणिः प्रसिद्गुणसंभ्रमो जगति कुंभनामा नृपः ॥(१)
प्रवीरमदभंजनः प्रमुदितः प्रसारंजनादजायत निजायतेक्षणजितेदिरामंदिरः ॥
२३६ ॥*॥ वेदानुवृत्त्य पञ्चाद्वयमपि भुजयोस्तां विभर्त्ति क्षिणोति चूडान् वहा
- 35 वलिद्विज्वलमहिततरङ्गवसुच्छाद्य हत्वा ॥(१) रत्नोरूपारिर्मुर्वीभरत्पशमनः सुचमी
स्नेच्छघातो जीयात् श्रीकुंभकर्णो दशविधक्षतिस्तत् श्रीपतिः कोपि मयः ॥
२३७ ॥*॥ सत्त्वीयानंदकत्वात् चिभुवनरमणीचित्तसंभोजकत्वात्तापण्यावासभूत्वादपुर-
मलतया कुंभकर्णो मर्हीदः ॥(१) कामं कामोस्तु मोक्षीकुरुत इह परं
- 36 खोजनं जेतुकामः संपार्मेन साक्षात्क्रियत इति नवं खोजनोखोजनोपि ॥
२३८ ॥*॥ वि(वि)भाजते सकलभूवलयेकवीरः श्रीमदपाटवसुधोदरगैकधीरः ॥(१)
यस्यैकस्मिन्निजसेवक इत्युदास कीर्त्तिप्रशस्तिरचलां सुरभीकरोति ॥ २३९ ॥*॥
एकस्मिन्निजलयं च खंडितं प्रोचतोरणलसम्पत्तिचक्रं ॥(१) भानुविंव-
- 37 मिलितोच्चपताकं सुंदरं पुनरकारयं नृ(यक्ष)पः ॥ २४० ॥*॥ मा भूत्तुभ्यदतुच्छ-
द्रुमजलधिस्त्वच्छोच्छलदीचिस्तत्त(त्र)शक्तुतपूर्वपूरुषयशस्तत्तुच[द*]क्षि-
मत् ॥(१) इत्थं चारु विचार्य कुंभरूपतिस्तानि कस्मिन् अधात् रस्यान् मंडपहैमदंड-
कलशांस्तैल्लोख्योभातिगान् ॥ २४१ ॥*॥ निःशंकः काव्यसंदर्भे रणारंभे च निर्भे-
- 38 यः ॥(१) वि(वि)ख्यातः कुंभकर्णोयमिति निःशंकनिर्भयः ॥ २४२ ॥*॥ व्रजति
विजययाचां यत्र विजस्ताशचौ हयचुरय(स्व)रघातोत्खातधूलीनिलीनं ॥(१)
गगनतलमशीधं खोज(क्ष)संजातमोहो नयति रघिरघातान् सारथिः माहमि-
क्षात् ॥ २४३ ॥ श्रीचिचकूटविभुरयमुन्नततरवारिशातितारातिः ॥(१) मिरिजा-
चरणसरीरुहरो-
- 39 लंकः कुंभभूपतिर्जयति ॥ २४४ ॥*॥ विख्यात(कीर्त्तिंगु*)हृदतस्तुमाणाशान्तिवाहाजय-
प्रस्थिभपतिर्वंशरत्नं ॥(१) श्रीलेखलचनृपमोक्तभमिपालसिंहासनं सफलव्यव

- कुम्भकर्णः ॥ २४५ ॥*] या नारदीयनगरावनिनायकस्य नायी निरंतरमचोजरद-
दास्य ॥(१) तां कुम्भकर्णनृपतेरिह कः सहेत वाणावलीमम-
40 संगरसंचरिणोः ॥ २४६ ॥*] योगिनीपुरमजेयमप्यसौ योगिनीचरणकिंकरो नृपः ॥(१)
कुंतलाकलितवैरिसुंदरीविभ्रमैरमितविक्रमोपहीत् ॥ २४७ ॥*] चरिदमः स्वाङ्गिसरो-
जलमनं विशीष्य शीघ्राधिपतिप्रतीपं ॥(१) अरुतुदं कंटकमिदंतेजा भङ्गाचि-
पद्ममितलेसशिष्या ॥ २४८ ॥*] येन वैरिमुखं हत्वा
- 41 मंडोवरपुरगृहे ॥(१) अनायि शांति(ति) रोपा[मि]नांगरीनयनांबुभिः ॥ २४९ ॥*]
विष्टा हृषीरपुरं गरोत्करैर्निगृह्य तस्मिन् रणवीरविक्रमं ॥(१) पर्यचहीट-
व(व)जमंजुलोचना महीमहद्वो नरपालकन्यकाः ॥ २५० ॥*] नानादिभ्यो(भ्यो)
राजकन्याः समेत्य क्षीणीपालं कुम्भकर्णं अयति ॥(१) सत्वं रत्नं जायते
सागरादौ
- 42 युक्तं विश्वोर्वच एवास्य धामः(म) ॥ २५१ ॥*] आत्ताः काश्चिद्वटेन प्रतिनृपति-
भटान् दंडयित्वा च काश्चित् काश्चिद्राजन्यवर्गैर्नगजतुरगैः साईमानीय
दत्ताः ॥(१) अन्याः प्रोडाविधाटीवलजतहरणाः प्रत्यर्चं राजकन्या नव्या
नव्या महीभृक्षुविधि परिणयत्वेव कामो नवीनः ॥ २५२ ॥*] स ध १
धान्यनग-
- 43 रमासूलादुदमूलयत् ॥(१) पुरारिविक्रमो यागपुरं पुरमिवाजयत् ॥ २५३ ॥*]
ज्वालावलीवलयितां ध्यतनोदावालीं महीरवीरमुदवीवहदे^१ष नीरं ॥(१) यो
वर्तमानगिरिमातु(श) विजित्य तस्मिन्नेदानम(म)दमदवविधो नधाचीन्(त्) ॥
२५४ ॥*] जवाली दवालीशिखावच्छिखालीममालीठभालीकरालीप्रताली ॥(१) ग-
- 44 श्रीराधकारं क्षणाद्यस्य संख्येक्षिपरवेपथ्यमन्यैर्नयद्रूपदीपैः ॥ २५५ ॥*] जनकाचलसुख-
शेष(ख)रं वलवन्मालवनायमस्तके ॥(१) प्रवरं गिरिदुर्गमुक्तचरणं वाममिव
न्यधादयं ॥ २५६ ॥*] महीचजनकाचले निखिलमालवक्ष्मापतेर्गले पदमिव
न्यधादमितविक्रमो भूपतिः ॥(१) सरांसि जयवर्धनेकत पुरेपि यो
- 45 वर्धने महामहिमशेखरे विपुलवप्रमुख्यदुतिः ॥ २५७ ॥*] जनकाचलमयहीदर्लं
महतीं चंपवतीमतीतपत् ॥(१) गिरिसुंदरखोलच्छंडनावनिवक्षायुध एव भूपतिः
॥ २५८ ॥*] प्रत्यर्धिपार्थिवपराजयजन्महेतुहंदावतीपुरमदीदहदेषवीरः ॥(१) तह-
र्गराटगिरिदुर्गमपि क्षणेन संचोभमाप यदपारपराक्रमे-

* This however spoils the metre.

* Wrongly used for *adoodajayaj* !

46. ग ॥ २५८ [॥*] मञ्जारणपुरं द(व)रेष्वमनलज्वालापलीढं व्यधादीरः सिद्धपुरीम-
वीभरद^१सिद्धवस्तुवैरिजैः ॥(१) यत्नं रत्नपुरप्रभञ्जनविधावाधाय धीमानतो नायं
नायमनेकराजनिकरान् कारागृहेष्विवसत् ॥ २५९ [॥*] यदातीनां पादलक्षं
सपादलक्षनीहतं ॥(१) कृत्वा मञ्जारणवीरो रणस्तम्भं तद्याजयत् ॥
47. २६१ [॥*] भास्वदाद्रिदलनेन दाक्षणः कोटडावलहकेलिकेसरी ॥(१) कुम्भकर्णनृपति-
र्व(व)वावटीधूलनोद्धत(त)भुजो विराजते ॥ २६२ [॥*] नम्बानेकनृपालमौलिनिकर-
प्रत्नसङ्घोराङ्कुरश्चेपीरश्मिलवणद्युतिभरः शबून् रणप्रांगणे ॥(१) दीर्घादीनितबाहुदंड-
विलसत्वोदंडदंडोक्त[म*]बाणास्तान्
48. वि(रच)य्य मंडलकरं दुर्गं क्षणेनाजयत् ॥ २६३ [॥*] जित्वा देशमनेकदुर्गविषमं
हाडावटीं जैलया तन्नाथान् करदानिधाय च जयस्तमानुदस्तंभयत् ॥(१)
दुर्गं गोपुरमथ षट्पुरमपि प्रौढां च वृंदावतीं श्रीमन्मंडलदुर्गमुच्चविलसच्छालां
विशालां पुरीं ॥ २६४ [॥*] उत्थातमूलं सलिलैः प्रभञ्जन इव द्रुमं ॥(१)
49. विशालनगरं राजा समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २६५ [॥*] तन्नागरीनयत्र(न)नोरतरंगिणी-
नामंगीकृतं किमु समुत्तरणं तुरंगैः ॥(१) श्रीकुम्भकर्णनृपतिः प्रवितीर्णभूपि-
रालोडयद्विरिपुरं यदमीभिरुपः ॥ २६६ [॥*] यदीयगर्जहजतूर्यघोषसिंहस्वनाक-
र्षणनटशौर्यः ॥(१) विहाय दुर्गं रुद्रसा पलायाचकार
50. गैपालशृगालवालः ॥ २६७ [॥*] त्वज्जा दीना दीनदीनाधिनाथा दीना वक्ता येन
भारंगपुर्या ॥(१) योषाः प्रौढाः पारसीकाधिपानां त्राः संस्थातुं नैव शक्नोति
कोपि ॥ २६८ [॥*] महोमदो युक्ततरो न चैषः क्षमामिघातेन धनार्जनत्वे ॥(१)
इतीव भारंगपुरं विलोच्य महंमदं त्वाजितवाक्महंमदं ॥ २६९ [॥*] गर्जन्ने(घ)-
51. तिमिगिलाकुलतरं रंगतुरंगोर्मिमन्नातंगोहतनक्रचक्रममितं प्राकारवेलाचलं ॥(१)
एतद्वन्धपुराग्निवाडयमसौ यन्मालत्रांभोनिधिं क्षीणीशः पिबति स खड्गचुलुक-
स्तम्भादगन्धः स्फुटं ॥ २७० ॥ संवत् [१५१० वर्षे शा.....]

^१ Correctly *apubharat*.

^२ Read *grah-chaayut*.

No. 43.—GOKAK PLATES OF DEJJA-MAHARAJA.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These copper-plates were found in the year 1926 in the house of Mr. Govinda Rao Mutalik Desai of Gokak in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency and are now in the possession of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. The inscription which they bear has been edited in the *Karnatak Historical Review*¹ but owing to certain inaccuracies which have crept in the reading of the text as given in the *Review*, in the interpretation of certain passages and in the drawing of inferences in certain cases, I consider it necessary to re-edit the document and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The plates are three in number each measuring about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner face only; the second plate has both the faces engraved. They are all strung together by a circular ring measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and having an oval seal attached to it. Together with the ring and the seal they weigh 42½ tolas and are very well preserved.

The seal bears in relief the figure of some horned animal which looks like an antelope whose head is bent forward and one of the horns is turned towards the back. The animal is in a moving pose with its right forefoot raised. The donor of the grant which these plates record was a Śāndraka and the crest of the Śāndrakas was probably an elephant.² It is, therefore, difficult to account for the horned animal engraved on the seal unless it is supposed that though the crest was an elephant, the device on the banner of the family was some horned animal like the one represented on the seal. It is not a Rāshtrakūṭa symbol either, though the document was issued in the reign of a king of that dynasty; for the emblem of that family was either Garuda or lion.³ Cannot this horned animal be taken as a cognisance of a Tirthahara in view of the fact that the document is a Jaina record? Śāntinātha, we know, has an antelope for his *līlāchakṛa*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the invocatory and the imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. It is written in a Southern script which was in use in the Dekkan during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. The record is neatly written and resembles the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kirttivarman I which is dated in the Śaka year 590,⁴ the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalāśa⁵ (602 A. D.), the Koppāram plates⁶ and the Aihole inscription of Pulakāśin II.⁷ The inscription gives us two forms of long *ā*. In one the top is closed and in the other it is left open (compare *dehahhātā* in line 20 and *Āryyaṇḍyā-chūryga* in l. 10). Initial *u* is found in *uśa(ha)ṇ-cha* (l. 16) and *ū* in *Eudāvīrat* (l. 13). Among the consonants the letter *k* is always closed when it is not a conjunct *akṣara* but when it is in combination with some other letters it is open; *r* is always open. The letters *t* and *n* are not looped; the former, however, has a loop when combined with *n* (e.g., in *parṇyantaṇ*, l. 13). The letter *kh* is found in *Jambūkhayḍa* (l. 9) and *j* in *Julāra* (l. 9). Final *t* is found in line 20 and final *va* in lines 2 and 18. As regards orthography it may be noted that consonants are sometimes doubled when preceded by *r* (see *Varddhamaṇa* in lines 1 and 3) but sometimes not (e.g., see *chatur-sinātī* in line 3). The omission of *s* in *bhūmi tasya* in l. 17 is probably

¹ Vol. I, No. II, pp. 43 ff.² *Ins. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 292. The figure of an elephant is found engraved on the inscription of the Śāndraka chief Pegili (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 143).³ *Ibid.*, p. 386.⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 58.⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 18.⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 239.⁷ Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 6.

a mistake of the engraver for the correct word should be *bhūmī-tasya*. A noteworthy mistake of spelling is to be seen in *unśā-cha* for *ukśā-cha* in line 16.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty *vinayanas* of land in the Jajāra-grāma village situated in the Kashmāpī-vishaya to *śāhāryya* Āryyānandin of the Jambūkhāṇḍa-gaṇa for the worship of the divine Arhat and for other purposes specified in lines 11 and 12. The donor was the *Adharāya* Indraganda, the son of Vijayānanda-Madhyamarāja of the Sēndrakā family. Indraganda is further stated to have been the favourite of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dājja-Mahārāja. The grant registered in the charter was made when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kings with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kings. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spiritual lineage of Varddhamaṇa, the 24th Jaina Tirthaṅkara. The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyikas or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Palaeographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jaina tradition and place the commencement of the reign of the Maurya emperor Chandragupta in B. C. 312-13*—for this appears to be the correct date of his accession†—and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era we get A. D. 532-33 as the date of our record. But, considering the palaeography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early; and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.

Indraganda, the donor of the grant, figures in this record for the first time. The epithet *adharāya* applied to him here would indicate that he was a chief of some importance. After the late Dr. Fleet wrote the account of the Sēndrakas‡ only four more inscriptions of the family have come to our notice. The Kalway plates of Jayaśakti§ furnish the following pedigree:—

Bhūmīśakti
|
Adityaśakti
|
Nikumbhallaśakti
|
Jayaśakti

carrying the line one generation further than the Bagumrā¶ grant of Nikumbhallaśakti mentioned by Dr. Fleet. The two others are stone inscriptions found at Bādāmi* in the Bijāpur District and mention the prince Rhiṃasasi(kti) who was, according to one of them, a devotee at the feet of Satyāśraya, i.e., a feudatory of the Chālukyas. Excepting the Bagumrā and the Kalway plates the records of the Sēndrakas so far known mention different members of the family whose relationship to one another is not known. But the names Vijayānanda and Indraganda found in the record under publication bear a striking resemblance to the name Sēnānanda borne by the maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II*.

* *Kalpaṇḍya of Bhūmīśakti* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi, p. 7.

† *See J. R. A. S.*, 1892, pp. 272-81.

‡ *Bow. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 292.

§ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* for 1894, pp. 169 ff.

¶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.

* Nos. 125 and 127 of Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1925-26.

† *Above*, Vol. III, p. 61.

[illegible]

29. A

ii-a.

6
 8
 10

ii-b.

12
14

iii-a.

16

18

20

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो
 यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो यथा ह्यस्य
 भगवत्पुत्रो यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो
 यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो यथा ह्यस्य
 भगवत्पुत्रो यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो यथा ह्यस्य भगवत्पुत्रो

16

18

20

SEAL OF THE GOKAR PLATES.



From a photograph

SCALE: FOUR TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE.

Dējja-Mahārāja who was the overlord of Indrapada is also a hitherto unknown king of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. So far, the earliest inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭas found in the Dekkan was the Sāmangal grant of Dantidurga dated Śaka 675.¹ But its genuineness has been questioned by some scholars.² Next come the Poona plates of Kṛishṇarāja of Śaka 680.³ The present grant is, thus, the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa inscription in the Dekkan.⁴ We do not know, however, whether Dējja-Mahārāja belonged to the Mākhād branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁵ Another interesting question that arises is whether Dējja was an independent ruler. He could not have been so after the Chālukyas became masters of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. But since he is called a *Mahārāja*, the document might have been issued when he was as a ruling king before the rise of the Chālukyas or when they were just beginning to establish their power. If this conjecture should prove correct we shall have to accept as accurate the account of the Kaṭhēn plates⁶ and other inscriptions⁷ of the 10th and 11th centuries that there existed a family of Rāshtrakūṭas in the Dekkan whom the Chālukyas defeated before coming to power, though the truth of this statement has been doubted by some scholars.⁸

Of the geographical places mentioned in the record I am unable to identify Kashmāṇḍivishaya, Jajāra-grāma and Pūrvvina-grāma which are not known from other inscriptions. Jambūkhanda after which the Jaina *gopa* took its name is identical with Jamkhadi,⁹ not far away from Gōkāk.

TEXT.

First Plate : Second Side.

- 1 ॐ Svasti || Varddhātān Varddhāmān-āndōr-Varddhāmāna-gaṇ-ōdadhēḥ śāsanam
ndāta-
2 ripōr-bhāsuram mōha-śāsanam || [1*] || Ih-āsyām-avasarpinyān-Tirtha-
3 karāyām chaturvīṇṣṭīśāyā sanmatēḥ śrī-Varddhāmānasya varddhāmā-
4 nāyām tirtha-santatāy-Asuptāyikānām rājām-aśtāsu varuṣa-ātē-
5 śu pañcha-chaturvīṇṣṭī-āgrāhu gatēshu Rāshtrakūṭ-ānvaya-jāta-śrī-Dē-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 6 Jja-mahārājasy-ābhimateḥ śrī-Sēndrak-āmala-kul-ānbur-ōdita-dī-
7 pta-divākaro Vijayānanda-Maddhyama¹⁰ rāj-ātmapāḥ śrīmān-Indrapand-ādhi-
8 rājāḥ sva-varāyānām-ātmanas-cha dharmma-vrāddhaya¹¹ Kashmāṇḍi-vishayā

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

² See above, Vol. XIV, p. 121 f. n. 3 and Vol. XVIII, p. 238.

³ *Journal of the Eastern Indian Numismatic Society*, Vol. VIII, p. 166.

⁴ It is not certain whether Avilkhya of the Pācjarāyagapalli grant (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1922, pp. 197 ff.) was a Rāshtrakūṭa king. The Tivarkhād plates of Nannarāja (above, Vol. XI, p. 218) and the Udiḥavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu (above, Vol. VIII, p. 163), the one discovered in Central Provinces and the other recording a grant in Central India, belong to about the same period as our grant.

⁵ The name Dējja has been wrongly read as Ojja (Gōjja) and Gōjja identified with Gōvinda IV in the *Karnatak Historical Review*. The letter *Dē* is clear and palaeography militates against placing the record in the reign of Gōvinda IV, c. 10th century A. D.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

⁷ See, for instance, the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (above, Vol. XII, pp. 303 ff.) and the Nūgnoda plates of Vikramāditya VI. (*ibid.*, pp. 142 ff.).

⁸ See *Bom. Gov.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 342 and 343.

⁹ See *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 43.

¹⁰ The letter *ma* is inserted below the line.

- 9 parvata-pratyāsana-Jalāra-grāmē Jambūkhanda-gaṇasthāya jñāna-
10 darśana-tapas-sampannāya Āryyaṇandyaśāryyāya Bhagavad-Arha-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 t-pratim-ānavarata-pūj-ārtham ākṣhaka-glāna-vṛddhānām eṣa tapasvinām val-
12 yāpity-ārtham grāmasy-ottarataḥ Pārviṇa-grāma-virōya-senakari da¹
13 kṣhigāna Muṇja-jalamārgga-pariṇyantaḥ aparatō(a)ḥ Endāvirut-se-
14 hita-valmīkasya tasmād-ottarataḥ puṣhkara(i)ḥ tataś-cha yāvat-pārviṇa-virōya-
15 kam rāja-mānasa pañchāśan-nivartana-pramāṇa-kṣhōtran-da-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 16 tāvān-śtat-yō harati sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-sahyuktō bhavati || Un(k)taś-
cha
17 Bahubhār-vasundhā bhuktā rājahis-Śagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
18 [ta]ḥ-tajaya tasya tadā phalaḥ || [2 *] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā
yō harēta vasundharām
19 śhaṣṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi viśvāyām jāyatō krimiḥ || [3 *] Shashṭīm
varsha-sahasrāṇi
20 svargā nandati bhūmidas āchchhōtā eṣ-ānemaṇtā cha tāny-ēva parakā
vasūt ☉ [4 *]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hail ! May the bright and delusion-destroying charter of Vardhamāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Vardhamāna-gaṇa and who has taken away his foes, prosper !

(Lines 2-10). When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the Āgaptāyika kings in (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise Vardhamāna, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tirihankaras, had elapsed, the illustrious adhīrāja Indrapanda, the son of Vijayānanda-Maddhyamarāja, the bright son who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure Sēndraka family and who was the favourite of the illustrious Dājja-Mahārāja, born of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty aśvatanas by the royal measure in the village of Jalāra situated near the mountain in the division of Kāshmāpdi to Āryyaṇandyaśāryya, who belonged to the Jambūkhanda-gaṇa and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penances, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Arhat, for the (maintenance of) teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics.

(The boundaries of the land are) :—to the north of the village the boundary is the virōya of the Pārviṇa village ; to the south, up to the Muṇja canal ; to the west, the ant-hill including Endāvirut ; to the north, the tank and from there up to the eastern virōya.

(L. 15). He who takes this away incurs the five great sins. Further it is said :—

(Vv. 2-4). (The usual imprecatory verses).

¹ The letter da seems to have been corrected from de.

No. 44.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, C.I.E., M.A.

The **Central Museum** at Lahore possesses a large number of stone inscriptions the bulk of which were collected in the early nineties of the last century by Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshāwar, on the northern borders of the Peshāwar District and in the independent territory beyond it. The majority of these are in an unknown script which have so far remained undeciphered. A few of the others are short Sanskrit epigraphs in Śāradā characters which were also found in the same region and the remainder in the Nāgarī characters. Some of the inscriptions in the unknown script were first dealt with by M. Senart in a paper read by him before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in 1894. The whole collection was subsequently exhaustively treated by Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein with illustrative plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1898, pages 1 to 19. M. Senart recognized three distinct types of writing among these documents and these he connected with well defined territorial divisions. The first type which is designated as the *Spankharra* variety has characters consisting of irregular, scrawly lines resembling Sgraffiti or monograms. The second group, associated with *Boner* and the adjoining areas, is characterized by complicated and elaborate signs and these documents are engraved in regular lines on larger stones than those of the first type and have a decidedly monumental look. The third class of documents, known as the *Mahabab* collection, are also engraved on small stones and show a bewildering variety of signs. Sir Aurel was able to distinguish among these inscriptions a fourth variety of writing to which he gave the name of *Nuristan* group. These inscriptions are engraved on longish slabs of slate stone, and unlike the inscriptions of the first three groups, these documents are in most cases surrounded by straight engraved lines. The characters in this variety are formed of curves, angles and other simple strokes differing from the linear arrangement exhibited by the signs in the other three groups.

Nothing definite is known of the origin and date of these puzzling epigraphs. M. Senart and Prof. Bühler had noticed a curious similarity between them and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the bank of the Orkhan, which are assigned to about the first half of the 8th century A. D., *etc.*, about the period of Ou-Kong's sojourn in Peshāwar. As far as I can make out no further progress has been made with the examination of these records and the mystery is not likely to be solved until, as hinted by Stein, a bilingual inscription is brought to light.

Six of the Śāradā epigraphs in the Lahore Museum will be found included in a comprehensive list of all the known Śāradā inscriptions appended to Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*.¹ Among the remaining inscriptions the earliest one is written in characters of the 5th or 6th century A. D. Others are in Nāgarī characters. All the inscriptions with the exception of those in the unknown alphabet are incomplete, the extant portions being defaced and in several cases completely obliterated. It is probably for this reason that they have hitherto remained unedited.² In view, however, of the comparatively small number of inscriptions from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier which have survived in good condition and been published, I edit them in this article.

I. Sirsa Inscription of circa 6th century A.D.

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular block of red sandstone similar to that of which the Mathurā sculptures are generally made. The stone was discovered by Sir A. Cunningham and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore. The stone measures 2' 3" in width by 3½" in height

¹ Part I, Appendix I, p. 258.² These have been noticed by me in *P. E. A. S. N. C.*, 1918-19, pp. 18-20 and Appendix C.

and is 8" thick. The inscribed surface is disfigured by two round holes cut near the right end and there is moreover a large piece broken off below these holes. For the rest, the stone is complete. It is, however, obvious that the inscription was engraved on a series of stones fitted together into a wall and that this stone is only one of them. Portions of three lines of the inscription have survived and these contain portions of verses 13, 14, 16 and 17. The first line contains the last seven *akṣaras* of the third foot and the whole of the last or fourth foot of verse 13, thus showing that more than 13½ stanzas are missing at the commencement of the inscription.

The characters belong to the northern variety of script of about the 5th or 6th century A. D. The inscription was composed in elegant metrical Sanskrit but unfortunately its value is much marred by its fragmentary nature and neither the name of the ruler of the time nor the purpose of the document can be ascertained.

TEXT.

- 1 ये[नाव]पच्छिन्नतां पुञ्जाराधनमादरेण च चरन्त्यो राज्य-
(ज)ति सर्वदा [१*] १३¹ [१*] दायार्यायतिवि'
- 2 [परा]काष्ठां [गतः] संपदो यन्वाचान्निहताग्ने शलभ-
यन्मायेन दग्धा द्विदः[१*]¹
- 3 [भक्त्या च धीरः] विभुवनमरुत्स्वैचन्द्रमुच्चैर्धरोभिः
[१*] १३² [१*] घामाद्या[ति]मनीच'

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 13).....who by diligent veneration of those worthy of respect is constantly resplendent.....

(Verse 14).....who had attained the highest limit of prosperity and in the fire of whose anger (his) enemies were frequently consumed like moths.....

(Verse 16).....who had covered the three worlds with his fame white like the Moon.....

II. Sirsa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva.

According to No. 23 of the list of inscriptions maintained in the Lahore Museum, this inscription was found in a mound near the town of Sirsa in the Hisar District of the Punjab and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore, by the then Deputy Commissioner. The stone is broken irregularly on all sides. The maximum dimensions of the extant portion are—width 2' 1", height 1' 7" and thickness 1' 1". The loss which each line has suffered will be apparent from the subjoined text. Suffice it to say that more than 10 verses are lost at the commencement of the inscription while the last stanza which has survived in part in line 16 is numbered 32. The existing portion of the inscription is in good Sanskrit poetry and few mistakes occur. The characters belong to the 9th century A. D. and the **Bhōjadēva** whose name is found in the third line, I take to be identical with the Bhōja of Kanauj, inscriptions of whose time are found at Deogarh, Gwalior and Poulah.* No connected translation of the document is possible and I can only record here such fragmentary information as can be gathered from the portions of the stanzas that have survived.

* Metre: Śardūlavikīrtita.

† Metre: Māhāt.

* Kachru, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 546, etc.; Bhambhakar's *List*, Nos. 23, 24, 25, 1212.

Verse 11, which is the first existing stanza eulogises the continence of some one. The next verse indicates that the king at the time was the illustrious Bhūpadēva.

The next verse (V. 13) tells us that there was a leader of the Pāṇpata sect named Ratnarāśi, who was intensely devoted (V. 15), had conquered Kāma, was spotless like a multitude of the rays of the Moon, purified by the current of the celestial river (the Ganges) and [resplendent] like Śiva himself. Of verse 16 only the last feet has survived and appears to indicate that this saint did something like the husband of the daughter of the mountain Himālaya, i.e., Śiva. The next verse (V. 17) relates something of the summit of the snowy mountain (Himālaya) and of the mountain Malaya. Verse 18 continues the praise of the saint mentioned above or of one of his successors, who is extolled as the Moon of the earth, who had come down to show the way leading to Śaṅkara, which is free from the dangers of mundane existence and which has destroyed the cause of birth and death. His disciple was another whose name is missing (V. 19), whose mind had been purified by his having acquired the knowledge of all that is worth knowing. This saint had a disciple (V. 20), whose name is also missing. The next two verses (Vv. 21 and 22) state that considering the worldly happiness to be of no use, youth to be worthless and life itself to be unstable like the ripple of the sea, he did something the nature of which cannot be ascertained. His commands were carried out (V. 23) with devotion by the multitude of kings with folded hands. (His disciple) was Nilakaṇṭha (V. 24), who was the lord of the rulers of the earth, an orator among speakers, who, though one, assumed various aspects of Śiva. He made (Vv. 25 and 26) a magnificent temple (*dharmad*) of Yōgīśvara or Śiva with burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone. This temple (V. 29) was as high as the sky and attained the height of the summit of the Kailāsa mountain. Verses 30 and 31 appear to state that this temple was adorned with (images) of Kṛṣṇa, the enemy of Mura, united with Lakṣmī and with the (images) of other gods, demons, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *kinṇaras*, *siddhas* and thus emulated, as it were, the universal form of the lord of Lakṣmī.

TEXT.

- 1
 2 तुलङ्ग चक्षुत्पत्तिव्रजः
 3 भुवनं येन । . . परमहेतुया । चेतसापि न वदके । सङ्गं परम-
 हेतुया ॥११॥¹ श्रीभोजदेवे गुण ॥१२॥²
 4 व सितशिशुवः कलहमुक्तः परमागमागौ । वभूव नाम्ना
 भुवि स्त्रराशिस्तु[यो]मव[पाशुपतापणीव] ॥³
 5 [च]र्चकनिष्ठो जितमन्त्रधस्तया शशाङ्कलेखाकरजालनिर्धत्तः ।
 सुरस्रवन्तीवहनातिगोभितस्त्वर्य पिनाकीव विराजमानः ॥१५॥⁴
 6 हिमशैलसुतापतिवचसदा ॥१६॥⁵ हिमवच्छिखरे मलये च
 [मि]त्रौ कनकाभविशालशिलानिचये । सरसोत्तरसां ॥१७॥⁶

¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Metre: *Indravajrā* (The metre of this verse has been taken as *Indravajrā* but the reading is *Bhāgavata* which would show that possibly the metre was *Paṇṣṭitilaka*.—Ed.)

³ Metre: *Uṣṇasravjā*.

⁴ Metre: *Paṇṣṭitilaka*.

⁵ Metre: *Tōṣaka*.

- 7 सारमेयाभिधेयं । भवभयपरिमुक्तं सा(शां)तसंसारहेतु-
जययितुमिच्छं मार्गं शाङ्करं सोवनीन्दुः ॥१८॥^१ शिष्यस्तस्य स(ग)मान्वित
.
- 8 परिचयो निर्द्वन्द्वसर्वाग्रभो ज्ञातश्चेयतयातिनिश्चलमना योगै-
कनिष्ठानिव ॥१९॥^२ तस्यापि शिष्यस्य बभूव शा[न्तो] [॥२०॥^३
- 9 विभङ्गलोत्तं । संसारमौख्यं सकलं विदित्वा । ज्ञात्वा
तथा दौवनमप्य[सारं] । पयोधि[वीची]चपलं च जीवं ॥२१॥^४ येना . . .
- 10 चे ॥२२॥ आश्रमकार्पीह्रुवि यस्य भक्त्या । कृताञ्जलि-
भूपगणसमग्रः । शशाङ्कलिखाकलितो[रुमः] [॥२३॥^५
- 11 यौनीलकण्ठस्तथा । ईशान-पृथिवीभुजां समभव-
द्दामोश्वरो वादिनाभिलेकोपि चकार रूपमनिर्गं यंभोरनेकं नि[जं]^६ . .
. [॥२४॥^७
- 12 शान्तये योगीश्वरस्य भवनं महतो महौयः ॥२५॥^८
पक्षोष्कारचितमेतदुदयमासौत्संख(स)त्य यद्वनशिलामयमेव यस्तु (?) [१]^९
[सौचीकरचरम] [॥२६॥^{१०}
- 13 तिततभूमिविशेषरस्यं । स्तुकाश्चने(?) गगनतुङ्गतया
नितान्तं कैलासगौलशिखरत्रय(त्रि)यमादधानं ॥२७॥^{११} लक्ष्मीवुतं(त)मुररियो
. [॥२८॥^{१२}
- 14 देवदैत्यगन्धर्वैश्चक्षुषाणकिञ्चरसिद्धरूपं । लक्ष्मीपतेरिववपु[ष्कृ]-
तविश्वरूपं सा
- 15 [॥२९॥^{१३} भयनं रमणीयतायां
निशेषशिल्पविभव
- 16 रागिरिव ॥३०॥^{१४}
- 17
- 18

^१ Metro: *Milind*.^२ Metro: *Śāntalavikrīḍita*.^३ Metro: *Indramjñā*.^४ Metro: *Upajñā*.^५ Metro: *Paṇḍitilaka*.

No. 1.



2

No. 2.



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18

III. Bhatinda Stone Inscription of about the 10th Century A.D.

The stone on which this inscription is engraved was found lying at the tomb of Haji Ratan Baba at Bhatinda and was removed and presented by Sardar Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur to the Lahore Museum (No. 8 of the list of inscriptions). It is a fragmentary slab of dark grey colour and was surrounded with an engraved rim ornamented with a pattern of flower petals. The existing portion measures 1' 5½" in width by 1' 6½" in height. The stone is complete on three sides but a portion is broken off on the left side carrying away about 8 to 10 syllables of each line. A small triangular portion is also broken off at the lower left corner. A considerable portion of the writing is also badly defaced in the middle of the slab and in some other parts the letters are quite illegible. The characters are Nāgarī of about the end of the 10th century A. D. and the whole of the extant portion is in Sanskrit verse. The first stanza contains an invocation of Kṛishṇa (Hari), who with his four hands armed with a mace, the spotless *pāñchajanya* conch, (etc.) with ease supports the whole of the three worlds and who is ever-lasting. The second verse praises *Rājā Śatrughna-dēva* who equalled Lakshmaṇa and Bharata, whose feet were bowed to by the whole world and the dust of whose feet The third verse informs us that at Tribhāṇḍanapura there was (some one) resplendent with gems of virtues, whose glory was spotless like jewels, who was the ornament of a noble Kshatriya family and who had acquired fame throughout the world by his brilliant (His son) (V. 4) was named because he was the destroyer of the impurity of the Kali age, who was purified by his devotion to ascetics and who by the constant flow of his liberality resembled the current of the Ganges. The next verse (V. 5) contained the name of his wife which appears to have been Indulēkhā. In the remaining portion of the inscription only stray words or syllables can be made out in each line. Line 14 appears to contain the word *mahākavi* and in line 16 there is a portion of a foot of a verse in the *Vasantatīlaka* metre which means 'devotion to Hari or Viṣṇu dispels'.

I am unable to identify the *Rājā Śatrughnadēva* who was ruling over the region, where the inscription had been found, at the time this epigraph was engraved. 'Tribhāṇḍanapura' mentioned in verse 3 is undoubtedly the original ancient name of Bhatinda where the inscription was discovered. The ruler *Śatrughnadēva* in whose time the inscription was recorded is, as far as I can make out, not known from another inscription. He must have belonged to a local family of Bhatinda. Raverty, quoted by Smith in his *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 382, was wrong in making Bhatinda the capital of Jayapāla of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty.

TEXT.

- 1 — — — — गदामलपाञ्चजव्यलीलाष्टताखिलजगच्चितयैचतुर्भिः ।
दोभिः हरिः हरः
- 2 — — — — सयं सुचरितानि सनातनोयम् ॥¹ [१॥*]
जयति जगद्वतचरणचरणरजः श-
- 3 : [1] लक्ष्मणभरतप्रतिमो राजा शत्रुघ्नदेवोयम् ॥² [२॥*] आसीत्ति-
भाण्ड[नपुर]गुण-
- 4 [रत्नशाली*] — — — — विवरत्नमयामलचीः [1*] [सुच]चिद्यान्वयविभूषण-
सुज्व(ज्व)लिन ख्यातिव्रतः चिति-
- 5 [तल*] — — — — ॥³ [३॥*] [तस्वात्म*]जः कलिमलचयकारिणामा
[चौदाम] इत्यभवद्यतिमक्तिपूतः⁴ [1*] तापच्छि-

* Metre : Vasantatīlaka.

* Metre : Arjya.

* One syllable seems to be missing in this pāda.

| | |
|----|---|
| 6 | — — — — — गंगाप्रवाह इव सन्ततदान[तोयः] ॥
स्थायित्वियो] जगति [वार]कनाम चामो |
| 7 | [कल्पक]निज . . . श्री . . . नृसिंहा — — स्व सा सुचरितस |
| 8 | गङ्गे वराज सोऽन्ययुत |
| 9 | धारक |
| 10 | |
| 11 | |
| 12 | सतत |
| 13 | तस्या । गोविन्द परम |
| 14 | [महाकवि] [चन्द्रमणि] देव |
| | सहाराज |
| 15 | सामन्तमित्रप्रति |
| 16 | भक्तिचरैर्हरति यच्च दि- |
| 17 | सम्यद्वच स्त्रियसूत्र |
| 18 | पुत्र समुद्र |
| 19 | |

The remaining inscriptions dealt with in this article are all inscribed in the Śāradā script. The origin, history and development of this script will be found discussed in great detail in Dr. Vogel's monumental work *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Dr. Vogel disagreed with Bühler and Hœrle's view that Śāradā was a direct descendant of the western variety of the Gupta script, on the ground that an intermediate variety assignable to about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. had intervened between the Gupta and the Nāgarī scripts. Śāradā proper continued in use in the Chamba valley and the other hill tracts adjoining the Punjab up to about A. D. 1300. The later variety of Śāradā, which in the Chamba valley is known by the name of Devāśeṣa continued to be used in that area till about A.D. 1700 and a cognate form of it continues to be used to this day, in certain hill States of the Punjab and particularly in Kashmir where Nāgarī did not come into use until the second quarter of the 19th century A. D. The later variety differs from Śāradā proper in the absence of nail-heads or wedges at the tops of the letters, which are such a prominent feature of the earlier variety. The inscriptions treated of here are all engraved in the earlier variety.

IV. Dewal Stone Inscription of the Shahi King Bhīmadēva.

This inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and crumbled in two pieces on the front or inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewal, Gaden territory. The stone is complete on three sides, but broken at the top and consists of four lines in Śāradā characters and in the Sanskrit language. The extent portion of the inscription is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle of the first line.

No. 3.



298 A



No. 5.



No. 6.



TEXT.

- 1 श्रीकाल[क] . . स्वमोहव-
 2 गदाहस्त परमभदार-
 3 कमचाराजाधिराजपर-
 4 मेम्बरसाहित्रीभौमदे[व] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

"The supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Shāhi, the illustrious Bhīmadēva, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kala[kama]-lavarman."

The king Bhīmadēva mentioned in this inscription is no doubt the same as the fourth king of the dynasty of the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab who reigned, according to C. V. Vaidya (*History of Medieval India*, Vol. I, page 204) from A. D. 940 to 969.¹ This Bhīmadēva was the grandfather of Dindā, the wife and successor of Kshēmagupta, King of Kashmir, and the daughter of the Lohara king named Sūha Rāja, king of one of the feudatory States of Kashmir till A. D. 938.

Alberuni describes the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab as Brāhmaṇas. Sir A. Cunningham held that though the four kings whose names end in देव, i.e., Vēkadēva, Kallar or Spalapatidēva, Sāmāntadēva, and Bhīmadēva must indeed have been Brāhmaṇas, the last four kings, Jayapāla, Anandapāla, Trilōchanapāla and Bhīmapāla were Rājput Kshatriyas. This view appears to me to be only partially correct. Kshēmagupta to whom the grand-daughter of Bhīmadēva was married is believed to have been a Kshatriya and as there could be no matrimonial connection between a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya, it is obvious that Bhīmadēva must also have been a Kshatriya. The present inscription provides epigraphical proof of this identification, inasmuch as the name of the father of Bhīmadēva ends in carman, a definitely Kshatriya title.

V. Ranigat Inscription.

The fragmentary white marble slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered by Major Deane in November, 1894 at a place called Ranigat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 25-A). The inscription consists of four lines in which portions of four Sanskrit verses have survived. The first verse which is in the *Vasāntatilaka* metre has lost the last seven syllables of the second foot, the whole of the third foot and the first two syllables of the last foot, i.e., 23 aksharas in all. The loss between lines 2 and 3 amounts to as many as 65 syllables, consisting of the last five aksharas of the first foot and the whole of the next three feet of a verse in the *Sāṅdātākilīṭita* metre and the first three syllables of the next verse which was in the *Vasāntatilaka* metre. The loss between lines 3 and 4 again amounts to only 30 syllables, showing that the lines were of very unequal lengths.²

¹ For two very rare coins of Bhīmadēva, see Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, plate VII, 17 and 18.

² [It is quite possible that a whole verse has been lost in addition between lines 1 and 2 and another between lines 3 and 4.—Ed.]

The first verse embodies an invocation of a deity, the pair of whose feet was variegated by the lustre of the brilliant jewels in the crowns of the multitude of gods The next verse of which only the last 12 syllables remain, constitutes a eulogy of a king whose name is broken off, but whose prowess was well known like that of Arjuna. [The son* of this ruler] was devoted to, and diligent in the carrying out of the commands of, his lord. The rest of the verse is broken off. Of the next verse less than the first half exists and it refers to some one, the hair of whose head, which resembled the sacred cord of *mūṣṣa* grass, was besmeared with the mass of the pollen of the lotus flowers in the shape of the feet of Śiva The last existing verse, of which less than one half is preserved, tells us that the worldly ties of some one had been burnt in the fire of [true] knowledge.

This inscription at present adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it has been found. Perhaps it may be found useful at a later stage in filling gaps in future discoveries of such inscriptions.

TEXT.

- 1 [स्त्रस्ति] ॥
 गौर्वाण्डुन्दमुकुटस्फुटरत्नकान्ति-
 किर्मरिनाधु(वि)युग[ल] ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [1*]
 — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —
- 2 — — जुनोर्जुन इव प्रथितप्रताप[ः] ॥²
 भक्तो [भर्तृ]मनोनुष्ठितचतुरो³ तस्मा ◡ — — ◡ —
 — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — [1*]
 — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — — [4*]⁴
 — — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — — ◡ — — —
- 3 — — ◡ रघुसन्तिधुर्जटिपादपद्म-
 रणस्फुरच्छुरितसूर्ध्वजमुजमा[ल] [1*]
 — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —
 — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [1*]⁵
- 4 — — शीवममृतामदग्धवन्ध-
 स्वातो यः प्रमथ इवेम — ◡ — — [1*]
 — — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — —
 — — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — [1*]⁶

* [The reading seems to be *śakti* (*śakti*)-*manō-nuṣṭiti*-*chaturā*. The feminine gender as well as the word *śakti* shows that the reference is to his wife.—Ed.]

² Metre: *Paśantatīṣṭa*.

³ Metre: *Śāntīśāntīśāntī*.

⁴ Metre: *Prakṛāntī*.

VI. Bari Kot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapāladēva.

The original of this inscription is a rectangular slab, 10½" wide by 9" high of dark grey slate stone, which was found on a hill to the north of Bari Kot in Upper Swat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 119). The whole of the inscription is very badly obliterated and the only portions that can be read with certainty are the first two lines of the document. Elsewhere only stray words or syllables can be made out. The inscription begins with *śaśa śaśati* 100, followed by the words meaning "in the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayapāladēva". We then gather that in the illustrious Vajrathāna (Waziristan) three individuals, whose names are completely rubbed off, founded something, the nature of which cannot be determined. This inscription is the first epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Shāhi king Jayapāladēva, who was the successor of Bhūmadēva and contemporary of Amīr Sabuktigin and Maḥmūd of Ghazni. The existing portion contains no date.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति १०० परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर-
- 2 मेखरत्रीजयपालदेवरान्ये श्रीवजीरस्थाने
- 3 मह्युच वीरोष्य (?) मित्रदेवकुलप्रभप्रार्थिते
- 4
- 5 . . . एभिस्त्रिभिः
- 6 कर्म
- 7 प्रभव उद
- 8 कर्म प्रतिष्ठा
- 9 तस्य . . . रथ प्रतिष्ठित . . . क — — रापितः
- 10 एभिस्त्रिभिः
- 11

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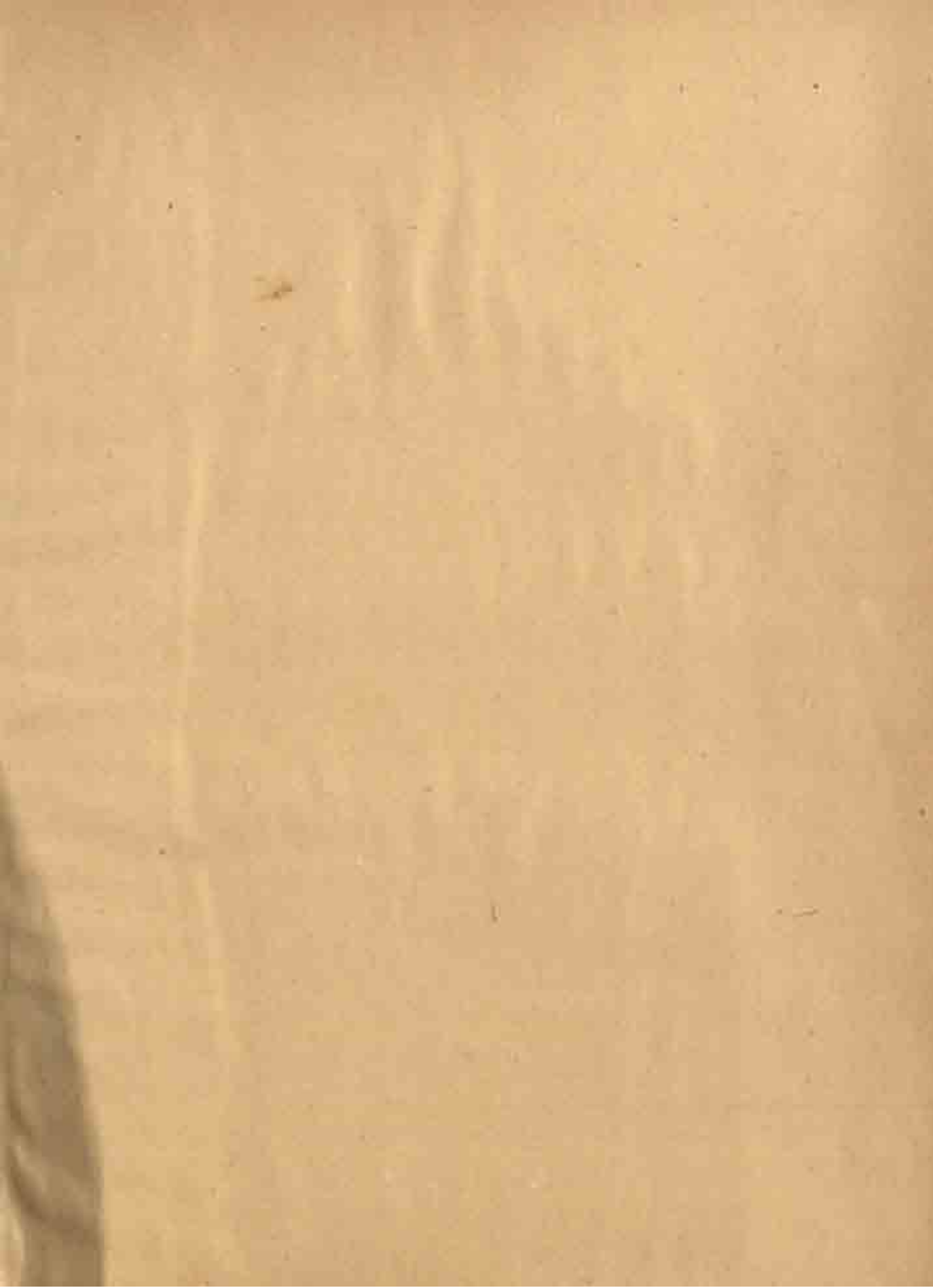
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